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impact

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"Supposing that the Arab-Israeli Confrontation remains in a state of no-war no peace; . . .



TOWARDS
PEACE
OR
ARMAGEDDON?

Towards Peace or Armageddon?

ALISTAIR DUNCAN

. . . that the Arabs decide that they will not attack. Israel (for whatever reason or pressure), and that Israel decides not to bow to UN or other pressures and holds on to all occupied territory. What then? Alistair Duncan proposes a possible course of evolution of this unsatisfactory situation."

Much has been written about the treatment of Arabs in Israel and Israeli-occupied territory during recent months, and comparisons made between the two. (I exclude the position of a third group of Arabs, who live in Jerusalem and are subject to a different set of circumstances, from these comparisons). I believe that such comparisons are misleading because not only does a nation act differently when its role is that of a conqueror, but because many concepts of Jews themselves are changing inside Israel.

We must first of all realise "the sabra" are producing a new and predominantly agnostic—if not atheistic—nation which owes little except lip service to its religious forebears. The present effective control of the country by tough central European Jews will pass in due course to this new breed, which is losing its Jewishness. However, the role of the World Zionist Organisations will continue to be that of an overseas arm of the Government of Israel, and will continue to operate as now, within a quasi-religious framework to influence world Jewish and gentile opinion to the advantage of Israel.

The new generations of Israel are not unlike their counterparts in Europe in that the bitter history of our wars is not the overwhelming and conditioning factor of their lives, despite their general knowledge of Nazi and other pogroms, and the efforts of their elders (vidé the Eichmann trial and others) to preserve both the ghetto mentality of "us against all others", and the continuing debt owed to Jewry by Western society.

Whatever the rights and wrongs established by the setting up of the State of Israel, most new Israelis see themselves as being the product of their land, and for the most part, cannot and will not admit any claim upon it—or them—by its previous inhabitants. The method of their arrival as infants, if they were not actually born in the country, does not appear to them to be akin to either colonialism or invasion, although some parallels can be drawn with the crusades and the Pilgrim Fathers, to name two other religiously backed overseas settlements. Young Israelis are concerned primarily and predominantly with the build-up and development of "their own" land. Even the concept of "little Israel", struggling to survive against the overwhelming might of its Arab neighbours, cannot remain for long with a people who know that they are now in the military position of being able to choose for themselves the extent of their territorial expansion.

I believe that the present attitude of the government of Israel towards all the Arabs in Israel or Israeli-occupied territory is

near to that adopted towards their oriental Jews, and both could ultimately be dissolved as separate groups. With certain obvious exceptions, both represent an uneconomic part of the population which must be accommodated for political and propaganda purposes, and such use made of their abilities as a labour force in order to offset part of their liability upon the State. To counteract this there is the massive drive to attract Jews from prosperous and highly educated European-type homes to settle in Israel, in preference to in-gathering less fortunate Jews from Africa and the Orient. (Russia's Jews present a particular and separate problem).

The intention of creating a Western orientated State out of the body of the Levant is also shown by overtures towards a developed association with the European Economic Community and by the continuing (and necessary) reliance upon Western Jewry to underpin the existing State with massive financial aid.

Thus, only those Arabs and Oriental Jews who have the ability to come up to the educational standards of their "European" counterparts could be integrated upon equal terms, and subsequent will be the product of the Israeli educational system. The Arabs will begin to lose their Arab identity in the same way as the Israelis are losing their Jewishness and all would be absorbed within a modified State.

Turning to the prolems of today, two difficulties (inter alia) remain for the Israeli Government: the first is to ensure that world Jewry and others must be persuaded (albeit with greater difficulty) to continue to finance the State of Israel for many years to come¹, and the second is to prevent the birth-rate of the Arabs and oriental Jews from "orientalising" the State, which would precipitate a merger of character with its Arab neighbours, thus causing the present askenazhim domination to be dissolved.

If these two factors cannot be achieved, then this Jewish exclusiveness will dissolve and the country could take its place among its neighbours as a Levantine State—"Palestine" in all but name.

A situation would then arise, not unlike those interludes in the crusades, during which much of the Arab civilisation and sophistication was adopted by Christian colonists in the Holy Land. Fraternisation, with its cultural and sartorial mixtures and acceptances, caused much criticism to be levelled upon those integrated Christians by their high-minded co-religionists who came out on an overseas "operational tour" from Europe, seeking honour, piety and riches before returning home, militarily and religiously satiated!

But even that state would not last forever, and eventually a new "Salah-ed-Din" would arise. The threat of general war—if it could be averted until that time—would be far more terrible, for the original issues between Zionists and Arabs have already been escalated into a Great Power confrontation. The declared and open championing of Israel by America has forced the Arabs to accept the patronage of the only comparable power, Russia: choice which was not of their own initial choosing.

Are Zionists aware that even now they may be responsible for precipitating a worldwide holocaust arising out of this present situation, and do they realise that the world well-lost for Zionism must include the State of Israel in whatever form it has evolved at that time?

It was a Jew who said that God's Kingdom was not of this world².

¹It has been reliably estimated that Israel (population circa 3 million) received about 1/10 of all financial aid channeled into the "third world".

²Gospel of St. John, Chapter 18 Verse 36

Cover: A twisted girder — the question mark on Allenby Bridge Photo: John Carswell

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Survey

● THE DOLLAR CRISIS

For whom the bell tolls ?

The events of the last couple of weeks have taken the world by surprise. Nixon's proposals to redefine the relationship of the U.S. to the World economy are being viewed as an act of betrayal by the "free World" in general and her well to do "clients" notably Japan and West Germany in particular. American business and trade union bureaucrats are also having second thoughts. The Multinationals and the International Financial Community are finding it next to impossible to induce contending interest groups to maintain the existing precarious balance in international economic relations. Hectic behind the scene activities are by no means confined to the promptings of M. Schwetitzer (Managing Director of the IMF). Faceless "old hands" are also busy. The gnomes of Zurich, the Barons of Wall Street, and the "city" magnates are sending their emissaries from capital to capital. As yet* it is not apparent as to what will be the substance of the compromise that will determine the finance and trade framework on the international level.

The questions that are baffling the world are related to the *timing* of the American decision. The American economy has been in serious trouble since the early 1960's. The balance of payments deficit has increased by more than 30 per cent over the period 1962-71. Prices have increased by about 25 per cent at the same time. The international competitiveness of American exports has been reduced. The gold reserves have dwindled to the extent that she can at present meet less than 20 per cent of her total commitments and since 1966-67, the United States had been supplying gold to Central Banks only. The International Monetary Fund scheme of Special Drawing Rights (S.D.R.), was also a tacit acknowledgement of the eventual supplementation of the Dollar by other monetary units. Viewed in purely quantitative terms, the decision not to supply gold from the reserves at Fort Knox is not directly going to cause any major upheavals in the international goods or factor market.

The American moves should be viewed in the context of the tactical changes that characterize 1971, a year of rapid transition from bi-polarization to multi-polarization in international economic and political relations.

It is significant that the establishment press is analysing the development of the crisis as if the governments of the major capitalist countries were the main actors in this drama. This is an attempt to divert attention from the real and financial processes which determine the action of the governments. In a capitalist model it is always misleading to adopt a macro-

economic framework and interpret policy decisions implying that the State is the main decision taker. This is so because the public sector in a mixed capitalist economy operates as a shock absorber and in response to the initiative of private enterprise. If the Americans have shut the gold window they did so because there was inflation and unemployment and trade deficits in America. Price and cost conditions in America reflect financially the policy of American business and American trade Unions. Similarly the reactions of Western Europe and Japan will ultimately depend upon the impact of the American moves on the business environment of these countries. It is, therefore, worth enquiring why commercial and financial reactions are being deliberately played down and the out-pourings of the representatives of the public sector—both at the

NIXON'S "REFORMS"

- A further 10 per cent duty on most US imports
- Dollar convertability into gold abandoned
- Price/wage freeze for 3 months
- Incomes policy introduced
- Federal spending cut by \$4700m.
- Reduction in sales tax and encouragement to business
- Foreign "aid" cut by 10 per cent

national and the international level—are being highlighted.

The most important reason for this is that the bargaining of the financiers and the industrialists lacks the glamour and the sensation that surrounds a meeting of the World's statesmen. While the statement that has emerged in Europe, subsequent to the American decision and the snub to Kwashiwigi in Washington, provide excellent 'copy' to the media, the quiet meetings of obscure organization-men do not. It is different though that the decisions of the latter are no less significant than those of the former.

The international business community has long been conscious that America does not provide as lucrative an investment opportunity as it did in the 1940's and 1950's. Capital exports have increased from \$5.2 billion in 1960 to \$7.3 billion in 1964 to \$10.2 billion in 1970. They are projected at a figure of \$23.2 billion for 1971. As a reaction to this the public sector has now moved so that a new equilibrium between forces inducing protection in the home-market and the forces which allow an exploitation of the productivity differential between America and the European countries may emerge. To the extent that this differential is supplemented

by the over-valuation of the Dollar, it is in the long run interest of international business that it should move towards a situation where this artificial stimulus is removed and a rationalization of international investment takes place.

The Public sector in the USA and in Europe is now trying to work out the details of this new equilibrium. The revaluation of the European and the Japanese currencies eats into the artificial productivity differential. The devaluation of the Dollar reduces the dominant role of the US economy. Meanwhile business remains calm. In the London free market the Pound appreciated by less than 2 per cent, the Italian Lira and the French Commercial Franc have actually depreciated. In Japan the situation remained rather chaotic and uncertain.

The much talked of trade-war of course never came. Despite the inability of the Common Market countries to forge a common front and despite Japan's rumblings, the international business community is in no danger of witnessing an annihilation of the international trade and financial system. Having succeeded in creating a situation where the most powerful state in the World has moved to change the rules of the game they are now putting pressure on the US to ensure that it continues to play.

The organisations in the international public sector that are acting as the mouth-piece of the international business community are GATT and IMF. The IMF has come out in favour of an increase in the price of gold. This may or may not involve the introduction of international currency—the S.D.R. The crux of the matter is that eventually fixed as against floating exchange rates will provide the basis of the new international monetary and financial order.

Such arrangements will, of course, be worked out over a fairly long period of time between the captive governments and the international front organizations. The business community hopes to delay the eventual settlement until a redefinition of its role vis-a-vis the Communist Chinese regime is also clear. Market potentialities in that quarter are large enough. Japan's associations, however, have to be seriously reconsidered. Indeed, the Chinese factor is of great importance since it involves the political as well as the economic redefinition of power and leverage that is going on today. The international business community in the struggle for its existence, seeks to understand, direct and control these developments. The redrawing of the World's monetary association is an attempt to introduce such flexibility into the existing political and economic system as may allow the business community to take advantage of the new power balance that finally emerges.

