

impact

INTERNATIONAL FORTNIGHTLY

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Of that love of the “elected”

The tragedy of democracy is that it is more often used as a cloak than as a substance. The current Indian and British monologues over the recent crisis in Pakistan bear this out.

The authority in Pakistan is presently derived from martial law, as is the case in over two dozen countries in Asia, Africa, Europe and Latin America. December 1970 elections in Pakistan were held under the sanction of martial law and President Yahya's Legal Framework Order. They were aimed to serve a limited purpose: electing an assembly to frame a new constitution. If the Assembly was unable to frame the constitution within 120 days it was to stand dissolved according to the same order which brought her into existence. In such a case new elections were to follow. The results of such an election have very limited significance. Any attempt to 'immortalise' the results of these elections into myth and legend cannot emanate from love for democracy, or even its proper understanding.

Mrs. Indira says that she is not prepared to deal with the Pakistan Government in respect of problems relating to one of its provinces, East Pakistan. Even for the disbursement of relief supplies she demands that "international agencies and foreign powers should communicate with the elected representatives of East Bengal, namely the Awami League".

The quintessence of this strategy seems to have acquired a universal approval in the West. Everyone speaks in the name of democracy but no one honestly faces the question: what is the precise significance of elections in the political process? They are an essential ingredient of popular government but, what do they really tell and what one musn't try to read into them?

In a dynamic and democratic framework, the validity of election results is neither unlimited nor immutable. They do not tell for all times to come what the people want. Had it been so, there would be no need to go back to the people again and again. Mr. Heath has a clear and absolute majority of members in the Parliament. But within the very first year of the last general elections demands for a new election began to be voiced on the grounds that in four by-elections the electorate had shown a swing against the Conservatives. The mandate given to the Tories in mid-1970 was not regarded as absolute and for ever.

India's own record deserves to be examined. During the last twenty years, on more than two dozen occasions, elected representatives in the states have been dismissed and Governor's rule promulgated by the Centre. This has happened in West Bengal six times. Elected representatives have a part to play but they do not become absolute sovereigns.

Mrs. Gandhi and her Western allies seem to be concerned and rather disturbed over the fate of the Awami League. But there are no qualms of conscience in respect of the 'disappearance' of some other 'elected representatives' from the political scene. Only the other day, Mr. Reddy, the elected Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh was forced to resign by none other than Mrs. Gandhi her-

self. This 'purge' is part of a systematic plan to weed-out those 'elected representatives' who are not prepared to toe Mrs. Gandhi's line and have thus become *persona electa non grata*. Mr. Reddy is the second 'elected' Chief Minister to depart within the last two months. Earlier Mr. Sukhadia, the 'elected' Chief Minister of Rajasthan was removed from the scene. He tried to resist and sent the entire membership of his Congress Legislature Party (all elected!) to plead before Mrs. Gandhi. But their pleadings in respect of their elected leader and Chief Minister proved of no avail. He had to go. Now the same axe and the same fate awaits two other 'elected' Chief Ministers: Mr. Naik of Maharashtra and Mr. Shukla, of Madhya Pradesh. Is it that the term 'elected representatives' has different political connotations vis-a-vis India and Pakistan.

The relationship between India's Federal Government and her State Governments has been very interesting.

"In regards to the relation between the Central Government and the State Governments" writes M. Ruthnaswamy, "while the constitution provides for a federal or quasi-federal relationship between them, the dilemma offered by the actual relationship is that State Governments are treated as mere agents or even as subordinates of the Central Government. In regards to the decisions of the Central Government in matters within its competence, the State Governments are required by constitution to act as agents of the Central Government. But even in regard to other matters, the State Governments are made to carry out the advice and directions of the Central Government". (M. Ruthnaswamy in *Dilemmas of Democratic Politics in India*, edited by G. S. Halappa, Manaktales, Bombay: 1966, pp 148).

The elected representatives in state legislatures and Governments have to accept certain limits—is that valid only for India?

Even at the more theoretical level, validity of every election verdict is not at par. After all Hitler was *elected* to the Reich in the early thirties. Why can't that be accorded the status of a democratic verdict?

The political philosophy of Western democracy is based on the Lockean notion of rationality. Locke believed that man entered civil society only "with an intention on everyone to better, preserve himself, his liberty and prosperity, for no rational creature can be supposed to change his condition with an intention to be worse". But do the voters always conform to the test of rationality? Vote does represent delegation of authority. But does this also mean the authority to destroy and secede? If an individual is not free to sell himself into slavery or commit suicide even through a free and conscious decision, how can this open general authority be given to any political group or party. Democracy does not mean anarchy by consent. It has its own rules. Those who are not prepared to respect its rules should at least avoid invoking its name in their machiavellian game.

Survey

● JERUSALEM: DESERVING OR DESIRING ● SAUDI BUDGET

Jerusalem—the same abortive routine

The U.N. Security Council is once again engaged in a familiar exercise: the routine of protesting and resolving against the Israeli defiance of three earlier U.N. resolutions of 1968 and 1969 in regard to Jerusalem.

Jordan has requested the Security Council to consider the deteriorating situation in Jerusalem and take effective steps to put an end to the illegal Israeli measures aimed at irrevocably altering the holy and noble character of that holy and noble city. The draft resolution requires that the U.N. Secretary-General be authorised to send a team of observers or commission to Jerusalem and report back on the situation within a period of 60 days.

According to Israeli sources "the U.S. had been trying to discourage the Jordanians for four months . . . When Jordan insisted, it decided to join them in an attempt to moderate the tone" and ensure that "the resolution does not call for drastic changes, or demand punishment and sanctions against Israel, and provided there is no change in the status quo in the area . . ." The Security Council can now be expected to pass this or a modified version, and appoint an investigation team. The Israelis, however, seem assured in their hope that the resolution "will have no more bite than the previous resolutions". They would accordingly be rejecting both the resolution and the investigation team, and the issue would, as before, be filed in the cosy archives of the world body—and wait the merciful sanction of the 'veto powers' to emerge again for a while and go through the same abortive routine.

As it is, the settlement of the Jerusalem issue seems to depend upon one constant and two variables: Israel, World conscience and the Muslim world.

In so far as Israel is concerned, it must be admitted that she has never made any secret of her firm and unwavering determination to annex and keep Jerusalem as the capital of her projected kingdom. What they have done since June 1967 and continue to pursue is merely part of a phased plan. It is, therefore, nothing strange that while Mr. Eban assures that everything including Jerusalem is negotiable, the Government he is supposed to represent goes on creating concrete facts in and around the city. Although the whole *raison d'être* of Israel is claimed to be the religion of Judaism, she is least concerned that in the process the Jerusalem she seeks to 'rebuild' would only be as much Jerusalem as Los Angeles or Las Vegas can lay a claim to. However, as long as the right-minded, the honest and

the truly believing among the Israeli Jews are not able to assert themselves, one can foresee no improvement in the attitude and arrogance of their leadership.

The World conscience: If past experience can be any true guide to the future, and unless there is a fundamental qualitative change in its structure, the U.N. can be expected to behave no differently than the way it has so far behaved. The whole moral philosophy behind its creation was that the best way of dealing with immorality was to build a supervised bawdy-house: with both the white slaves and their clients serving the purpose and designs of the madam. At best the U.N. has so far behaved only as a sophisticated variant of that Hyde Park Corner where one is free to shout and clown, curse and bemoan, and make hell or revolution but, in the end to expect nothing except perhaps few pieces of copper from the amused audience.