* Last week of August '71

Survey

MUSLIMS & THE SOVIET UNION • PIG FARMING IN SINKIANG • NO ROOM FOR GOD

Of the Soviet sociality

In the past month, delegations headed by the Ministers of Awqaf and Islamic Affairs of both Kuwait and Algeria visited the Soviet Union and in particular the Muslim lands of Soviet Central Asia. A five-man delegation of Soviet Muslims headed by the Mufti of Northern Caucasus is currently on a visit to West Africa which would take in Mali, Upper Volta and Togo. It is the first time that Soviet Muslims are visiting this predominantly Muslim area. It is likely that more such exchange visits between Muslim countries and the USSR would take place in the near future as Russia steps up its diplomatic initiative to gain more support in the Third World in the wake of the breaking of Chinese isolation.

Both Russia and China have substantial Muslim minorities whose religion and culture run directly counter to the state ideology. Although these minorities lack the vociferous foreign lobbies that others—for example the Jews in the Soviet Union—possess, Muslims outside are aware of the considerable controls and checks which their co-religionists are forced to undergo.

Now that the move to accept China in the international 'family' of nations has gained some ground and some Muslim countries like Libya and Kuwait have recognised China, it is apparent that the Russians have become somewhat anxious about their standing with the Muslims. Unless it can show that it is making some allowances, and unless it can prove that the Russian system is not as oppressive and unfriendly to the Muslim faith and peoples as many are convinced it is, Russia would find it very difficult to compete with the Chinese.

The attempt, so far as the Russians are concerned, must be made. In many respects Russia has definitely failed in diplomacy. The goal of communism has been sublimated by opportunism. Russia has tended to maintain good relations with the status quo in various countries which the Chinese denounce as bourgeois and anti-revolutionary. Professing the same system as the Chinese, the Russians now feel that they have to offer something different. This 'something' is the tolerance it says it affords to the Muslims of the Soviet Union.

They have apparently gained some success in this new ploy. The Kuwaiti delegation visiting Russia has commented favourably on the position of Islam in the Soviet Union. In whatever state the Muslim world is in, the Russians think that it is important enough to be wooed and placated. Herein perhaps is a lesson for the Muslims: if they realise their own importance, they would be able to follow an active, independent and even effective foreign policy. How effective it can be is shown by the Soviet disclaiming of the

book *The Soviet Union and Islam* by its Ceylonese Ambassador issued by the Novosti Press Agency which contained misrepresentations of Islam and the Prophet. The Russians claim that the book originated in the "dirty tricks department" of the CIA and was meant "to smear the friendly relations between the USSR and the countries of Asia, Africa and the Arab East".

Some thoughts on pig raising

It is not funny to read that in the Sinkiang province of China a conference was held last month on pig raising. The regional radio in Urumchi the capital of the Sinkiang commented that "through criticism and study those attending the conference realised that pig raising could only thrive by adherence to Chairman Mao's instructions". Also "all localities were called upon to strengthen leadership over pig raising in depth and to whip up a mass movement for pig raising so as to make still greater contributions to the country's socialist construction and world revolution."

It is apparent that there is considerable opposition in the province to pig raising. Party cadres indulging in "revolutionary mass criticism" are obviously aware of this opposition but attribute it to "the towering crimes of the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi and his agents in Sinkiang in sabotaging pig raising to achieve their sinister aim of restoring capitalism."

There is a less devious explanation—in fact, a very simple and clear one. Sinkiang is peopled by a population which is predominantly Muslim. And Muslims abhor the pig; it is forbidden to them by the Qur'an. Their whole being cringes when swine or pork is mentioned. And do not assume that the party cadres do not know this when they give out their own self-validating assumptions of capitalism and treachery and so on.

Sinkiang meaning the "New Dominion" was formerly East Turkestan and was annexed to China proper in 1882. That it has a separate character is recognised by China in calling it the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region. Although the term autonomous is highly misleading, the description of Uighur (the name of the major Turkish group *in situ*) recognises that the province is not Chinese. There are many Chinese speaking Muslims in the area though, and small minorities of Mongolians and Manchus. The communists are now pursuing the policy of re-settling Han Chinese in the Sinkiang area. The aim is to bring it up to par with Kiang-si where the Muslims are now a minority in their own areas.

That the doctrinaire Marxist-Leninists of China have been having some difficulties

in provinces with a Muslim character is frequently borne out by their emphasis on "correcting the party line" and "forming special groups of cadres" to conduct "conscientious work in depth" in the areas. By the tedium and the insistence of these revolutionary phrases, it is yet possible to see tumultuous events taking place: for example the cultural genocide—of which pig raising is only one aspect—of a people on the road to socialist construction and world revolution.

Trouble with praying

The decision of the Slough Borough Council to put a ban on the use of a front room for praying by a group of Muslims underlines several important problems and attitudes: the problem of lack of facilities for community life which has great and often damaging social implications; and the attitude of officialdom whose only concern is to apply the law.

In many parts of this country, rooms in residential areas are used for social and other gatherings. With other communities people are familiar with the regular 'drink and dance' or 'reggae' parties which often run late into the nights and make a din which is none too easy to bear.

The group of Muslims in Slough mainly from Pakistan have been careful to point out that they make no noise because they pray silently and have been doing so for four years. The council admits that there has been no complaint in this regard. It was only when the Slough Islamic Trust applied for an extension of the premises that the council realised what was going on and put a stop to it. This has met with protests from at least one councillor who accused the borough planning committee and its officers of lack of concern over "the sensitive question of how and where a man may worship his God."

Although the borough officials may have the right to invoke the Town and Country Planning Act of 1968 to ban the use of the house as a place of prayer, it could be said to be acting in a rather short-sighted manner. Many councils devote large budgets for such matters as community relations, for the establishment of various welfare groups and activities and in sponsoring lectures and meetings. Often the response from the public does not meet up to expectations. In this light the initiative of the Muslims to get facilities for their very useful activity is to be encouraged by the Borough Council and they ought to think again about enforcing their ban.

Muslims too, who intend using houses for purposes of prayer which may involve large attendance, are well advised to find out what the law requires of them beforehand if only to save themselves from subsequent humbug and financial embarrassment.

Rationale of India's hostility to Pakistan

A. K. BROHI

It is over three months now that by all manner of foul propaganda, India has been attempting to poison international opinion against Pakistan on the basis of what, to say the least, is a misconceived contention. India claims somehow to be the watchdog of the virtue of Pakistan's policies and wishes to intervene in matters that are admittedly within the sphere of Pakistan's domestic jurisdiction.

Whatever has happened in East Pakistan as a result of President Yahya's declaration, viz. that in his opinion the leadership of the Awami League had to be outlawed since it had begun engaging itself in subversive politics, is after all a matter which concerns Pakistan's internal political situation and no outside power has the right to interfere in matters that are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of another State. And, indeed, one cannot see how India can, consistently with its professed commitment to adhere to the principles of the United Nations Charter, do anything directly or indirectly which may prejudicially affect the authority of the State of Pakistan to deal with the issues of Pakistan's domestic politics.

Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Indian Prime Minister, and Mr. Swaran Singh, her Foreign Minister, have by their public utterances given the world the impression that somehow they are qualified to question the wisdom of the decision of President Yahya Khan to deal with the explosive situation that had been created by the irresponsible leadership of the Awami League—a situation which had posed a threat to the very integrity of the State. The latest demand by them is that Pakistan should settle its internal political problems by negotiating a settlement with the leadership of the defunct Awami League. Whether or not Pakistan should negotiate a political settlement with any political element within the state is a question for Pakistan to decide and one cannot see how India is justified in making such a demand.

Assuming that the Indian Government honestly believes that whatever had happened in Pakistan, following President Yahya's pronouncements of the 25 March, 1971, has created a problem whose settlement is not a matter, to use the language of Art. 2(7) of the Charter of the U.N., "essentially within the domestic jurisdiction" of Pakistan, the Indian Government could have negotiated the issue directly with Pakistan by resort to the conventional pacific methods of settling international disputes known to International Law. That is, any how, the course of conduct which a civilized nation, which subscribes to the principles of the Charter of United Nations, is expected to follow in the interest

of the world peace and security. All the States that are members of the United Nations have to respect one another's sovereignty and have to fulfil in good faith all the obligations that have been assumed by them as such members of the international community, as it is visualised by the Charter.

Instead of abiding by the principles of the Charter, India has been busy issuing threats of war to Pakistan. India forgets that threats of aggression cannot unnerve the people of Pakistan, much less can they demoralise them into a state of abject surrender. Such is the constitution of the soul-life of the people of Pakistan that one sure test for them of finding out what they ought not to do in the sphere of international policy is to find out what the Indian Government wishes them to do and *vice-versa*.

Judged by the past experience of Indian intransigence, no one can blame Pakistanis for regarding Indian response to their domestic matters in the 'negative way' they have been doing. India by now ought to know that the one sure way to unite the people of Pakistan is to confront them with threats of aggression.

The people of Pakistan, who love all humanity and believe in the value of having good neighbourly relations with all the countries of the world, particularly with those that are abutting on their borders, would very much like to have good relations with India. But such is the grammar of Indian diplomacy, that it invariably seems to act upon the peculiar principles of inter-statal policy that have been formulated in the *Artha Shastra* of Kautliya. It is a theory of Hindu Diplomacy, as it can be spelled out from this first and last primer of Hindu politics, to have enmity with one's neighbour and to establish cordial relations with their enemies.

This book, I am persuaded to believe, appears to be a perennial source of inspiration and guidance to the architects of Indian foreign policy towards Pakistan. Here are some of the "gems" of policy advocated in that book, the like of which one is not able to get even in the inventory of principles of power-politics in *The Prince*—a treatise that was written a millennium and a half later by the much maligned Machiavelli.

Says Kautliya: "The King who is endowed with personality and the material constituents of sovereignty and on whom all right policy rests, is called the *conqueror*. That which encircles him on all sides and prevails in the territory immediately adjacent to his, is the constituent of the circle of the states known as the enemy. Similarly,

that which prevails in the territory which is separated from the conqueror's territory by one (namely, by the enemy's territory) is the constituent known as friend. A neighbouring prince having the fullest measure of antagonism is the enemy. When he is in difficulty, he should be attacked; when he is without support or has weak support he should be exterminated. In contrary circumstances (that is, when he is strong or has strong support), he should be harassed or weakened. These are the peculiar attitudes to be taken towards the enemy.

"The prince ruling over the territory immediately adjacent to that of the conqueror is the conqueror's 'natural' enemy. The prince ruling over the territory immediately beyond the one adjacent to that of the conqueror is his 'natural friend'!

Kautliya goes on further to elaborate the strategy:

"The forms of policy are verily six in number for conditions are different, in different cases". . . . Of these six forms, "binding through pledges means peace; offensive operation means war; apparent indifference means marking time; strengthening one's position means attack; giving oneself to another (as a subordinate ally or vassal) means seeking refuge; keeping oneself engaged simultaneously in peace and war with the same state means duplicity.

These are the six forms of policy. . . . When one king (the would-be conqueror) is weaker than the other (i.e. his immediate neighbour, the enemy), he should make peace with him. When he is stronger than the other, he should make war with him. When he thinks, "The other is not capable of putting me down nor am I capable of putting him down", he should mark time. When he possesses an excess of the necessary means, he should attack. When he is devoid of strength, he should seek refuge with another. When his end can be achieved only through the help of an ally, he should practice duplicity". (see page 247 *et seq* of *The Sources of Indian Tradition* Vol. 1, Columbia University Press, New York and London).

A careful study of these principles will highlight practically all the modes of diplomatic response by which Indian policy makers have hitherto regarded the problems of their foreign policy in relation to all neighbouring States like China, Nepal, Burma, Ceylon and Pakistan. These principles are again elaborately set forth by T. N. Rama Sidarta in his *Essentials of Indian Statecraft; Kautliya's Artha Shastra for contemporary readers* 1962. Asia Publishing House, Bombay, and can

..INDIA'S HOSTILITY TO PAKISTAN be gathered from the following enumeration:

"1.—Any Power inferior to another should sue for peace; any Power superior in might to another should launch war, any Power which fears no strength to wage war should remain neutral; any Power with high war-potential should indulge in invasion; any debilitated Power should seek new alliances; any Power which tries to play for time in mounting an offensive should indulge in a bilateral policy of making war with one and suing for peace with another.

2. A state should always observe such policy as will help strengthen its defensive fortification and lifelines of communications, build plantations, construct villages, and exploit the mineral and forest wealth of the country. While at the same time preventing fulfilment of similar programmes in the rival state.

3. Whoever estimates that the rate of growth of the state's potential is higher than that of the enemy, can afford to ignore such an enemy.

4. Any two states hostile to each other, finding that neither has an advantage over the other in fulfilment of their respective programmes, should make peace with each other.

5. No state should pursue a policy which, while not enabling it to have means to fulfil its own programmes does not impose a similar handicap on its neighbour; this is the path to reversion.

6. A state can augment its resources by observing peaceful pacts with an enemy in the following situations:

(i) Where maintaining peace, productive operations of strategic importance, can be planned and executed, preventing the rival state at the same time from fulfilling similar programme.

(ii) When the State can plan works of sabotage through espionage on the plans and projects of its enemy.

7. A state can pursue a bilateral policy when it can benefit in resources by maintaining peace with one enemy and waging war with another.

8. When an invader is assailed by an alliance of his enemies he should try to purchase the leader of the alliance with offers of gold and his own alliance and by diplomatic camouflage of threat of treachery from alliance of powers. He should instigate the leader of the allied enemies to break up his alliance.

The inventory of tactics is fairly comprehensive but the point to note is that one does *not* read into it any requirement that the king should abide by his agreements or conduct himself on the principles of truth, justice or fairplay.

A good king, by definition, is one who is a conqueror. He cannot afford to behave honourably. According to the teachings of Kautliya, all the neighbouring States are to be viewed by India as its enemies, and the response that India has

in fact made towards them during the last 23 years would appear to be very much in accord with the traditional strategy which is suggested in the foregoing. Whether it be the Indian policy on Kashmir, Induswaters, Farakka Barrage or even of the offer of No-War Declaration to Pakistan or naked intervention in East Pakistan's political situation—all these are capable of being understood solely in the light of the principles which are contained in the book I have referred to above.

Pakistan is somewhat handicapped in dealing with India and paying it back in its own coin if only because its commitment is to a Book which says "Indeed we sent our apostles with clear signs and sent with them the Book and the Balance that the men may stand forth in justice (*Al Quran*, al-Hadeed: 25). The conduct of a Muslim State is to be governed by the principles of truth, decency, justice, fairplay and the basis that two wrongs do not make one right! Such a policy may suffer some setbacks in the beginning but in the end it is bound to succeed. This is so because the essence of Moslem Teaching is that the world is ruled by the moral law and that the earth belongs to the Righteous.

Quite apart from the relentless pursuit of a policy of downright hostility to Pakistan what India does not realise is the obvious truth that it has everything to gain by having better relations with Pakistan; and indeed the Pakistani people with their martial traditions can, provided they could be suitably approached, be relied upon as a friend by India. Besides all this, a much older truth, more effective than the strategy of intrigue and corruption outlined in the *Artha Shastra*, and which is even consecrated by the grand tradition of civilised mankind is the following: He who digs deliberately a ditch for his unwary victims to fall into, will himself—such is the law—be the first to fall into it. No one in the long run avoids being caught by the consequences of his own diabolical devices.

This is true, particularly where the Indian policy towards Pakistan is concerned. If one were to keep in mind the historical background which has contributed to the creation of the two States of *Bharat* and *Pakistan* from the undivided Indian sub-continent, one would reach the conclusion that if India were to abandon its set policy of injuring the interests of Pakistan, it is likely to gain a good and reliable friend. India ought not to forget that even during the 1962 Sino-Indian conflict, Pakistan did not complicate matters for it, as it could well have done by opening a front against India. Pakistan has always wished its neighbour well and can conceivably have no design of undoing India, considering that chaos in India would spread over into Pakistan and create insoluble problems for it. It is only in sheer self-defence that Pakistan has been constrained to react to some of the

bellicose utterances of the Indian warlords and has responded befittingly to its threats of aggression, whenever these have come.

India ought not to forget that Pakistan, as an independent sovereign State, came into being as a result of an agreement between the Indian National Congress and the All India Muslim League in the undivided India days, and it was in terms of this agreement that the sub-continent was partitioned. It is inherent in the creation of Pakistan by agreement between the principal negotiating political parties that Pakistan is entitled to expect that its existence as a sovereign State should be accepted with good grace by India. But somehow Kautliya's *Artha Shastra* does not enjoin upon the conquerors the paramount importance of abiding by their agreements and indeed the Holy *Quran per contra* enjoins upon the believers "abiding by your agreements" as a religious duty. The Pakistani people, such is the record of India's dealings with this country, have been even led to believe that the Indian National Congress had acquiesced in the creation of Pakistan with mental reservations.

If now, God forbid, the spurious claim for the establishment of 'Bangla Desh' were to succeed it would only succeed at the cost of India too, losing West Bengal and stability. The monstrous idea will claim its toll from India as well. If aggressive, militant Bengali Nationalism is to emerge triumphant from the landscape of East Pakistan, it will not be because that soil was congenial for its growth but essentially because the leadership of the Awami League was deceived into believing—as was Shaikh Abdullah at one time, in regard to his attitude to the Kashmir Problem—that it could look up to India to promote the cause of "freedom".

India ought to know, Kautliya's gospel notwithstanding, that he who sows the wind will have to reap the whirlwind. Pakistan's creation cannot be undone by India. It would be in the interest of India to review its policy of hatred and hostility towards Pakistan and pursue the path of rational understanding of the viewpoint of Pakistan and its people and thus conduct its foreign policy on better principles than those which she has been avowedly following.

For the people of Pakistan, the events of the last few months ought, however, to be an eye-opener. They should have by now discovered that their strength lies in stressing the moral and spiritual foundations of their polity; in affirming the principles of integration advocated by Islam to be able to tie up various regional groups in a feeling of brotherhood.

They ought also to be able to see in the present crisis a challenge that calls for a united front being presented by the people of Pakistan to the world outside. The nation has to be saved from internal sabotage and external perils that have posed a serious threat to her existence as a State.

THE SUDANESE EVOLUTION

From crucible to centrifuge

MOHAMED SADEQ

On the first day of 1956 the Anglo-Egyptain Sudan was declared independent. This is a quick survey over the years about the main features and events regarding the largest country in Africa: Sudan.

Sudan, or historically *bilad as-Sudan*, in Arabic means land of the blacks. The name was given to all the people south of the Sahara and Egypt and those living in the hinterlands of the Red Sea coast up to the western coast of Africa. The present Sudan has been and is still a place of contact between Muslims in North Africa and other populations in Tropical Africa, and a crossroad for trade. It is a crucible where cultures, races and civilizations have, since the early days of recorded history, melted and amalgamated together. The Hamitic tribes from the Eastern Coast of the Red Sea, the Nubians, the old Pharaohs, Arabs, the Negroes and the Turks—all had something to add to the formation of the present Sudan. Over 75 percent of the population speak Arabic and 80 percent profess Islam.

The country extends from the thick evergreen tropical forests northwards to the Savanah and semi-Savanah lands merging into the rainless desert. West to East there are the extensive Savanah grasslands which become more hilly as one proceeds East till the Red Sea Hills. This pattern is dominated geographically and culturally by the Nile. The river has provided the door and the passage to the outside world for centuries. The invaders have used it since 600 B.C., whether from the North to the South or vice versa. Christianity, Islam, Nationalism and recently Communism—all owe some debt to the 'river' in one way or another. The sandy dry plains, between the river and the Red Sea Hills, support the life of two million camels. The Bedouins there, live much the same type of life as they used to have in the Arabian desert across the Red Sea. Many of them trace their origin to Yemen. The grasslands of the West are populated by the *Baggara* i.e. 'Cowmen' or cattle-rearing people. They give this country seven million cattle and ten million sheep, which go to make much of the meaty fare in Ethiopia, Egypt, Libya and the Persian Gulf. The Central Sudan people are mainly farmers depending on dams and pump schemes. These conservative farmers contrast sharply to the town dwellers who are mainly traders, businessmen and industrial workers.

The first mention of the Sudan in history dates to the kingdom of Kush about 700 years B.C. with its capital at Merawi. The people of that kingdom belonged to the African negroid race, but their culture was very much dominated by

Pharaohic influences in architecture, building and possibly religion. Christianity came with the Romans. There were two Christian kingdoms, one in the Far North at Dongolla, and the second at Doba south-east of Khartoum. These lasted between 6th and 15th century. About the 15th century the first Islamic kingdom appeared under the political leadership of the 'Fung'. Nobody knows for certain from where the 'Fung' came. They were tall, black and negroid. They were Muslims and they also spoke Arabic. Some historians think that they were Ethiopians in origin; others say, a mixture of Dinka and Nilotic tribes, who were Muslims and set up the first "black Muslim" State. Whatever may be their origin, these people have left long lasting effects on the Sudan which are present till now. They made their appearance about 500 miles south of Khartoum at Sennar which they made their capital. They dominated the fertile lands between the Blue and the White Nile and their rule extended to West of Sudan and also a part of the present South Sudan, and Western borders of Ethiopia. Nobody knows how Islam went there, and how the Arabic language reached them. But with this kingdom appearing the Southern Christian kingdom became a Muslim State. The 'Fung' checked the advance of the nomadic Arab tribes north of Khartoum. These tribes had a pact with the Northern Christian kingdom which lasted six centuries and during this period they were successful in inviting the population to the folds of Islam. The story is not one of war, raids or anything similar. It was truly a 'cultural' revolution that worked silently but steadily and surely.