The international conscience may also be considered in terms of: (1) the Establishment conscience, and (2) the public conscience. Quite contrary to what is gullibly assumed, the Establishment interests lie not in the solution of problems but in their compounding and complication. It is a far better and safer world where nations keep themselves engaged in local strifes and leave the Establishment free to look after higher things. That's why the Big Powers run with the hare and hunt with the hounds. Sir Alec Douglas-Home made the point quite clear when he said the other day that Israel and America were allies and there was a limit to the degree of pressure to which an ally could be subjected. Consider also the fact that the U.S. is supporting the resolution on Jerusalem.

The public conscience, honest and truthful in its ore-like nature, is indeed there, but is unknowing as well as prevented from knowing. It, therefore, remains vague, diffuse and even unwilling to step outside its immediate sphere of private morality. The problem of Jerusalem, Palestine, and (now) the whole of the Middle East has suffered complication not on legal grounds but on this very non-existence of an honest and effective public opinion. Besides the recent U.N. resolutions, as far back as 1930, the International Commission appointed by the League of Nations had confirmed the Muslim ownership of the Wailing Wall—the ownership of the rest of Jerusalem was then not in question.

The Muslim world? Notwithstanding all that emotion and euphoria surrounding the expression, it is difficult to pinpoint its precise existence. If it does, it exists by default and not as any qualitative entity. Not even the worst of defeats and indignities have either brought any sense of unity or made it wiser. In that part of the world, there are more important things than dignity and liberty which top the scale of

priorities. The central problem is not the system, social order or ideology—whether socialist, secularist, nationalist or Muslim—but which individual or group is to be at the top. While the air is resounding with heroic noises of liberation, revolution and jihad, the society is suffering from acute schisms and serious internecine disputes. Even the loss of Jerusalem has failed to give any unity of purpose to the directly affected Arab states. Syria opposed the discussion of the issue because the resolution is toothless. A 'Voice of Fatah' broadcast stated that the move was "intended to restrict the discussion of the Israeli aggression against the Arab countries and to prevent consideration of the Palestine people's right to self-determination . . . This would spare Israel having to face a resolution condemning it for refusing to withdraw from the occupied Arab territory."

If it is so impossible to achieve simple understanding on an issue like Jerusalem, what chances are there for any really sustained, systematic and unified efforts? Jerusalem is to be deserved and not merely desired.

Meanwhile, the situation must continue to drift towards a greater catastrophe.

SAUDI BUDGET

In his address on the new budget for 1971-72, King Faisal of Saudi Arabia announced an estimated revenue of 10,782 million riyals—an increase of 4,402 millions over the previous year. The bulk of this increase would come from a large dose of income tax which is expected to yield almost 3,766 million riyals more than last year. By comparison revenue from oil would increase by only 654 million riyals. While many Saudis would now be footing large income tax bills, they have been relieved from one tax—the Temporary Jihad Tax which yielded 55 million riyals last year. Most of this amount went to the Palestine Resistance Movement. Last year also 400 million riyals were earmarked for Arab Aid most of which goes to the governments of Jordan and Egypt to recoup losses suffered in the 1967 war. Saudi Aid to these countries would be increased by 260 million riyals this year.

Another significant point in the new budget is the amount placed at the disposal of the Pilgrimage and Waqfs Ministry which is almost double last year's figure. Funds have also been allocated for a new ministry which has been formed—the Ministry of Justice. Affairs of this ministry were formerly looked after by the offices of the Grand Mufti. The amount to be expended on defence is twice the amount to be spent on education. There is to be no increase in the amount of subsidy given to "Islamic Affairs" which is utilised by the Muslim World League with headquarters in Mecca.

Survey

● THE NEW ARAB FEDERATION

The new Arab Federation: Long way to go.

A Libyan Command Council member said in a broadcast recently that Arab unity was life itself. He was expressing the hopes of the 99.9 per cent of the enfranchised peoples of Libya, Egypt and Syria who voted in favour of their countries forming the Federation of Arab Republics. They are the hopes of a people who have suffered defeat and humiliation and miseries and who look forward, without cynicism, to anything that would bring them dignity and strength.

The three states which have come together style themselves democratic, free and progressive. They regard themselves now as the upholders of the highest aims of the Arab people: unity, freedom and socialism which are the slogans of the new Federation. Despite the vagueness or the versatility of these slogans, the countries feel that they have made a solid start to "resurrect" the Arab soul.

Indeed President Sadat of Egypt has stated that the Federation was "born with teeth". He was referring to the attitude of members of the Federation and their effective assistance in thwarting the 18th July communist coup in the Sudan. It is in the field of maintaining the Established Revolution in power against possible coups that the Federation is likely to play an effective role. The mere fact that this has to be asserted and done points to the weakness of political structures in the Middle East and the inbuilt instability in the countries concerned. Here, the military, having come to power by military coups in the name of freedom and democracy, brook no criticism and may even maintain themselves by repressive measures. For Syria at least which has known coup upon coup in recent years, the Federation promises some political stability. But the uniformity and the regimentation would have one serious effect. It would prevent the emergence of a natural, strong and effective leadership. And this is a difficulty which Muslim countries have often suffered.

Yet there are hopeful signs. The Constitution of the Federation speaks very laudably of the guarantees of individual freedoms and the processes of law. How basic these freedoms are in the growth of a healthy society is often little realised in the Middle East—and other places as well. The present regime in Egypt is aware of the repression and has attempted a thaw of the Nasserist system. But the difficulties are innumerable and may even seem insuperable. Some workers in Helwan for example obviously assumed too much by going on strike recently.

In the new Federation, freedom would be guaranteed only within a specific politi-

cal line. The directors of the Federation are aware of the need to create political awareness in depth. They point to the fact that there is concurrence between the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party and the Arab Socialist Unions in Egypt and Libya. They are the only political parties which are allowed to function but it is hoped that they would create a strong popular front which will buttress the Federation.

As far as socialism is concerned, there is a considerable divergence in the interpretation and importance attached to the word. The Syrian Ba'th Party has been quite close to the orthodox form of Marxian socialism and there are still hundreds of Soviet personnel in Syria. Col. Qudhafi on the other hand has been quite vituperative in his attacks on communism and maintains that his socialism has nothing to do with the socialism of communist countries. He speaks rather of an Islamic socialism the content of which seem quite new in the Middle East, although the expression itself is not a new one. That the Federation has some connection with Islam might be seen in the provision of its Constitution which makes the Islamic Shari'a the law of the countries concerned.

On a practical level there appears to be much but muted criticism of the Federation on the grounds that it places an undue stress on international issues which mask the problem of internal development. It is said too that these real problems—of poverty, of illiteracy, of an impoverished social life—are masked by the heightened political activity of voting in referenda which poses very loaded questions. How can one express an attitude to as complicated a thing as a constitution by simply saying 'yes' or 'no' to it? These criticisms have been dismissed by Major Jallud the second in command in Libya when he declared: "The Federation is a catalyst for forging ahead in the stage of development and the stage of social liberation." How much of this is rhetoric?