The nomadic tribes were left undisturbed except for taxes paid annually. The 'Fung' system of administration is still followed in the tribal system, where a tribe has its sheikh and groups of sheikhs elect a chief. The 'Fung' did a great deal to propagate Islam. Islam was also spread by the local religious and learned men (*fakis*), rather than by any professional missionaries or the elite from Al Azhar University, which was founded in the 10th century. These *fakis* used to make bonfires during the night for students of the Koran to study, for the stranger or traveller to find company and hospitality. Some of them joined the *sufi* orders present in the Muslim world and inspired by such people as Sheikh Abdel Gadir al-Gilani. These *fakis* besides teaching the Quran, taught local medicine, the use of herbs, native wisdom and such subjects as simple astronomy. The account of their piety, their fasting, their prayers and all the blessings surrounding them has

produced a mass of stories and legends. The big houses and retreats (*khalwas*) of the *fakis* were the places where the poor could find free lodging, the travellers free hostels, and the sick free medical care. After their death their followers would continue to teach the Koran and allied subjects, and their tombs would form nuclei for villages and towns. Their followers came from different tribes and races; so they gave the society bonds other than tribal. They also became a factor of peace and amity between the different feuding tribes so much so that even now whenever General Elections are to be held, they are visited by the politicians including the progressive, socialists and nationalists. Their influence is felt in Parliament and the local government.

The 'Fung' kingdom was shattered by the advancing armies of Mohamed Ali Pasha (Grandfather of King Farouk), an Albanian Turk who took over the rule of Egypt. This ambitious man decided to invade the Sudan looking for gold and mercenaries for his army and agricultural schemes in Egypt. Turko-Egyptian rule continued for half a century, during which time the country was exposed to the European influence, particularly that of the British, who took over effective control of Egypt, and by extension of the Sudan. The administration in the Sudan then was very harsh, unjust and corrupt. All this had sown the seeds of revolt and upheaval.

By this time, news had begun to spread of a religious man living in seclusion on a small island on the White Nile (Aba Island), leading a life of frugality, piety and devotion. Later this holy man, Mohammad Ahmad, declared that the administration was unjust, violating the teachings of the Koran and the Sunnah, and since the Muslims were being persecuted they were no longer obliged to obey their rulers. They should stand up in Jihad against all these injustices. His word spread like wood fire. People came from all over the country, on camel, donkey and on foot; men, women and even children.

The Mahdists or the *Ansar*, as the followers of Muhammad Ahmad were called, aimed at bringing back the rule of the Koran and the Sunnah. The Mahdi was influenced by the teachings of Ibn Taymiyya and held views similar to those of Mohamed Ibn Abdul Wahab in Saudi Arabia. He carried out many reforms in all aspects of the life of the people. Nobody doubted the genuineness of his call. For the first time the Muslim tribes acted together and worked together in a viable political unity transcending traditional bonds. Many people gave their lives for the cause,

THE SUDANESE EVOLUTION . . .

and all the Sudan together with the Western part of Ethiopia came under the Mahdi's rule. Regiments and armies repeatedly sent from Egypt and supported by the British soldiery met their fate in the endless cruel deserts of the Sudan.

During this time Charles Gordon, a patriotic Briton and devout Christian was appointed Governor-General of the Sudan. He had served previously in the Sudan and now returned with various schemes for pacifying the country. Gordon, however, misjudged the situation and was besieged in Khartoum by the swelling forces of the Mahdi, and was killed. To be fair to the Mahdi, he wanted Gordon alive so that he could exchange him with the Egyptian Army leader imprisoned by the British.

Like so many movements in the Muslim world the Mahdists suffered the loss of their leader very early, soon after he had set up his government in Omdurman. All the different internal and external factors worked together and the final blow came at the battle of Omdurman in 1898, when an army headed by Lord Kitchener and officered by Egyptians defeated the Mahdists and brought the Sudan back under the Anglo-Egyptian Rule. The whole campaign has been vividly described by Winston Churchill, a war correspondent at the time, in his book *River War*.

The British with the aid of the Egyptian administration ruled the Sudan till 1924 when the Governor-General of Sudan, Sir Lee Stack, was assassinated. From that time on the British ruled the country alone, but still nominally for the Egyptian King. The British dealt severely with all attempts made for any religious revival. All the neo-Mahdists were suppressed. Also the Negro tribes in the South, especially the Nuer, were 'pacified'. The Southern part of the country was administered separately. All methods were used to 'protect' it from the influence of the 'Muslim Arabs' in the North. The people from the North were prevented from going and contacting their fellow countrymen in the South. The movement of the population for work, tourism, education and trade was restricted. Special permission was needed to move from one part to another. The use of Arabic script was banned in the South. Tribal language was encouraged and English was imposed as the language of the intelligentsia. Education was imparted by the missionaries. Southerners who were Muslims or belonged to any faith other than Christianity were faced with two alternatives: either to educate their children and face the prospect of their being Christianized or not to let them go to missionary schools and therefore make them lose the chance for any education, better economic and social prospects in the future. A lot of distorted and prejudiced history, dictated from the European and missionary point of view was fed to the children of the southerners. This was a time-bomb; it produced two cultures, two

generations, with completely opposite and opposing views of the same society and country.

In the nineteen forties two groups emerged in Sudan with different political aims:

(a) The National Unionist group who wanted unity with Egypt and looked to Egypt for material and psychological help. They saw the Sudan as part of Egypt, as one and the same country in the Nile Valley.

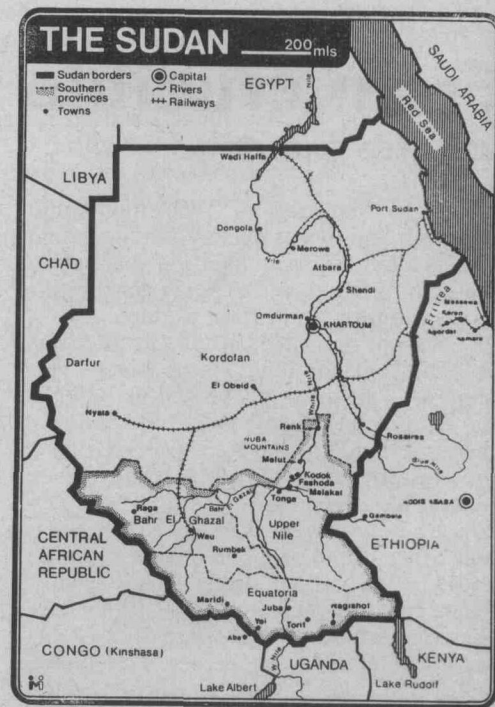
(b) Those who wanted autonomy or complete independence. These were very suspicious of the Egyptian administration. They viewed its part in the Reconquest of the Sudan in 1898 with deep resentment.

To get the popular support, these groups had to look for the help of religious groupings. The National Unionists sought blessings from the Khatimia Sect led by Sayed Ali el-Mirghani. Sayed Ali el-Mirghani was sympathetic to Egypt; he actually helped the Anglo-Egyptian army in its reconquest of the Sudan. The second group which wanted independence, sought support from the Mahdists led by Sayed Abdel Rahman el-Mahdi—son of the Great Mahdi. These two parties have dominated the political scene in the Sudan for a long time and the majority of the people in the country belong to either of them.

However, two other groups also began to gain some prominence. Without them the present political situation in the Sudan would be quite different.

In the early forties some of the Sudanese students in Egypt came under the influence of two Communist parties. One which attracted more members was headed by a rich Jew, Elie Cohen. A student, who joined Cohen's Communist Party and was later expelled from Egypt after spending a period in prison, was a short, stocky young man: Abdel Khalig Mahgoub. When Abdel Khalig returned to the Sudan he did not continue his studies, he joined the underground cell of the newly formed Sudanese Communist Party. It was not before long that the Secretary of the Party was discredited as opportunist and revisionist and Abdel Khalig became the secretary of the Party in 1946—a position he held till his execution in July 1971. The Communists were faced with a society which was poor, very religious, but at the same time very nearly classless; equal even in poverty. Underground work started among workers in Atbara and the farmers of the Gezira. The farmers were really petty-bourgeoisie. The Communists failed to attract the real 'have nots' but attracted a significant number among the students.

The second group represented a rising urge among the Muslims to shape their lives in accordance with Islam. This movement for Islamic revival also took root among the students. The early pioneers of this movement had to face bitter opposition from the Communists who by this time had come to dominate the schools



and the University. A decade later, however, the Communists and the Leftists lost most of their ground among the students to the Islamists.

Events moved quickly in the Sudan after the military coup in Egypt in July 1952 headed by General Naguib. Naguib himself was half-Sudanese. A treaty between Egypt and Britain was concluded to give the Sudanese people the choice between:

- Unity with Egypt,
- Independence, or
- Autonomy within a commonwealth of Egypt and Sudan.

The deposition and detention of General Naguib and the suppression of the Muslim Brothers in Egypt added to the hardening of the anti-Egyptian attitudes in the Sudan. The Ummah Party, forced the Parliament to declare independence. The Nasserist regime in Egypt that had emerged after Naguib, did not impress the Sudanese at that time.

Four months before independence, Sudan faced the most serious problem of its survival as a state: a mutiny of the forces in the Southern states. About 500 Civil servants from the North including engineers, teachers, doctors, policemen and army officers were killed in the disturbances. It took them one month to bring the Southern provinces under control. From then on the problem of South-Sudan has taken its protracted and difficult course.

Following independence, the years 1956-1958 witnessed a great deal of political instability. The country was under a coalition government. Egypt having failed to have its way with the political parties, it favoured a military dictatorship in Sudan. An attempted coup by an intelligence officer, Ali Khashaba was foiled. However, very soon the army under General Abboud seized power on 17 November 1958.

... FROM CRUCIBLE TO CENTRIFUGE

The officers who came to power were not very political. They wished to give the country political and economical stability. Abboud did to a degree give the country economic stability. The country's reserve in foreign currency reached a peak, flourishing trade replaced the stagnant situation of 1958. Many of the big agricultural schemes like the Managil (0.5 million acres) were completed under his regime. The project produced great social and economic changes in the life of the people. The regime followed a foreign policy of near isolation from the African and the Arab countries. They also got rid of the foreign influence in the spheres of education; education was nationalised and missionary schools converted to State schools. The missionaries too were 'Sudanized' and only Sudanese priests were permitted to stay with the State paying the salary of all the Sudanese Christian priests.

But Abboud received a great setback when he was misadvised in the matter of the repatriation of Halfa people and the cost of making a new dam for their resettlement. The share given to the Sudan in the Nile water agreement with Egypt was unfair. The repatriation of Halfa people and the building of the new dam, new houses, new village—as the Aswan Dam was going to submerge their towns—drained the Sudan's foreign reserves. All the economic stability that had been built was thus completely lost. The compensation paid by the Egyptian government was paid not in money, but in sugar, clothes etc. and even that was not paid promptly.

General Abboud tried to institute a system of "guided democracy"—but it remained stillborn. The political parties continued to function underground. All the parties with the exception of the Communist Party boycotted the elections under Abboud. Even though the Communists contested these elections they failed to gain a single seat. Farouk Abu Isa, a prominent Communist leader, was defeated in the local election by a milkman.

The economic difficulties, the police state and its repressive laws, all combined to set the stage for upheaval and revolution. There were three attempted coups during Abboud's rule. The situation in the South got worse and the country got caught up in an extensive debate about the problem.

In one of the major discussions at the University in Khartoum, the deputy Dean of the faculty of Law, Dr. Turabi, attracted attention both in the substance of his discussion and in the courage of his speech. Dr. Hussan Turabi was the leader of the Islamic Charter Front and he said what others had stopped short of saying. He demanded:

- (a) Restoration of fundamental rights and freedom of speech.
- (b) End to all persecutions, confiscation

of property, or military interrogation of the Sudan people.

(c) Establishing a freely elected parliament, the South to be given local autonomy or self-rule, with each province controlling education, health, social services and police. More money should be allocated for the development of the South.

The audience included ministers, and security officers. Still the speech made a big impact. In fact, it was a continuation of the debate which finally led to the October 1964 revolution.

A new government came, and a new parliament was elected. Sudan became a 'democratic' country among the various assortments of military and civil dictatorships in the region. It was a small candle in a sea of darkness. Very soon the country started feeling the regressions of events in the Middle East—all the frustrations and war of words, the war in Yemen, the coups or counter coups, the meaningless democracies with 99 per cent or 98.92 per cent voting and so on. Internally the big parties were torn with divisions and factions. The Ummah Party divided into two factions. The Prime Minister, Sadeq el-Mahdi led one, while the other wing followed his uncle the Imam Hadi. The National Unionist were also divided into two factions! The Nationalist who wanted a policy independent of Nasser, and the Unionist or People's Democratic Party who were more Nasserite than even Nasser himself. This latter faction was also joined by people from the leftist assortments because there were not many Ba'athists, or Arab Socialists in the country.

The principal left and the secularist trends joined force with the Communist Party. The unity of the left became a big banner for the Communists. While the Communists started losing ground among the workers, the farmers and the students, the pro-Nasser press in Beirut started to boost them up and present them as the only party which was completely in line with the aspirations of the Arab nation. The Communists in Egypt were also well entrenched in the country's Press and the Broadcasting Services—and it was they who built the image of the Sudanese Communist Party.

By the summer of 1969 the Ummah factions realized their mistake and reunited to form one big party. The National Unionist too had earlier returned to their old single fold and tried to put their house in order. The political parties began to see that unless they mended their fences, the whole democratic structure was going to be swept away.

It had long been realised that Mahgoub (who came in when the Imam Hadi and his nephew Sadeq quarrelled) was a failure. The government he headed was weak, and corrupt. It was going to be replaced when the June 1967 War broke out. Every one then had to join in the big-mouth war to gain Palestine. Instead

of the promised victory came a shattering defeat. Even so in the Arab World there is more profit in defeat than in victory and thus Mahgoub managed to carry on.

The Constituent Assembly which came into being after the overthrow of Gen Abboud completed the second reading of a permanent Constitution in January 1969. The proposed Constitution required that the country should be governed in accordance with the Qur'an and the Sunnah and that all laws repugnant to Islam would gradually be repealed or modified. All the citizens, irrespective of religion, race or colour, were guaranteed basic human rights and a complete equality before law. It was made obligatory for the State to provide free education, medical care and social security to all its citizens. The South was to be given full Home Rule with complete autonomy in matters of police, health, education and development.

The Assembly was, however, dissolved in February, twelve days before the end of its term. It was stated that it had failed to complete the Constitution within its term. A new Assembly was elected in April-May 1968.

With the uniting of the political factions Premier Mahgoub felt insecure and went for a deal with the secularists, leftist and the underground Communists who were influential in the media and the trade unions. Meanwhile the two major parties had also come to an agreement to enforce the previous constitutional draft. And then on 25 May 1969 came the coup led by Col. Gaafar al-Numayri. Numayri's coup was not unwelcome. Mahgoub had been a weak and incompetent, yet ambitious with the result that his Nasserist and Socialists colleagues in the Government were able to fill their coffers at the expense of the tax-payers. No one was surprised when these ministers were later tried by Numayri but Mahgoub must have been shocked to discover that the only party which came out in support of the coup was the Sudan Communist Party.

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THE FRENCH IN AFRICA

“The reckoning is painfully negative”

A. W. HAMID

“At the age of twenty I became the head of my family. Like many other families in the Ivory Coast, my family made human sacrifices before the arrival of the French. As soon as I became a Christian I swore never to shed human blood in my life. . . The Ivory Coast has privileged relations with France.”

So said Felix Houphouët Boigny, President of the Ivory Coast during a speech to mark the country's eleventh year of independence from France. Other African leaders have also been making speeches in the last few months to celebrate the beginning of a second decade of independence. In varying degrees they proclaimed their thankfulness and their indebtedness to France and sometimes coupled this with wheezing pleas for more control over their own affairs. Witness the Independence Anniversary Broadcast of Jean Bedel Bokassa, President of the Central African Republic on 13 August. “It is true”, he said, “that I grew up abroad and that at my request, I became a French citizen. I consider the French to be my second fatherland and the French to be my parents. . . The courageous people of the CAR want immediately to have direct control of their own currency in complete sovereignty.” But the attachment to and liking for France still remain. After noting in his anniversary broadcast that “the life of a nation, just like that of a man, is a struggle”, President Hubert Maga of Dahomey immediately left for a holiday on the French Riviera.

It is a measure of the subtlety and sagacity of France that it has been able to preserve a substantial presence and influence on the African continent after a decade of relinquishing formal political control. It has succeeded in giving the general impression—as can be seen from the views of the leaders cited above, that its presence represents a beneficent helping hand for infant states, working for their economic stability and cultural uplift. That it is a neo-colonial power seeking to extract everything possible from its former colonies before it is too late, that it jealously guards its commercial hunting grounds from other competitors, that it props up unpopular and unrepresentative governments and heads of state with actual military force, that it is a full-fledged colonial power holding on to Djibouti and the Comoros Islands, are aspects of the French presence in Africa which are masked by the term ‘co-operation’ which both the French and some Africans like to use to describe their relationship.

The relationship is a privileged one for France. It has safeguarded this relationship by giving French education over the

years to its African intelligentsia. It promoted leaders after independence who would be likely to cooperate with the French. In many cases these leaders were Christians in Muslim majority countries as in Senegal (95 per cent Muslims) and Chad (85 per cent Muslims). The conflict which this produces can be seen in the ugly and painful events taking place in Chad.

Some of these French protégés have been among the first to call for ‘realism’ and ‘dialogue’ with apartheid South Africa. They include Houphouët Boigny of the Ivory Coast, Bongo of Gabon and Tsiranana of Malagasy Republic. This comes at a time when France is extending its commercial and technical cooperation with South Africa and it is not far-fetched to suggest that France is one of the principal powers behind the move for dialogue with South Africa.

From the time of granting them independence, France maintained its special and exclusive relationship with her colonies by various cultural, economic and military agreements. It is under these headings that we shall now review the nature and extent of the continuing French presence in Africa.

France has a Secretariat of cooperation attached to its Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This Secretariat, whose boss is M. Foccart, is a direct successor to the old *Ministère de l'Outremer* and indeed President Pompidou has toyed with the idea of making it a separate ministry as he indicated on his recent African tour. The Secretariat has its special budget which it applies only to France's ex-colonies in black Africa, minus Guinea and plus Malagasy and since 1968 plus Congo-Kinshasa, Rwanda and Burundi—ex Belgian colonies.

According to the latest figures France sends a total of 14,294 personnel into francophone Africa alone. 6,500 of these are teachers. It has created four universities and 21 cultural centres. Radio, television and books preserve cultural domination of France who is convinced that French culture is the only way into the modern world. A new African culture, says the French Ministry of Developments official brochure, “cannot afford to forget the French language and civilisation.”

There is now a debate going in the Cooperation Secretariat on the efficacy of the “credits for cooperation” another euphemism for “aid”. Perhaps this is in reaction to criticism that the whole system does little to encourage African independence and is really geared to Europe and its personnel. In the lycées (high schools) of Senegal for example, the staff ratio can be as high as 70 Europeans to 10 African and in 1968, 260 French staff were assigned to

the University alone. The growing awareness among Africans of this disparity caused the French cabinet last July to review its educational policy in Africa. It then decided to place the emphasis on “teaching the teachers” and making way for an increasing number of African lecturers in the new national Universities which are to be set up in Niger, Upper Volta, Chad and the Central African Republic. In 1970 France provided 1,241 University teachers including 218 Africans for African Universities.

At present many of the French personnel who go to Africa are accused of using Africa as “an excuse to earn more money, play on the beaches, escape a stint in the French barracks or do two years voluntary patronising.” They remain remote from the Africans.

In the economic sphere the French presence in Africa is astounding. Through a series of tough, highpowered contacts and agreements it has managed to maintain a stronghold over the economies of several countries. It underwrites the economy of Mali; it guarantees the ‘stability’ of Gabon; it fills in the budget deficit of Dahomey; it has recently placed 500 million CFA francs at the disposal of the Senegal Government; it fought desperately to retain its privileged position over the Algerian oil-wine economy. And one can go on cataloguing the exploitative process and the details. Much of it is done under the aegis of ‘aid’ while it has long been realised that ‘aid’ is not mere philanthropy and that often the exploitative element is paramount. M. Bourges, French Minister responsible for aid recently admitted that about 80 per cent of French aid flows back to France upon which one diplomat in Abidjan commented: “Yes, about 80 per cent flows back officially and about another 40 per cent unofficially.”

Although France doles out millions of francs for development projects in various countries in Africa, it gets its returns from its ‘rights’ to exploit the vast natural mineral wealth of Africa: Uranium from Gabon for its nuclear programmes, iron and silver from Mauritania, phosphates from Senegal, diamonds and gold from the Ivory Coast, bauxite from the Cameroons and so on.

France jealously keeps out other foreign companies from its sphere of interests and French companies often have a monopoly over national products as for example the French Cotonfran Company which controls the picking and purchasing of cotton in Chad (The Chad National Cotton Co. is now seeking to replace the French Company).

The ex-colonies of France come within

the franc zone and some do not have a currency of their own. The fate of 18 of the African States has been tied to France and the European Economic Community since their signing of the Yaoundé Convention which took effect in June 1967. Although aid received from the European Development Fund has been useful to the former French colonies in many ways, their terms of trade have worsened considerably since the signing of the Convention. They have suffered an estimated loss in the period of more than 1,659 million dollars. When other aspects of the relationship with France and the EEC are considered it looks in effect—as has been bitterly observed—a *voluntary return on the part of African States to colonial status*.

France's presence in Africa is maintained by a substantial military presence. Dakar is the main centre of the French 'Ever Ready' force in Africa whose task is to prop up governments threatened by coup d'états. French troops fought in Gabon after it became independent in order to restore M. Leon Mba who was overthrown by the opposition Party. Since then France has kept about 200 troops encamped near Libreville airport. There are more French in Gabon today than there were before independence and the country is still administered more or less as a French colony. French troops also kept Ahidjo of the Cameroons in power after independence. In the Central African Republic the Air Force is staffed by a team of flight and maintenance engineers. The Republic was said by President Bokassa to have only two pilots of its own. The air base in the CAR was officially handed over by the French on 5 July 1971. Troops in the CAR are also trained by the Israelis.