Major Jallud himself has been showing the way by concerning himself with the industrial development of the country. In the past weeks he has been signing a number of agreements with a variety of foreign countries and companies to set up pioneer industries in Libya.

It is in the military sphere that the Arabs pin great hopes on the Federation. The Federation would establish a unified military command which would be responsible for training and operations. "It would be given wide powers" according to President Asad of Syria. "and would be used in the forthcoming battle with Israel." Moreover, Arab unity, it is believed, "would free the Arabs from the domination of the British, the Americans, the French or the Russians and from spheres of influence." The aspiration is a dignified one.

Soon the Federation would be fortified in numbers at any rate, by the joining of the Sudan which is at the moment still sorting out some internal political difficulties and getting a popular mandate for the regime. But the Federation would not achieve in the near future a unity of the front line states around Israel because they have set their heads firmly against monarchists. This policy is easy to justify in the case of Jordan. But while Libya tends to be doctrinaire on this issue, Egypt is more pragmatic. Its relations with Saudi Arabia for example have been steadily improving. There has been the lifting of the ban on tourism and cooperation in the educational field as many Egyptians proceed to Saudi Arabia to take up teaching appointments. And of course Egypt is the major recipient of Saudi aid given to wipe out the consequences of the 1967 war.

It is such acts of unselfishness and cooperation which would form the real basis of unity. This attitude is reflected in the statement of the Libyan Command Council member, quoted at the beginning, who ridiculed the idea of Egyptians lined up on the border waiting to pounce on Libyan oil as soon as Arab unity was established.

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MUSLIMS & CHRISTIANS

The Sonship of Jesus

SULAYMAN SHAHID MUFASSIR

"What think ye of Christ? Whose son is he?"¹ A faithful generation replied, according to the Messianic expectation of the times, "David's". Today, a faithless 'rock' generation parodies: "Jesus Christ—who are you"² and returns no answer.

After centuries of dogmatic decree that Jesus was the Son of God, modern Christendom is sure no longer just who he was. Since a large segment of the so-called Christian world believes practically that "God is dead". Where does that leave Jesus? Jews and Muslims have held throughout history that Jesus could not have been the Son of God. But, whereas Judaism does not accept the mission of Jesus, Islam accords him the exalted position of prophet of God to his people. Nevertheless, this question of sonship stands as a barrier between Christians and Muslims, being the cause for each labelling the other infidel: Christians because only an unbeliever would deny Christ's sonship; Muslims because only an unbeliever would associate anything with the One God. The Christian charges "antichrist", the Muslim, "*mushrik*".

Yet, if we examine the New Testament and what scholars consider most likely the true sayings of Jesus, we are surprised. Despite centuries of Christian tradition and theology, when we look into the source book of Christianity, the gulf between Christian belief and Muslim belief shortens considerably. For one thing, we find in the mouth of Jesus the *Shema*³ of Israel³, which corresponds with the first part of the *Kalimah*⁴, of Islam and of Surah *Ikhlas*⁵: "Hear O Israel: the Lord our God is one Lord."⁶ Jesus himself confirmed the monotheistic creed of the nation from which he sprang: God is One. Since God is One, it follows logically, as the Qur'an inquires, that "How can He have a son when He hath no consort?"⁷

Christianity admits of no female God-principle, but imputes the sonship of Jesus to the virgin birth. Islam recognizes the virgin birth but points out the obvious: this makes Jesus the *Son of Mary*, not the "Son of God". In fact, whenever Jesus is mentioned as a son in the Qur'an it is always *Isa-bnu Maryam*. The Church makes him "Son of God" either because it contends that God took on flesh and was born from Mary's womb as a man, or that

God sent one of His angels (the *Logos*, or first created being) into Mary's womb to be born as a man. The first idea is repugnant to reason. If, as the Bible says,⁸ human sight cannot bear to look upon the glory of God, how can human flesh bear to have this Glory, or the God of Glory wrapped up in it? The second thought does not confer literal sonship, but calls for a special form of creation.

The vital point, however, is that the biblical expression "Son of God" cannot be said to have ever come, authentically, from the lips of Jesus himself. According to Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*⁹, "Whether Jesus used it of Himself is doubtful". It is found in the New Testament most frequently on the lips of others. And this is mentioned in the Qur'an as merely following in the customs of the pagans, notably the Greeks and Romans of the time, whose gods had sons. "The Christians call Christ the Son of God. That is a saying from their mouth; in this they but imitate what the unbelievers of old used to say."¹⁰ Even if Jesus had occasionally used such or similar a title, "Semitic idiom must be borne in mind . . . In various (Bible) passages Israel is referred to as 'God's son', and in others the righteous are thus described . . . So a 'son of God' is a man, or even a people, who reflect the character of God." (Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, p. 143).

Contrasted with the non-use or limited use of the title "Son of God" by Jesus himself, we find him using the expression "Son of Man" many times in the New Testament. What does this phrase mean? In the first place, an expression like this automatically negates any literal interpretation of "Son of God". It emphasizes that Jesus thought of himself as a man only. Further, scholars determine that Jesus' usage of this term was meant to be reminiscent of that of the prophet Ezekiel, i.e., "a prophet"¹¹ or messenger of God. "Son of Man" is consistent with the Qur'an's statement¹² that "Christ Jesus the son of Mary was no more than an Apostle of God, and His Word, which He bestowed on Mary, and a spirit proceeding from Him."

This Qur'anic passage confirms some of the most precious truths of unadulterated Christianity: (1) Jesus is Christ, (2) he is "Son of Man", i.e. a prophet/messenger

of God, (3) he is the product of a special act of creation, the virgin birth ("His Word") and a "spirit proceeding from Him," one of blessed mission. At the same time, this passage affirms that none of these facts makes Jesus the "Son of God" in the sense of an incarnation of God, as it concludes: "So believe in God and His apostles. Say not 'Trinity', desist; it will be better for you, for God is One God. Glory be to Him; far exalted is He above having a son. To Him belong all things in the heaven and on earth."¹³

If the title "Son of God" has any validity, Semitic usage would never have allowed for the literal sense, even though such an expression would be interpreted literally in the Hellenistic world of Jesus' later followers. No doubt here is where the confusion arose. But if Jesus or his earliest disciples said "Son of God" they could have meant only *servant* of God. For example, in Matthew 12:18 and Acts 3:13, we find that some Bible versions read "Son" with reference to Jesus while others translate "servant". This is because the New Testament Greek words used in these passages (*pais* and *paida*) mean "boy" or "son" in the sense of a *servant, attendant or minister*.¹⁴ The Qur'an puts it clearly: "And they say: 'God Most Gracious has begotten offspring. Glory to Him.' They are but servants raised to honor." Both Qur'an and Bible agree that son(s) of God can mean only servant(s) of God. No physical sonship or incarnation was intended in the Semitic usage of the earliest Christians. But when Christians became predominantly Gentile, of Roman and Greek background, the Semitic meanings of "Son of God" were lost, and pagan Hellenistic meanings took their place. This is why the Church, from the 4th century onward, had raging controversies over the nature of Christ. What was obvious to the earliest Christians became lost and distorted to later converts. They began to interpret sonship literally according to their pantheistic upbringings, thus overriding the basic monotheistic imperative of Jesus' teachings.

There is ground for closer relations between Christians and Muslims because, essentially, Muslims believe the same things about Christ as did the earliest Christians. It is only the unfortunate encrustations of old pagan mythology that divide them.

1. Matthew 22:42 as rendered by the King James Version of 1611. The literal Greek says: "What is your opinion of the Anointed One? Whose son is he? They replied to him: 'David's'."

2. A line from the "rock opera" *Jesus Christ, Superstar*.

3. In Hebrew, "*Shema Yisrael Adonai Elohemu, Adonai Ehad*." Deuteronomy 6:4 in the Torah.

4. *La ilaha il'Allah*.

5. *Qul huwa Allahu 'Ahad*.

6. Mark 12:29, New Testament.

7. The Qur'an *Ar'am* 6:100

8. Exodus 33:20 (Torah): "There shall no man see Me, and live."

9. Revised edition, 1963, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, p. 143

10. The Qur'an, *Taubah* 9:30

11. Hastings, *op. cit.*, 142

12. The Qur'an, *Nisa* 4:171

13. The Qur'an, *Nisa* 4:171

14. *A Greek-English Lexicon*, by The Rev. Thomas S. Green, B.A., Samuel Bagster & Sons Ltd., London (n. date), p. 134.

The writer, now a Muslim, was born into the Baptist religion and remained Christian for 27 years, including 5 years as an ordained minister. The Translation of the Qur'an used is (basically) that of A. Yusuf Ali.

AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER TO *THE SUNDAY TIMES*

The East Pakistan Story

M. A. H. ISPAHANI

Educated in the liberal atmosphere of one of your ancient universities and having represented my country as High Commissioner in your country, I feel saddened that British journalism, once noted for its objectivity and fairness, has fallen on evil days.

In the main story published in your issue of June 20, you appear to confuse what you call "a degree of autonomy" for East Pakistan, which President Yahya Khan was happy to concede, with what Mujibur Rahman's demands actually developed into. Mujibur Rahman's Awami League, having won the elections on the issue of greater autonomy for East Pakistan, betrayed the electorate by plumping not for autonomy but secession from the Federation of Pakistan. The move, of course, was backed, financed and armed by India.

Would any Central Government in the world permit a part of the State, however populous, to secede from the nation? Would you, for instance, allow the Scottish or the Welsh nationalists or the Catholics of Northern Ireland to declare independence? Would Canada permit a separatist movement in Quebec, backed by a foreign power, to wage war against Ottawa?

In the Congo, the United Nations itself helped the Central Government quell the break-away movement in Katanga. In Nigeria, the British Government fully understood General Gowon's position, even though Christian sympathy lay with the Ibos in Biafra. I ask, why should a different course be followed in the matter of Pakistan?

Restoration of law and order, after the terrible disturbances in which almost 400,000 innocent lives were lost for the sin of being Pakistanis required firm handling by our forces. If excesses have been committed in some cases, it would be grossly unfair to pick on them, and on that basis, smear the entire army which has, by its swift action, prevented the break-up of our country for which India had made six previous attempts and failed.

Nor is all that has been written by your correspondent to be considered Gospel. His despatch savours of material supplied by the Information Ministry at New Delhi and you, I am confident, know what that means.

So much for your articles. Now I shall present you with the factual account of what actually took place in East Pakistan.

Truth has at long last caught up with the lies broadcast by the All India Radio and her news agencies, which was dished hot and tasty to the British public by the BBC and newspapers of your country, and some

other countries of the world. Much to my sorrow, I must state that Britain has left all others far behind in publicising India's falsehoods and in failing to try and see the truth herself before condemning my country totally and completely, as she has done.

The present situation which is exercising our minds, like all questions, has two sides to it. Our side has not secured the publicity to which it is entitled. It may be due to the built-in antagonism to a country which is free and wants to remain so, to lack of publicity agents on the level and strength of India, or perhaps to our President's decision to protect the lives and property of seven hundred thousand East Pakistani men, women and children who live in this wing. However, whatever the reason, we have waited patiently for the dust to settle down. By God's grace and by the timely action of President Yahya Khan and our brave armed forces, it has now settled down and we can present our case, without mincing words, to the world at large.

Although I have been in politics for the best part of my youth and later served as a diplomat, I confess I cannot understand British policy these days in regard to our sub-continent. The newspapers, for no justifiable reason, have been hostile to us and have only publicised material handed to them by India or by their own correspondents stationed at New Delhi whose source of information is the Government of India. Then, we have Sir Alec Douglas-Home, your Foreign Secretary who blows hot and cold in the same breath, mostly hot in our faces; and we have Prime Minister, Mr. Heath, who maintains a consistent line of non-interference in the affairs of a sovereign State, and yet declared only the other day, that 'fresh assistance to Pakistan would be dependent upon a political settlement in East Pakistan'. What does he mean by political settlement? Compromise with traitors; then the answer is positively 'NO'. If he means the establishing of a civilian government in the country, then the answer is 'Yes'.

As I have stated earlier, one has to look at the other side of the coin to form an impartial judgment on the happenings in our Eastern wing. I shall, in as few words as possible, present to your readers our case.

It is a known fact that the last general elections held in December 1970 were contested in East Pakistan by the now-outlawed Awami League Party led by Mujibur Rahman on the basis of his 'Six Points' which he repeatedly assured, were

negotiable. He did not seek a mandate from the electorate to secede if he thought fit. Secession entered the field when Mujibur Rahman saw that the going was good and the President and his Martial Law government were allowing him to do as he pleased. The President bent over backwards to bring him to see reason, but he would not adopt a sensible nationalist outlook. When the President saw that matters were rapidly deteriorating, and since the 2nd of March Mujibur Rahman was ignoring the Central Government and issuing edicts to all and sundry, he (the President) decided to act to prevent the break up of Pakistan. How could he permit the break-up of Pakistan? He took action on the night of the 25th March, outwitting Mujibur Rahman's decision to declare the Eastern wing independent a few hours later. Which Head of State, I ask, would stand by and see the liquidation of a country born after much sacrifice by the Muslim masses of the sub-continent. It must not be forgotten that about a million lives were lost and over five million were rendered homeless and had to seek refuge and settle down in their newly created country.

Briefly, there was anarchy between the 2nd March and the 25th and once Martial Law bared its iron claws, hell was let loose by Mujibur Rahman and his supporters until late April. Mujib and his henchmen who were agents of India and were out to execute our enemy's shameful designs, issued orders and so terrorised the citizens in that wing, that none dared raise his voice in protest. Notwithstanding this provocation and the forbearance of our well disciplined armed forces, who were ordered to bear humiliation if it came their way, without retaliation, the President did not take action, hoping that Mujibur Rahman would see sense. But he did not.