But the most serious military involvement of France at present is in Chad. Just over two years ago a French expeditionary force landed at Fort Lamy to save the regime of President Francois Tombalaye under the threat of 'rebel' forces of the FROLINAT—Chad National Liberation Front. Recent reports of 'reconciliation' between the government regime and the nationalist forces were dispelled by the attempted coup on 28 August 1971. The French were also reported to have withdrawn their troops a month ago, but this withdrawal is more apparent than real. Military advisers with Chad Government forces have been increased to 650 and the mission of Brigadier Edward Cortadellas, commander of the French forces, has been prolonged. Young recruits from French Guiana and the Antilles, many of whom have been killed—form part of the French forces. Military operations in Chad cost the French nearly 20 million pounds in 1969 and 1970.

Many atrocities have been visited on the people of this poor country by the French atrocities coupled with arrests, arbitrary executions and deportations. A glimpse of what has happened can be had from the account by a French conscript published in

the daily *Le Nouvel Observateur* (26 Oct 1970). He wrote: "I have recently completed my military service. A few months ago I was in hospital with two French soldiers one of whom was a professional and one a volunteer who had also come from Chad. I think I should sum up for you the things I witnessed in Chad. Firstly, there are no prisoners because every one who is captured is executed on the spot. The same fate is reserved for the wounded. I was much surprised when I heard from people that when we pass through a non-insurgent village, the moment we leave it, it suddenly becomes "insurgent". I remember it all well. When we would want to "play" with one of the rebels, we would throw him out of one of our helicopters from a high altitude. How happy I was to send my rifle bayonet plunging deep into the stomachs of these captured rebels; it used to rouse a great hubbub. Finally, I really regret very much that I was not able to kill more of them. They are very stubborn. Despite our intense torture of them they never "talked". But I shall spare you the story of our raping their women. . . ."

(Signed) J.B.S.

It is with characteristic stubbornness and electoral engineering that the French have succeeded in remaining a *de facto* and *de jure* colonial power in Djibouti. For the 'referendum' held in 1967, called by De Gaulle, 7,000 French Legionnaires and other troops were stationed in the capital of Djibouti alone and with the electoral list heavily weighed in favour of pro-French elements and against the majority Muslim population, a "Yes" vote for association with France was forced. A force of over 5,000 men is maintained in the colony which is important for strategic reasons. French troops, including gendarmes—almost 4,000—are also stationed in the Comoros Islands which continue to be occupied by France as a colonial power.

This then is the substance though by no means the details of the French presence in Africa. France shows no signs of abandoning its privileged position according to the pledges given by President Pompidou to his sycophantic protégées after his recent African tour. That he has stuck to his pledges can be seen from the many new agreements which are being signed between France and African leaders.

Apart from the ruling elites, there is growing dissatisfaction with the nature and extent of the French presence in Africa in many circles.

In places like Mauritania and Senegal there is a gathering (often Leftist) protest against French puppets. In some places notably Chad, people are prepared to lay down their lives to resist the oppression. The objective situation can be best summed up in these words of an African: *L'Afrique rancophone est mal partie. Dix ans après indépendance le bilan est doublement négatif*. 'Francophone Africa got off to a bad start. Ten years after independence the reckoning is painfully negative.'

LETTERS

Further Lessons

I acknowledge with thanks Mr. Nabil Hussein's compliment (vide his letter in your issue of 23 July). If he reads my first article "Towards Understanding and Overcoming the Crisis" in the *Middle East Forum* 1968 he will see that I definitely give precedence to Islam over nationalism, and ascribe the catastrophe in some measure to the reversal of this order.

A. L. TIBAWI

Esher, Surrey

Translations of the Quran

Your Journal continues to fascinate me with its ability to present the "news behind the news" in a forthright and concise manner. I was particularly interested in the recent article on two translations of Al-Qur'an. I wonder why it is that most versions of the Bible are produced by committees, while most versions of Al-Qur'an are to my knowledge, the work of individuals? Would not a better translation result through the collaboration of many Islamic scholars? Or is the fact that we cannot cooperate on a translation of *Kitab-ullah* indicative of our universal problem of disunity?

S. S. MUFASSIR

Palmer Park, Maryland U.S.A.

Muslim Journalism

I have found *Impact* highly informative. The leading articles on your front page, though they come from different writers, are all thoughtfully written and interesting.

I shall take this opportunity to make a few general remarks of my own with regard to journalistic writing.

Though Muslim journalism has by and large championed the cause of Truth and Justice, the fact remains that, technically speaking, it has been fragmentary and chequered. Aims and ideals are easily formed but the obstacles in the way of their realization can be surmounted only with the help of a band of able and dedicated writers. This is particularly so in modern times and I feel exceedingly happy whenever I hear of Muslim groups trying to bring out an English newspaper or magazine, in view of the vast importance of English nowadays.

On the battlefield of ideologies the pen has an edge over the sword. But this is so only if what we write is clear and incisive and possesses logical continuity. The articles of ambiguity and ambivalence are best left in the province of literature. I shall add that we should never hesitate in attacking un-Islamic trends of thought and should not shy away from carrying out an offensive against unwholesome ideas.

Turning now to the question of fostering unity (both ideological and of other kinds) among the far-flung sections of the Muslim World, certainly enlightened press reporting and commentary are very helpful. But we shall have to feel deeper for the bedrock which serves as foundation to the whole edifice. Unity does not mean a conglomeration of individuals, but rather the struggle towards a noble and lofty ideal carried out concertedly and in full vigour. We have the ideal before us in the shape of Islam, and our action derives its rationale from the key role assigned by God to the Ummah.

I would suggest that you try to bring out *Impact* every week and also increase the number of pages devoted to each issue. In this way you will be able to make more *Impact*.

M. WAHEEDUDDIN

Hyderabad, India.

Nota Bene

'SCRIBE'

Great Britain strives tenaciously to maintain her traditions of *greatness* in one respect or other—if she is no longer great imperially or politically or even economically that matters little: she can continue to be great *morally*: as the conscience-keeper of the world. And that role seems to suit her genius, even historically. Bernard Shaw said that an Englishman is a man of principle, par excellence. He never behaves in an unprincipled manner. "Every Englishman is born with a certain miraculous power that makes him the master of the world. When he wants a thing he never says to himself that he wants it. He waits patiently until there comes into his mind, no one knows how, a burning conviction that it is his moral and religious duty to conquer those who possess the thing he wants. Then he becomes irresistible. . . He is never at a loss for an effective moral attitude."

So when he wants a new market for adulterated Manchester goods he sends a missionary to teach the natives the Gospel of Peace. The natives kill the missionary: he flies arms in defence of Christianity; fights for it, conquers it; and takes the market as a reward from Heaven."

The great mission remains unchanged. Recently the conscience's prick has been more acute in the case of East Pakistan. But the same conscience responds in a different way when the question relates to Northern Ireland. People with superficial concern for consistency get appalled over that. There is hardly any contradiction between the two stands. They conform to another moral principle—the principle of discrimination. After all goose and gander are not to get the same sauce.

Pakistan has been a monstrosity *ab initio*. If there is a move to split it apart it should have the blessings of all lovers of freedom. Elections threw Mujib to the crest; so he must be accepted on his own terms (forget about British refusal to accept "a recently elected parliament which has a communist majority" in Kenya on the plea that "a democracy cannot tolerate the victory of Communism by a democratic vote" (Bertrand Russell in *The Guardian* weekly 13 October 1953). That was a different matter, and again a question of principle. Army action against secession is unjustified. Repressive policies are abominable to world conscience. Indian championing of 'Bangla Desh' are expressions of humanitarianism and neighbourly sympathy. The conscience-keepers of the world must see that Pakistan is torn asunder. "There are times when to be diplomatically correct", wrote Norman Shrapnel "is (by humbler and more human standards) to be offensively wrong, as the Foreign Secretary evidently realised when he made his Pakistan statement to a hushed House of Commons. . . Sir Alec made no bones about his answer. . . only a political settlement would get them (the refugees) back to their homes'" (*The Guardian*, 9 June 1971) Mrs. Judith Hart "spied a threat to peace, and argued that it could no longer be regarded as a purely internal crisis". Bruce Douglas-Mann M.P. said ". . . the terrorisation tactics which are being adopted can have no possible outcome but the ultimate independence of Bangla Desh. It was pointless to discuss the question of reunification of Pakistan. Pakistan as a unity is dead".

The Guardian (13 May 1971) in an editorial "The silent conscience" said: "But no one. . . should pretend that in the long run Yahya and a United Pakistan can survive. Dissolution can, now, be only a matter of time. The process of dissolution will be better, and less bloody, if Mujib can

be free eventually to conduct it. . . Then the refugees will go home. The factories will work again, and the rice will be sown. Islamabad is not an impregnable fortress, simply a rocky redoubt of desperate men. They can be toppled."

Peter Hazelhurst, who may be described as the ambassador for 'Bangla Desh' to *The Times* summed up the British stand by emphasising that the crisis could be resolved only by a political solution "acceptable to the people of East Pakistan". He quoted an Awami League member who said: "As far as we are concerned, the only formula which is fair and realistic has come from Britain". Britain's moral stance remains unsurpassed.

The development in Northern Ireland, the Independent Labour Party's report on Army brutality in Ulster, large exodus of Ulster Catholics to Eire, IRA terrorism and Unionist policy of internment without trial, protests from the Republic of Ireland and Britain's rejoinder to them are a different story altogether. A few sample quotes may, however, bring some illumination to unsophisticated consistency-mongers.

Mr. Lynch, Prime Minister of the Republic of Ireland said: "The Stormont regime which has consistently repressed the non-Unionist population and bears responsibility for recurring violence must be brought to an end". In a telegram to Mr. Heath, he condemned the British attempts to find "military solutions" to the Ulster problem. He asked the British Minister to seek a "political solution".

Mr. Heath, the British Prime Minister, told Mr. Lynch that his telegram "is unjustified in its content, unacceptable in its attempt to interfere in the affairs of the United Kingdom and can in no way contribute to the solution of the problems in Northern Ireland". (20 August).

Lord Carrington, accused the B.B.C. of inaccuracy and partiality in its reports on Ulster. (*The Times*, 20 August)

Thirty-two Roman Catholics have withdrawn from public life in protest against internment and the Army's "reign of repression" against Catholics. In response to mounting pressure for investigation into army's brutality an inquiry has been instituted but its hearing would be held 'in camera'. (no parallel with Mujib's trial)

The Guardian, (13 August, 1971) in whose columns unified Pakistan existed no longer wrote editorially: "Northern Ireland is part of the United Kingdom. It cannot be left to commit suicide, to be taken once, or to rot. . . The situation in Ulster is maddening and depressing, but the British Government and British forces will have to stick it out. To restore calm and order is the first priority. To initiate constructive political discussions and to devise new forms of economic support come next".

Killings, sabotage, blowing of bridges and roads are acts of value if committed by 'Mukti Fauj' and constitute stepping stones towards an ultimate solution of the problem. Not so in Ulster, with its "tragedy of internment and its aftermath, the bombings, the shootings and the campaign of civil disobedience. Every bridge which is torn down will have to be built again—painfully brick by brick. It is true that a political solution is also needed. But every incident like that at Hackballs-

cross makes a political solution more difficult". (*The Guardian Weekly* 4 Sept 1971).