All lines of communication were disrupted and destroyed by Indian saboteurs and their agents in our East wing. Dacca was cut off from Chittagong and Sylhet from Dacca and other important areas of East Pakistan. Even our passenger ships and freighters were bullied by the Indian Navy in their sailings between the two ports of Karachi and Chittagong. Indian intelligence played a trick by sending their agents in a written-off Fokker Friendship plane to Lahore, details of which must have been read by you at the time. This so-called 'hijacking' was a well planned exercise of the Intelligence Division of the Indian GHQ. It gave India a lame excuse to stop our over-flights between the two wings, thus making a strong attempt to break down our administration and there-

The East Pakistan Story

by leave the field in East Pakistan open to her and her stooges. Killing, looting and arson became the order of the day. Even a large section of the East Pakistan Rifles and the East Bengal Regiment, along with the members of the police force, mutinied in favour of Mujibur Rahman. As a result of the terrible disorder, about 325,000 to 400,000 Pakistanis who were not the so-called 'sons of the soil' were massacred. They were innocent and nearly all had no truck with politics. They were earning an honest living in their homeland. Almost all the technicians who were running various large and small enterprises in East Pakistan were either shot dead or slaughtered like goats. Even their women and children were not spared. Thousands of women and girls were raped and then killed. Our armed forces and Pakistani officers stationed in East Pakistan were murdered in cold blood Mujib and his Indian masters, seeing the success of their sabotage, came to believe that 'Bangla Desh' was just around the corner.

It is in such compelling circumstances that the President ordered our valiant armed forces to act. They did so and so saved the unity and integrity of Pakistan. For this act, the President and our armed forces should be congratulated by each and every right-thinking individual. The action should in no circumstances be criticised or condemned. Had such anarchy occurred in your or in any other country, I am sure they would not have supported traitors, saboteurs, agents and foreign armed forces who had infiltrated into their land.

To think that the army was responsible for the massacres and murders is to think incorrectly. I am one of those who has large business interests in East Pakistan and the bulk of my family lives there. My family associated itself with the aims and ambitions of the East Pakistanis ever since 1949. Everyone in East Pakistan knew of our association and closeness to the Bengali Muslim who was, by and large, a despised and downtrodden citizen of pre-partition Bengal. Our industries were attacked, and men, women and children who served our several enterprises, many of them since the birth of Pakistan, were either shot or put to the bayonet. Our industries were paralysed, although the machines were left intact to enable the traitors, after they achieved their dream of 'Bangla Desh', to bring Hindu technicians from Calcutta to operate the mills and factories taken over from their legitimate owners. If the army reacted rather fiercely when orders came, it did right. Half-hearted measures would not have done any good. The country

had to be saved from the hands of the traitors and their employers.

I shall now deal with what has been written in the press on the 'refugee' problem. The number of refugees first announced was around ten or twenty thousand, which increased to 100,000, then to a million, thereafter to two, three, four and now over five million. It would appear that the number of refugees in India grows faster than mushrooms. Each day the figure went up by half a million or a million. What is most amusing is that while the exodus from our land was reduced to a trickle, the number of arrivals across our border increased heavily. There was a reason. India wanted sympathy and support of the uninformed nations, with any amount of money thrown in as aid. Aid for whom? Aid for the refugees from East Pakistan or aid on that pretext for her half-starved millions in West Bengal, Assam and Tripura who, knowing that food would be available free of cost, made a bee-line for the border areas. Again, how did the refugee problem begin? Who was responsible for it? Who disturbed the peaceful atmosphere and progress of East Pakistan? Who indulged in the game of destroying the means of communication in the province? Who brought, commercial, industrial and civic life to a stand-still in the province? Who are the genuine refugees who fled as a result of Indian intimidation and propaganda or through fear of military action to restore peace and tranquility in the area? President Yahya Khan has declared and assured the bona fide East Pakistani refugees that if they return to one of the twenty camps established alongside our border, they will be taken care of and repatriated to their respective homes. Those who have betrayed their constitution, their country and their people by acting as agents of India and have been party to the destruction of our economy will not be welcome. We do not want them. India can have them with our compliments and absorb them. Once a traitor, will always remain a traitor and believe me, there is no room for traitors in any country.

So far as foreign aid goes, to help us during the difficult times through which we are passing, we shall welcome it, but its dispensation will be by Pakistan. Our bitter experience of the last great cyclone has taught us a lesson. We will not have foreigners infiltrating again.

Some newspapers have wept very bitterly for the ten million Hindus in our Eastern wing, not knowing that 9,200,000 of them constitute the untouchable class, a class which is not recognised even as human

beings by the caste Hindu. The untouchables, I understand, had little or nothing to do with what happened in East Pakistan. It was the caste Hindu and the Mujibites, who were financed and sponsored by India. All this planning in Delhi, must have taken at least two years in preparation, and it were the Indians who were responsible for all the bloodshed and paralysis of life in our Eastern wing. Christians and Buddhists, the other two minorities, also had no hand in the crime. It will be well to remember that the caste Hindu in East Pakistan has not reconciled himself to the fact of Pakistan, although Pakistan and India came into being as two separate sovereign nations as a result of an agreement arrived at between the British, the Hindu Congress and the Muslim League on August 14 and 15, 1947.

And finally, no self-respecting nation will permit interference in its internal affairs by any power, big or small. It has been proven that India has indulged in such nefarious activity. Have your country's press and radio, or the press and radio of some other countries, taken note of this fact and told India to behave herself? To my knowledge, the answer is 'No'. Pakistan, I am confident will pursue a course which is in its own interests, even if it means causing suffering to its citizens. We would rather be half hungry and be free than roll in wealth with aid and gifts and be slaves of a foreign power. It is suggested that the Consortium should exercise political pressure before agreeing to give aid to Pakistan. I assure you, if I know the temper of our people, such pressures will have no effect upon us. We shall resist them. We shall go without aid or loans and learn to stand on our own feet, than continue to be pampered by certain nations who have an ulterior motive. Only a traitor will barter his nations sovereignty for loan or aid. So far as I have seen, aid means a raid on the sovereignty of a developing nation. No amount of cooked-up pressure by India or adverse publicity will deter our government from its goal to restore normality in the shortest possible time in the province and thereby enable the President to hand over power to the people. We believe that the action taken by our government and the line that it is pursuing today is in the best interest of our country. And if traitors have been and are dealt with firmly, they have got what they have fully deserved. We cannot have complete normality until and unless the traitors realise that crime and murder of the innocent do not pay. There will always be a retribution.

Nationalisation—the limits of the possible ?

JAVED ANSARI

In the modern world, so called economic "radicalism" invariably points to nationalization as a panacea for all evils. Indeed a nationalized economy is glorified in language bordering on the ecstatic. The economic rationale for nationalization—in either a general or a specific sense—is rarely spelled out in detail. Nationalization, it is claimed, changes people and societies overnight.

Nationalization, as a policy, has been adopted consciously and consistently by socialist regimes all over the world. There has, of course, been a number of dissidents such as the Socialist Party of Great Britain, the Bund Demokratischer Sozialisten of Germany and Austria etc. which have held that nationalization is not Socialism, yet wherever the adherents of Marxist thought seized power, they have invariably instituted a system of comprehensive nationalization. Here too the spectrum is very broad and diversified. We have countries like China in which, at least since the cultural revolution, private ownership has been severely restricted. We have Poland and Yugoslavia which have retained a system of decentralized control in different sectors of their economy. Even the Soviet Union in its never-ending pursuit of economic efficiency has been experimenting with a number of combinations of public and private ownership systems. Little wonder that those seeking to apply the socialist model of economic development in the Third World find themselves confronted with a bewilderingly diverse array of institutional arrangements. This opens up rare opportunities for the "progressive" leaders of Asia, Africa and Latin America who find that almost any programme which does lip service to the ideal of nationalization, with a few other catchyslogans thrown in for good measure, can be described as Socialist. The Arab Socialist Union of Egypt, the Islamic Socialists of Pakistan, Mrs. Gandhi's Indian National Congress, all claim to be the revolutionary parties of the advanced proletariat in their countries. Indeed as C. E. M. Joad remarks: "Socialism is like a hat which everyone wears, so that it has lost its shape".

Karl Marx and Frederic Engels have stated the case for nationalization in a number of their books and essays. These two authors were primarily concerned with analysing the defects and inherent contradictions of the Capitalist system of production. Post-renaissance Europe was the seat of a civilization which had re-defined its social and ethical goals. The sole aim of social activity and co-ordination was the enhancement of material welfare. Political economy claimed to identify a set of economic relationships which, if

institutionalized, would result in economic activity of a form and magnitude which would maximize the (material) utility function of the Society concerned.

Marx and the Socialists were, of course, no less Utilitarian in their approach than the classical economists. Indeed the ultimate social goals (i.e. the function which is to be maximized) of the Socialists and the professed Utilitarians are identical. Dialectical materialism, in particular, is a philosophy which establishes without doubt the supremacy of Materialist motivations and requirements within the Marxist system.

Hence, Marx did not disagree with the classical economists about the nature of the Social Utility function that is to be maximized. He maintained, however, that the classical economists had failed to identify the bottlenecks that were developing within the institutional structure of the capitalist economies and which would impede a maximization of the objective function. He discerned—quite rightly—that an application of the policies advocated by the classical economists would lead to the growth of an oligopolistic market structure. There would exist a conflict in the interests of the oligopolists and the oligoposonists who operate in these markets. The short-run interests of the oligoposonists—the managers on the supply side—would in particular be radically different from the interests of the managers of total demand. Similarly the aims of the managers of the factor markets—the labour unions and the financiers—would diverge from the objectives of the Managers of production. The latter would be attempting to maximize the rate of growth of output in the short run: the former would be trying to increase the share of the factor of production in a growing output. Hence, despite the long run identity between the interests of those who wish to maximize growth and those who demand wage increase, there would inevitably develop a short-run conflict between policies aimed at growth in production on the one hand and at an increase in the equitable distribution of income on the other.

The Socialists have therefore used Nationalization as a method for the reconciliation of the interests of the different managerial groups. Within a fully nationalized economy it becomes possible to establish an operational trade-off point between production growth and income distribution without the conflict that characterizes the emergence of such a compromise in the context of a market or a mixed economy. The fact that the managers of production as well as the managers of the factors of production are

now operating in a single organization lends a purposefulness and single-mindedness to the policies of the institutions concerned which emanate from the monopolistic strength that the organization possesses. In Soviet Russia for example, the production and wage decisions are made within the context of a centralized framework which allows a planned equilibration of supply and demand in the goods and the factor markets. It is precisely due to the non-existence of *independent* pressure groups in the economy that problems of growth maximization and income distribution have been tackled more successfully by the USSR than any large capitalist country.

Nationalization is, however, one of a number of techniques that has been devised to bring about a reconciliation between different managerial interest groups. The development of the giant Joint Stock Corporation is a case in point. Here we usually have a managerial cadre in charge of the corporation which is "neutral" in the sense that it identifies itself with the interests of the organization as such and tries to balance the demands of the owners of the corporation (the faceless shareholders who demand increased dividends) and labour. The American economy in particular—and also that of the EEC countries—is now dominated by organizations of this nature. The corporate revolution has changed the business environment drastically since the turn of the century. The success of these giant enterprises reflects the greater efficiency that is the result of a divorce of ownership and control and in the integration of demand and supply management.

To those who accept the social goals of Benthamite utilitarianism and/or accept the logic of the materialist dialectics, a rationalization of economic relationships within the context of these philosophies is of great importance. Materialist pragmatists can—and do—argue that nationalization is a more efficient method for the integration of the different management groups in the Asian, African and Latin American countries. Such a process would allow these countries to pass over a number of phases which are necessary for the development of an imperfect market structure into one that is characterized by Monopoly Control. In other words Nationalization accomplishes overnight what the corporate revolution accomplishes in decades.

Much of the debate has centred around whether the claims of the advocates of Nationalization are true. One can usually point to a number of shortcomings, disequilibria, imbalances etc. in the Nationa-

NATIONALISATION . . .

lized economy. However, it has to be recognized that Nationalization can to a degree work both as an instrument of growth expansion and income equalization. Where it has failed, the fault usually lay with the policy makers and policy implementations rather than with the policy itself.

The Asian and African countries are, however, not yet won over to the philosophy of Materialism—dialectical or otherwise. Hence the question of maximization of production need not be of central importance in the economic theory and policy of these nations. If they adopt a set of social values which is non-materialist, problems of growth and of income distribution will be less crucial than issues of the direction and pattern of growth on the one hand and of the distribution of economic control and decision making power on the other. Nationalization perpetuates the concentration of economic power within the hands of a Managerial elite which alone determines the pace and direction of economic, political and social development. Hence a nationalized economy—or an economy dominated by the giant corporations—cannot be the ideal of a social order that is based on non-materialist values. Indeed such a social system will have to grapple with the problem of breaking the monopoly power of different sections of the managerial elite in society.

Nationalization in specific industries and in non-productive economic activities is an instrument which can be used effectively to smash the existing monopoly enclaves. For example the state must abolish the system which permits owners of capital to charge a fixed price for the loan of their surplus funds by, on the one hand, organizing a speculative market which determines this price and on the other by determining through the banking system the availability of total liquidity at any moment in time. The State must re-organize the system of borrowing and lending in a way that the flow of funds from lenders to borrowers is not impeded by monopolistic interests. Similarly the State should intervene in all markets where the price does not reflect a competitive equilibrium of supply and demand.

Nationalization as a technique can be useful in this context only if the State itself does not seek to perpetuate its control in any production activity but rather endeavours to create an institutional framework—and also ultimately a technological infra-structure—which facilitates a decentralization of control and promotes co-operation between agents of production. It is evident that a policy of Nationalization within an economic perspective of this sort will be radically different from the policies of State domination of economic life that is being advocated by the Socialists and the Bureaucrats nowadays.

The Malcolm X I knew

EBRAHIMSA MOHAMED

Malcolm X has enriched the lives of many people. He has provided inspiration for millions all over the world. Yet many of those who invoke his name and claim to follow his message understand him but little. The advocates of black nationalism and the socialists of the Third World who have taken over "Brother Malcolm" are a poor reflection of the Malcolm X I knew. There are several things which distinguish Malcolm X from many of his posthumous followers—his way of life, his personal qualities, and the breadth of his outlook.

I was with Malcolm for most of the time while he was in England just before he died. I travelled with him, I attended meetings with him and stayed with him in his hotel. What struck me was his clean living and his humility, his very simple tastes and his capacity for hard work. He had none of the vices which plague people in organisations which function in his shadow. Many of the black power and socialist groups are made up of people who are extremely corrupt in their personal lives. They drink, smoke, womanise, use foul language with as much devotion and enthusiasm as they shout revolutionary slogans. In so doing they have given a curious twist to the *mot* of Malcolm—"by any means necessary". This would have made him intensely unhappy. It was something that he was very much aware of in a painful sort of way, as he held the firm belief that it was lack of personal character and integrity which was ultimately the greatest danger to any movement.