India deserves all praise for her open and unstinted support to the 'Mukti Fauj' but the "Agenda for Chequers" must include a demand from Mr. Lynch "to deal with the IRA not just to stop collections, but to prevent shooting across the border, deny gunmen safe sanctuary, and stop the open and flagrant carrying of arms. This is the least that one friendly country can do for another which is suffering from a campaign of terror". (*The Guardian*, 2 September 1971). "Internment without trial is hateful, repressive and undemocratic. In the existing Irish situation, most regrettably, it is also inevitable. Shootings, bombings and burning now occur every day. . . Through fear, or through misplaced loyalty, others will not say what they have seen. . . The Army trying to keep the peace, is placed under intolerable strain. To remove the ringleaders, in the hope that the atmosphere may calm down, is a step to which there is no obvious alternative (*The Guardian Weekly*, August 4 1971).

It was left to *The Daily Telegraph* to sum up the British position: "No British Government can permit either terrorism or civil disobedience to succeed in the United Kingdom. Against both, there are measures to be taken internally and—where support comes from the outside—measures to be taken externally (21 August 1971). But all this is a copyright, so no imitators please!

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PHILIPINE MUSLIMS

May this plea reach the human conscience

UDTOG MATALAM

This is an appeal on behalf of the four million Muslims in the Philippines, and in my capacity of Chairman of the MIM—Mandanao Independence Movement of the Philippines. I most sincerely plead and seek full assistance and immediate intervention to ward off and put to a stop the systematic extermination of your brother Muslims in the Philippines, particularly in the island of Mindanao and the Sulu archipelago.

The majority community and the Christian dominated administration have been working since the thirties on a systematic plan of eliminating the Muslim minority in the Philippines. The design has been manifesting itself from time to time. In 1926 the Alangkat massacre of over 600 Muslims in Cotabato, in 1943 the brutal killing of about 1,000 Muslim men, women and children in Pig-wayan market, in 1968 the Corregidor massacre of the Muslim cadets and in 1970 the assassination of Muslim Congressmen and other leaders, were all part of the same design.

The most recent of these sordid manifestations of a policy of "rule and destroy" pursued by the Government of the Philippines occurred in remote village of Manili a municipality of Carmen, province of Cotabato. In the early-morning of 19 June 1971, Christian mercenaries, led by a handful of regular officers of the Philippines Constabulary rounded up the village Muslims and gathered them inside the Mosque under the pretext of holding a peace conference. Once inside the Mosque, the Muslims who numbered some 150 men, women and children, young and old, were killed with explosives, grenades and gunfire. Out of this number, 64 men, women and children died instantly inside the Mosque and the rest were wounded. The same atrocious way of killing happened on the same day in a nearby school building where scores of Muslims were murdered.

It is now a matter of common knowledge in the Province of Cotabato that there killings were ordered by highly placed officers of the Philippine Army and the Philippine Constabulary. The Government so far has not done anything to bring the culprits to book and atone for the lives of the Muslims they have murdered.

To add insult to injury, these criminals instead of being apprehended are given protection by the men of President Marcos; not only that, they are as well given supplies and provisions. Government helicopters are seen dropping secretly supplies to these bandits in their hideouts. As a matter of fact, armed bandits caught in the municipality of Maganoy have testified that they were under specific instructions from certain military officials. On the other hand it is the poor and innocent Muslims who are arrested and persecuted.

The Muslims in the Philippines have done their utmost to register their sufferings and protests with the authorities, but it is only promises that they have been given. They have aired their grievances over the radio, in the press and other mass media but to no avail. Instead thousands of Army troops are sent to the Muslim areas on a "search and destroy" mission. The pretext is that they are operating against the bandits, but actually they kill those Muslims who put up even the slightest resistance.

In order to suppress the Muslim dissent, the Government has deployed thousands of combat

troops in the provinces of Cotabato, Lanao and Mindanao island in the Southern Philippines. The army is employing artillery, mortar fire and short range missiles against the patriotic Muslims who are only defending themselves against the terrorist activities of the "Ilaga" Christian bandit organisation which wants to eliminate and rob the Muslims of their lands and properties. These mercenaries who number 30,000 kill innocent men, women and children. They plunder, burn and loot Muslim villages, including mosques and *madrasas*. Far from protecting the Muslim citizens against the atrocities of "Ilaga", the Government is bent upon suppressing the Muslims and driving them away from their ancestral lands. The MIM have exposed the continuous influx of settlers from Visayan regions that are secretly shipped to strategic places usually under the cover of darkness. And there is no denying the fact that Mindanao and Sulu have become the dumping ground of criminals and unwanted men in the Visayan and Luzon.

A campaign of evangelisation of Muslims is in progress. Catholic institutions of learning, the mass media, the radio and the press do their utmost to promote anti-Muslim schemes. In Cotabato, Sulu and other Muslim areas, Notre Dame Catholic schools have been expanding rapidly. These schools are established only in the Muslim areas and not in the Visayas or Luzon, where there is Christian majority. Even the sermon from the pulpit is used to spread hate and prejudice against Islam and the Muslims. All this goes on with impunity.

The scheme in the Mindanao regions aims at suppressing the Muslims, if not exterminating them altogether. It is a long-term plan. First, they befriended the Muslims, their leaders and Datus, then the government brings in Christian settlers; then some rich Christians follow and grab the lands of the Muslims which are not yet occupied by the settlers. Once so entrenched, they displace the Muslims politically who then become strangers in their own homelands. The lands which are still within the sphere of their traditional authority are slowly being taken over by Christian settlers with the connivance of the government. The Muslims, being in the minority, can only cry or protest but cannot revolt. This is a challenge addressed to all Muslim people and the governments.

Today, the picture of the Manili massacre haunts every living Muslim in the Philippines. He knows that there will be more Manilis in the days to come. For Manili is but one ghost village (*barrio*). The examples of the province of Cotabato can be multiplied a hundred fold. Abandoned villages, plundered settlements, defiled mosques, scorched farms and desolate countryside—such is the picture of the Muslim areas of Cotabato and Lanao del Sur today. How long will these sufferings last? Only Allah knows best. In the meantime hundreds of Muslims are killed every day. The genocide has reached intolerable proportions. These are the challenges which we would want the Islamic world to take cognisance of. They need to ponder over the sad fate of their less fortunate and helpless brothers in the Philippines.

Lastly, in the name of the Almighty Allah, and in the spirit of Muslim brotherhood, we plead for understanding and help, both material and moral. May this plea reach the conscience of the Muslim world.

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Books and Briefing

Documenting the Nigerian crisis

A. H. M. Kirk-Green, 1971
CRISIS AND CONFLICT IN NIGERIA: A DOCUMENTARY SOURCEBOOK 1966-1970, Two volumes pp. 459, and 528. *Oxford University Press*, London £4.25, £5.25

The Nigerian crisis of 1967-69 has brought to the fore something newer but unfortunate in the role of the mass media: overt partisanship and callous exploitation of passions and human sufferings. The way Biafra-lobby operated is a classic example of media's conversion to political salesmanship. This has blurred the intellectual perspective. The western public was seldom, if ever, provided with the facts—it was mostly fed on half-rumours and wishful fancies. The first casualty in this campaign was the objectivity itself. In this background, it is welcome to see the appearance of a documentary sourcebook on a crisis, the headlines of which are still fresh in our minds.

Kirk-Green has produced, through painstaking research a two volume study on the crisis and conflict in Nigeria. The two volumes cover the period from January 1966 to 15 January 1970 when the drop-scene of the tragic drama took place. Both volumes carry reasonably detailed résumés of developments covered therein. The editor has tried to preserve the story of the aims, efforts, achievements and blunders of the Federal Government and the secessionists group in the form of 227 documents. It is not a history of the crisis, but it can rightly be called what the editor claims it to be: "a history towards the history" of Nigeria's months of crisis. It provides perspective material for the future analyst.

A book like this cannot but be selective. Although the editor contributes a political prologue to the crisis, the pre-1966 developments remain largely uncovered. This sordid story began much before the *Coup* and had significant religio-political dimensions. Although effort has been made to present both sides in the words of their own exponents, the view of the North as distinct from the Federal viewpoint remains very much under-represented. Another difficulty, also acknowledged by the editor, is that the Nigerian as against Biafran viewpoint also remains unarticulated. Ojukwu, Uwechue, Nwanko and Ifejika all have presented the Biafran viewpoint but "regretably no book has yet appeared by a Nigerian giving the Federal side of the coin". Blaming the editors for leaving out much that is important may be right, but the Nigerian Government and intellectuals must share the responsibility for not presenting their own case adequately.

(K. Ahmad)

Too big and too complicated

Jacob Katz, 1970
 (Translated by Leonard Oschry)
JEWES AND FREEMASONS IN EUROPE 1723-1939
 pp. 293. *Harvard University Press*, Cambridge, Mass. U.S.A. \$11.00

How yesterday's persecuted and dwellers of the ghettos have come to occupy such great political importance in the West? How was their emancipation achieved? How much of it was a heroic rise of the discriminated through sustained intellectual, political and economic struggle and how much came about through clandestine activities and the underground? The story is too big and complicated to be told within two covers: more so because of academic partisanship which seems to be fast replacing sober scholarship.

Professor Katz undertook to investigate the "popular" theory about the rise of the Jews in contemporary Europe through collaboration with the Freemasons. He claims to have access to the hitherto unexplored archives of the masonic lodges of Germany, Switzerland, France, Holland and Britain. He has come out with the conclusion that the Jews did not play any secret role in and through Freemasonry, the interrelationship changed over the years, the view that both are bent upon world domination is a myth, and the "Protocol of the Elders of Zion" were a fabrication of the anti-semites. These were forged to black-paint and black-mail the Jews and to provide an excuse for their persecution in Hitler's Germany.

Prof. Jacob Katz teaches at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and has worked on the theme at Harvard where he had his "first clues on the subject". The original work is in Hebrew and has now been published in English to dispell the illusions held by the English reading public.

Although the book is profusely documented, authenticating footnotes hardly make anything authentic. The book, at best remains a scholarly apology for the Zionists and an academic exercise at confusing the issues. It fails to unfold the objective story of the greatest political revolution of our times. It is grossly obsessed with the object of clarifying on the Jewish association with the Freemasonry, to the extent that at places even Freemasons begin to look like anti-semites!

The book, however, is an important source of information on some of the aims and activities of the Freemasons. Although a separate bibliography has not been prepared, references in notes throw light on important primary sources hitherto not available to outside researchers. As to the theme of the book it still needs to be investigated by a non-involved historian.

(Nazir Siddiqui)

Islam and Racial Discrimination by Dr. Abdul Aziz Kamil, UNESCO Centre, 1 Tal'at Harb Street, Cairo. (Available in English, French and Arabic this work of the Minister of Awqaf and Azhar Affairs in Cairo emphasises the principles of man's dignity and the comprehensive brotherhood of man in Islam which is above the bond of race and colour).