Malcolm X lived simply. When he died he had very little in the way of material possessions. He never accumulated wealth. At his death he had only a few dollars to his name. The very house in which his family—his wife and five children lived did not belong to him. So simple and spartan was his life that his children often went without the things which other children are used to. For himself it didn't matter but it hurt him to realise that his children were in need and he wasn't able to give them the attention that he felt they needed. He was a compassionate man.

This is another thing which marks him out from many present day revolutionaries. He was humane. He had a genuine concern for people. He was kind and was grateful for any kindnesses shown to him. I remember one day we were travelling on the overnight train from Sheffield to London. Brother Malcolm was very tired for he always worked hard and drove himself to the limit. He fell asleep. I remained awake. There was a lady sitting next to us, who offered me tea and biscuits. When Malcolm awoke, I told him about the lady's offer and he said to me, "Did you



thank her?" This is the human touch which moves you and leaves a lasting impression. How much does it contrast with the arrogance, the lack of warmth, the carping rhetoric of those who call for liberation. The human touch is absent from them. In their presence there is a feeling of unease. They take people for granted. Malcolm X did not. He could lie low in the gentlest of fashion the most hostile of critics and questioners. And this is what audiences in England warmed to. And this was all while "saying it like it is."

He did and was prepared to face the situation in America like it was and is. He was in direct contact with the people. He never wanted to live outside of America and escape direct action. He saw America as the arena of action and did not want to use any outside country as a base. Other prominent black leaders and thinkers are doing this. They have gone to other revolutionary countries and cities to lie low or to cool down. Eldridge Cleaver is in Algeria; Stokely Carmichael is in Guinea and James Baldwin is now in Paris. This unwillingness to face the situation was something very very uncharacteristic of Malcolm X. He faced the situation of the blacks in America very squarely and came up with some very challenging, bold and to some people fearsome proposals. He was one of the first ones to tell the black people in America that under American law they

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had the right to self defence and therefore to carry arms. He was the first one to say that what the blacks in America wanted was not civil rights but their inalienable human rights. And just before his death he was planning to take the case to the United Nations and make it an issue of international concern in much the same way as apartheid in South Africa is now viewed. Also just before his death, he was about to launch a campaign of civil disobedience in America, to urge the blacks not to pay taxes in order to bring attention to the second-class nature of their citizenship, the discrimination against them and the deprivations which they suffer. He had the capacity and the appeal to launch such a campaign and it was at this moment that he was gunned down.

While Malcolm X was in England he talked about the visits which he made to the Middle East and Africa. His conversations showed how percipient an observer he was. He spoke of the many negative things which he saw, the standards of education, the cooling down of revolutionaries after they were established on the soft seats of power and the continuing neo-colonialism. One of the things which pained him most was the indifference of many African states to 'dollarism'. He pointed out that they spent a lot of time condemning apartheid and condemning South Africa but they overlooked the damaging inroads of American economic enterprises in Africa. In fact they became solicitous of American aid to the extent that they were not prepared to raise a finger at America's treatment of her citizens of African descent.

Malcolm X saw and experienced many positive things too. Generosity and open-heartedness were qualities which were impressed on him by the welcome which he received in many places. He also saw brotherhood and the brotherhood of different races and this led him to disclaim racism and to say: "I am not a racist; and I do not subscribe to any of the tenets of racism . . . In the past I permitted myself to be used . . . to make sweeping indictments of all white people, the entire white race, and these generalisations have caused injuries to some whites who perhaps did not deserve to be hurt. Because of the spiritual enlightenment which I was blessed to receive as the result of my recent pilgrimage to the Holy City of Mecca, I no longer subscribe to sweeping indictments of any one race. I am now striving to live the life of a true Sunni Muslim. I must repeat that I am not a racist nor do I subscribe to the tenets of racism. I can state in all sincerity that I wish nothing but freedom, justice, and equality, life, liberty and the pursuit of

happiness for all people."

This was the stage to which many of Malcolm X's followers have been unable to ascend. It required an honesty and a courage (in view of his previous stance and associations) which very few could have matched.

Malcolm X realised the great step he had taken and he knew what dangers lay ahead of him as a result. But Malcolm X was not fearful of his life. He used to say, "I am living a bonus life. I might have died a long time ago."

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Nota Bene

'SCRIBE'

From times immemorial the MOON has been the darling of the human race. It has been liked, loved and adored in a number of ways. Its influence has been myriad, but not always for the good. Hence the idea of lunacy: a form of insanity once believed to come from changes in the phase of the moon.

These changes were supposed to cast their influence when man was far removed from it. What about today, when man has already set his foot on the moon? "We are living in a schizophrenic age" says the President of the American Psychological Association. Michel Foucault has written "a history of insanity in the age of reason" and has named it *Madness and Civilisation*. He looks upon the contemporary phase of history as "the immense era of madness". Opinions and conjectures apart, it might need the founding of a new discipline of astrolometrics (like econometrics and panometrics) to establish the statistical correlation between man's nearness to the moon and an upsurge of lunacy in different walks of human life on earth. Who knows this interesting area of investigation may also attract the attention of some researchers, (probably from the United States) and of the Foundations which sponsor them with unceasing exuberance and lunatic benevolence.

Even if there is no correlation between lunacy and lunacy, the need for the conquest of madness remains indisputable. Pascal is reported to have said in a rare moment of wisdom that "men are so necessarily mad, that not to be mad would amount to another form of madness."

One of the latest exploits of this realm is a new species of economics— "lunatic economics". The film industry is no longer the pace-setter for fads and fashions. It has now begun to make original contribution to more serious subjects.

The National Film Finance Corporation had its annual gathering on September 1. This provided the film chiefs with an opportunity for self-appraisal. They focussed attention on the lunacy of astronomical fees for leading performers. Like charity, lunacy also begins at home. The fees of the stars are soaring to over a million dollars while industry is running low. According to John Boulting, joint managing director of British Lion Films: "It is absolutely true that in the past seven to ten years there has been a strong lunacy prevalent in the industry. There has been a near disaster . . ."

If profit mongering in the entertainment industry is a form of lunacy what would be the appropriate term for profiteering via one of the greatest pollution industries of our times?

Gamal Abdul-Nasser Hussain

ADNAN IBRAHIM

Gamal Abdul-Nasser Hussain will undoubtedly go down in history as one of the most influential, dynamic and controversial rulers the Arab World has ever known. By no means the founder of Arab Nationalism, or even an intellectual pioneer of its ideas and norms, he was certainly the man who gave it its popular identity and appeal. His influence has touched almost every aspect of Arab life since the beginning of the second half of this century. His era represents a significant turning point in the Arab politics.

His ascent to power in 1952 in the most influential Arab country could not have been more suitably timed. King Farouk's crumbling monarchy was then under heavy attack from all the major political parties of Egypt and from the public as a whole. It was being given the greatest share of blame for the 1948 defeat at the hands of Israel. The British troops were firmly stationed in the country, especially along the Suez Canal and the King appeared to be determined to keep them by his side. On 26 January 1952, Cairo was set to fire. Martial law was imposed, the press was heavily censored and civil liberties severely curtailed. Cabinets were being dissolved as soon as they were formed.