The Koran, translated by J. M. Rodwell with an introduction by Margoliouth, *Dent*, 1971 (This old translation is now made available in an *Everyman* paperback. The translator rearranged the surahs of the Qur'an in a chronological order to enable the reader "to trace the development of the Prophet's mind from the earlier flush of inspiration to his later roles of warrior, politician and founder of an empire." How little the translator knew about the Qur'an can be gauged by his statement that its "original arrangement was according to length". The rendering of the Qur'an into English by the late Professor A. J. Arberry—*The Koran Interpreted*—is also available in *Everyman* library but not in paperback).

Africa 71, compiled and edited by the editorial staff of Jeune Afrique, Meir & Holmes, £4.50, 440 pp. (A massive and handsomely bound and printed handbook on Africa including some advertisements. Some of the information can be gained less expensively in existing handbooks for example *Africa Handbook* by Colin Legum which however is not so up to date.).

The Swahili Coast, Politics, Diplomacy and Trade on the East African Littoral 1798-1856 by C. S. Nichols, St. Anthony's Publications No. 2 *Oxford*. (Deals in great detail with the period in East African history beginning with the coming of the Omani Arabs, diplomacy with the European powers and the effect all this had on the local population. A study of the period covered by this book is essential to the understanding of events in contemporary East Africa).

Nationalism in Asia & Africa, ed. and introduced by Elie Kedourie, *Weidenfeld & Nicholson* (Yet another collection of writings by people some of whose names have already been famous. Contributions are from Ziya Gokalp, Edward Blyden, Marcus Garvey, Chaudry Rahmat Ali, Shakib Arslan, Stalin and Sultan Galiev).

The Chosen People, John M. Allegro, *Hodder & Stoughton*, £3.00 (This 'study of Jewish history from the time of the Exile to the revolt of Bar-Kocheba' by the author of the religious-fiction *The Sacred Mushroom* derives justification from "the creation of an exclusive Judaism and its embodiment as a political state fighting for autonomy against its local and imperial(!) neighbours"—according to the publisher's blurb. But it is doubtful if the Jewish people would warm towards Mr. Allegro because of the title of this book.)

An Urdu Newspaper Reader, by Muhammad Abdur Rahman Barker, Shafiqur Rahman, and Hasan Jahangir Hamadni, *McGill University Press*. (This is a four volume work which is accompanied by recordings of the script. It should prove ideal for those wanting to learn Urdu).

Al-Manar-English-Arabic Dictionary by Hasan S. Karmi, Longman Librairie du Liban, London 1971, £3.00 (Contains a vocabulary of about 40,000 words and is intended for students in secondary schools and colleges and also the general reader and the translator. The author who works in the Arabic service of the BBC is also working on a new Arabic-English dictionary).

The Times Higher Education Supplement is a new journal of higher education to be published by Times Newspapers Ltd, beginning on October 15.

World Opinion

US-EGYPTIAN RELATIONS: HASSENEIN HEYKAL REMEMBERS

An angry denunciation of the United States by President Nasser on December 23, 1964, was provoked by a false report from his own ministers. This was to the effect that President Johnson had threatened to cut off economic aid to Egypt as a reprisal for several anti-American incidents, according to a confidant.

This speech in which President Nasser told the United States: "Go and drink from the sea", the equivalent in Arabic of: "Go and jump in the lake", brought the two countries to the brink of severing diplomatic relations and deeply scarred the relationship between the two leaders.

A suggestion that the exaggerated report was calculated to exacerbate Egypt's relations with the West is contained in a political memoir just completed by Mr. Muhammad Hassanein Heykal, the editor of *Al Ahram*.

According to Mr. Heykal, a few hours before the speech President Nasser was informed by Mr. Aly Sabry, the Prime Minister, that Mr. Lucius Battle, the American ambassador, had told another minister that there would be no further aid unless Egypt tempered its policies. In fact there had been no such threat.

At one point in the speech the Egyptian leader exclaimed: "We are not going to accept gangsterism by cowboys." He eventually received a correct version of what had happened from Mr. Battle. But according to Mr. Heykal, "the damage had been done."

Mr. Battle yesterday confirmed the essential points of Mr. Heykal's account. He said he thought another factor in the anti-American tenor of the speech was President Nasser's eagerness to impress a Soviet delegation present at the time. It was the first Russian delegation to visit Egypt after the fall of Mr. Khrushchev, who had been one of President Nasser's staunchest allies.

Mr. Heykal's memoir, based on President Nasser's private correspondence and minutes of conversations, contains the President's reflections on such world figures as Mr. John Foster Dulles, Lord Avon, Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, President Tito, Dr. Fidel Castro and Mr. Chou En-lai.

It discloses that intelligence reports from disaffected officials of the Baghdad Pact convinced President Nasser that Mr. John Foster Dulles, the American Secretary of State, never had any intention of financing the construction of the Aswan dam. This was months before the United States announced its withdrawal from the project.

It also reveals that President Nasser at first displayed admiration for President Kennedy, especially

for the way Mr. Kennedy used university teachers in government. In 1961 President Nasser had Mr. Walt Rostow's *Stages of Economic Development* translated into Arabic and distributed to his staff, but by 1967 he was denouncing Mr. Rostow as a "Zionist agent". (Henry Raymond in *The Times*, London, 31 August 1971)

OF FREEDOM AND BLASPHEMY

As for the secret parties about which the questioner speaks. I say there are no secret parties in Egypt. Let us suppose that a group of people form a secret party in any country. This is an act of treason. There are no parties in Egypt. Egypt abolished all parties after the revolution, as we did. If Egypt should find any members of the Muslim Brotherhood operating secretly it would regard these people as traitors and bring them to trial. If it found any communists operating secretly it would bring them to trial and regard them as traitors. If any Muslim Brotherhood members come to Libya and start operating here we shall regard them as traitors and shall bring them to trial. The same applies to the communists and Ba'athists. This must be understood by all.

I spoke of communism in Sidrah earlier. Communism is blasphemy. A communist does not believe in God. Does anyone accept that? Once you have lost your belief in God, communism asks you to do various things. The communists outside the Soviet Union are considered to be agents because they rule a country regarded as subservient to the Soviet Union. We do not want to be subservient to the Soviet Union, but we do want to be friends with it and with any state in the world. It is not logical for us to be subservient to the Soviet Union. By God, we shall struggle against it just as we did against the Italians. We do not want to be subservient to the Soviet Union, the United States or any other state in the world. That is communism. It is blasphemy against Arab nationalism, Islam and socialism. It calls the communisation of everything. It calls for violence, bloodshed and the crushing of all peoples so that one class rules. If the Soviet Union has tried this and finds it beneficial, may God bless its efforts. (President Qadhafi speaking to Bani Walid, *Libyan Radio*, 28 August 1971)

COMPELLED TO LIVE IN FRIENDSHIP

●A commentary by Yuriy Kabadze praised the Bokassa Administration for its vigorous campaign to eliminate the consequences of colonial rule, and for the sound

foundations laid by the 1967-70 Four-Year Plan. The Republic's policy of non-alignment and friendly relations with all states, irrespective of their social systems, had won its authority in the international arena. The Republic's co-operation in trade and cultural exchanges with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries was widening, and the visit by Gen. Bokassa in July 1970 was of significance in the development of friendly relations (*Tass* in English, 12 August 1971)

●Dear countrymen, humanity and our own interest compels us to live in friendship with other countries of the world. "We expect that our circle of friends, particularly the USA and France, will continue to widen. Some of these our friends continue to help us, but other countries like the Soviet Union and East Germany are always shy to receive us whenever we turn to them. For example, I brought my people nothing when I recently visited the Soviet Union. We want them to understand our problems, because the spirit of friendship cannot be strengthened if there is no mutual understanding." The aid which the Soviet Union has given us is completely ridiculous. As for East Germany, its aid is non-existent. We have signed many agreements with these countries but these agreements are not respected. (President Bokassa: Independence Anniversary Broadcast, Central African Republic, 13 August 1971)

FACE-SAVING: THE GOLDEN RULE

A golden rule of Chinese military strategists in imperial times was always to leave the enemy a way out. Accordingly, Peking's current intransigence on Indochina and Taiwan does not preclude giving President Nixon a chance of saving face at home. This could be achieved merely by allowing South Vietnam to continue to exist even after the departure of the last American.

The choice before Washington is either to pull out of Indochina without reaching an accord with its adversaries, thus creating the conditions for a rapid return to guerilla warfare, or to sign a face-saving agreement ensuring a return to normal. In time, new alignments would arise in the peninsula on the basis of the people's own desires.

Face-saving is also possible in Taiwan. Peking wants the US to withdraw its troops from the island and its fleet from the surrounding seas, and it is not pressing to fill the vacuum with its own troops. Implicit in the Chinese attitude is the promise that it might even agree not to use force to "liberate" the island.

Over and above all this, what China offers Mr. Nixon is a chance to re-establish himself in the eyes of the American public. He can counter the failure in Indochina with a gain elsewhere—the thaw in Sino-American relations. China can easily afford these manoeuvres, for it stands to gain enormously. Peking could achieve one of its major foreign policy objectives—the coupling of a withdrawal from Indochina with settlement of the Taiwan question.

(Robert Guillain in *Le Monde* Weekly English Edition, Paris, 21 August 1971).

JAPAN'S QUIET NIGHTMARE

The top political and business characters in Tokyo are playing down the American-Japanese financial crisis. Their nightmare seems to be that the dollar-yen problem, with elections coming up in both Japan and the United States next year, will create political and psychological problems of the most serious nature.

Why, Premier Sato's opponents ask, should he rely on an American President who decides to go to Peking without telling Sato until the very last moment, and who suddenly introduces a new economic policy that punishes Japan for its successes? . . .

Why, it is asked, should Japan count on an ally that suddenly rejects the liberal free-trade economic principles it has advocated for over a generation, and sends a secret mission to Japan's Communist neighbour in Peking, without consultation with Tokyo in advance? (James Reston in *International Herald Tribune*, Paris, 2 September 1971)

ULSTER AND THEOLOGY

When Pope Paul says that the situation in Northern Ireland has "recently been aggravated following the adoption of exceptional security measures" must we not take it that he intends to condemn those measures? True, he adds many hopes, prayers and aspirations, speaking of a "common Christian belief" "true peace," "mutual understanding," "reciprocal collaboration," and other unexceptional ideas which seem, for the present, to be regrettably remote. But the plain man, taking plain phrases to mean plain things, will surely assume that the Pope has condemned the Northern Ireland Government's policy of internment.

If His Holiness does not mean this. . . elucidation would be most welcome. Are we not right in thinking that the Roman Catholic Church has always laid stress on the duty of citizens to obey properly constituted authority, in all matters not directly involving the moral and religious conscience? Do not civil disobedience and organised murder justify repressive measures taken by an authority thus properly constituted? Was not the Caesar to whom the Jews were bidden to render the things due to him in a far more equivocal position, politically, than Mr. FAULKNER'S Government? (Pope Paul and Ulster, *The Daily Telegraph*, London, 30 August 1971).

Modern China is essentially a vast well-managed experimental penitentiary dominated by a benevolent but egocentric old warden who has given the inmates dignity, pride, security, and a sense of unity and dedication. Since most of them had lost everything, even self-respect, their gratitude to the warden is genuine and sincere. (William Attwood in *The Guardian*, London 31 August 1971)