There was an atmosphere of frustration and disarray. Every one was expecting something to happen, some one to emerge. Things could not go on indefinitely in that fashion.

Gamal Abdul Nasser was the man to step in to fill the yawning vacuum. He held more or less complete sway for the next 19 years but in spite of all the voluminous writings on the man and his influence, the early years of his activities and life up to 1952 have somehow not been fully studied. Whatever fragmentary material is there, comes either from his uncritical devotees or political opponents. Perhaps it is only reflective of the continuing Arab and Muslim alienation with and disinterest in the recording and appraisal of their history. This short note is, therefore, only an attempt at suggesting the need for such a study and not any definitive study in itself.

Gamal was born on 15 January, 1918 in the village of Bani Morr at Asiat. He attended school in Alexandria where at the age of eleven he took part in the demonstrations of 1929—30. Three years later his family moved to Cairo. He graduated from the Military Academy in 1938 and continued to participate in and organise student activities and demonstrations in Cairo. During this period Gamal was more of an agitator than a political leader. He does not seem to reveal any political or ideological position.

He was never publicly affiliated to any

of the several political parties or ideological groups in Egypt, though he did at one time or another, associate with almost all these parties or groups. He associated with the Wafd party while in the secondary school and worked very enthusiastically with them. The Wafd, besides its wide public following had strong support within Parliament, and within the Egyptian power-structure as a whole. He is also said to have joined the Blue Shirts, an organisation modelled on the pattern of the Italian Black Shirts. When the Blue Shirts dissolved themselves a few months later, Gamal got in touch with the Muslim Brotherhood which was then emerging as a strong and well organised political group in Egypt. Gamal established good contacts with many of its active members.

At the same time, Gamal was working on another project of his own. He was trying to set up a 'revolutionary' and secret group of such Army officers who were not satisfied with the Army and the political situation in the country. Khalid Muhi ad-Din, a shrewd officer with strong communist beliefs, was the first to join. As soon as the Free Officers began to establish themselves as an active underground organisation, Khalid told Gamal that it would be a good idea if they could make use of the technical facilities available with the Communists. Gamal was later introduced to Ahmad Fu-ad, the General Secretary of *Hadtu*, the biggest communist organisation in Egypt. From early 1950 up to the time of Gamal's coup Ahmad Fu-ad had the responsibility of writing, typing and distributing all the secret pamphlets and leaflets of the Free Officers.

For some time Gamal is reported also to have associated with the Nationalist party, a small party calling for the boycott of the government until the British troops were withdrawn. His participation with a group known as Ansar Al-Hurria (advocates of freedom), group alleged to be sponsored by the British is also mentioned.

This capacity to penetrate and accommodate, and then to move on, points both to the evolution of Gamal's politics as well as his ability to handle simultaneously conflicting outlooks and interests with an exemplary dexterity. In any case, these floatings and probings provided him with an invaluable opportunity to gain the knowledge of and insight into the inner-structure of the Egyptian power groups and political trends.

Through all this Gamal emerged neither a Wafdist, nor a nationalist, nor a Muslim Brother, nor a communist, nor even a mixture of all these; he remained Gamel himself. He became his own type, with all the elements of originality, finesse and style. However, his main concern, unknown to all with whom he was working, was

directed to the Free Officers Group, which was formed by him and continued always to remain a vehicle of Gamal's personality and ambition. The Group consisted of an interesting mixture of army officers of all kinds of political and ideological leanings and aspirations but Gamal had his own way of dealing with them.

In his book 'Gamal Abdul-Nasser', the editor of the renowned daily *Al-Misri*, Ahmed Abu Al-Fatah, who was a personal friend of Gamal and stood by his side all through the preparation period for the 1952 take-over, and in whom Gamal confided a great deal, we read (p 223 ff, Arabic Edition) that Gamal knew full well how to deal with brother officers of the 'Revolutionary Council': "During the early days of the coup Gamal would insist on telling a story about Anwar Sadat: On the night of the Coup, We arranged all plans, and allocated to each officer his duties and then went to look for Sadat but could not find him in his house. I learned that he had gone to the cinema that evening, and I left a message asking him to join us as soon as he got home." Gamal would tell the story in the presence of Sadat who would agree with him and join in the laughter. . . In one meeting Gamal started telling me what he thought of Salah Salim. He described him to be vain and arrogant and (one) who could be easily used to insult anyone. Gamal would say 'Salah is like a balloon, you blow in it and it bloats until it is time for you to touch it with a tiny pin and let it die down and become useless'. . . Of the people whom Gamal enjoyed making fun of was Zakaria Muhi ad-Din, then Interior Minister, by saying that he was not what people thought he was. He told me how some very critical events happened and he (Gamal) was informed of them on the spot and took action, while Muhi ad-Din was visiting his home-town. . . About Hussain Shafi, when I once asked his opinion of him, Gamal laughed sarcastically and said, 'my opinion of whom? How can anyone have an opinion about Hussain Shafi? His presence is the same as his absence; he does no harm nor is he any good. All he worries about is his moustache and the way he puts on his cap and that no photographs should be taken of him which will not show him smart or show his moustache in a bad shape. He is the easiest of them all. . ."

The setting up of an intelligence State ('*Dawlat al Mukhabirat*' in the words of President Sadat), distaste for opposition and escalation to totalitarianism, the rationale for all these can perhaps be seen in the make-up of the Free Officers Group. He may be regarded as unlucky in this but there is no doubt that if he came to stay on top until he died on 28 September 1970, he did deserve it.

A LETTER FROM MALAYSIA

The question mark?

AHMAD NAZIM

I have been reading your journal, since publication, with interest particularly the views given by Syed Nasir, a Malay politician, the article on Patani and the brief review given on the book, "*Revolusi Mental*" edited by Inche Senu. As you know, all these have a direct bearing on Malaysia.

On 31 August, Malaysia celebrated its fourteenth year of independence. At Kuala Lumpur, the traditional variety shows and parades were held. It is believed that similar festivities were held, wherever there were Malaysians.

As with the celebration last year and probably the years to come, the event, in spite of efforts by the government and responsible citizens, was shadowed by the race holocaust of 13 May, 1969. That was a terrible date in the history of Malaysia. The probable causes and results of this tragic episode are yet to be analysed rationally. However, three significant events have occurred since then.

First, the Tengku has been replaced by his deputy Tun Abdul Razak, affectionately termed by Malaysians as the Tun. Both these men have different, if not contrasting personalities. If the Tengku is ever-smiling, happy, approachable and inclined to talk a bit, the Tun is sober, very quiet and singularly business minded. It appears that there were manoeuvres (by some of his colleagues) to prevent the Tun from taking over the reign of government. But the riots of May 13 shaped the situation in such a way that it became imperative to let the Tun deal with the situation with a firm hand.

Secondly, after the riots Malay attitudes towards the non-Malays hardened. This was shown by the rise of the Malay "ultras" and the "Young Turks", and the defeat of the "liberal" in the Malay political hierarchy. According to reliable sources the Tengku was severely criticised by the "ultras" and "Young Turks" at a close session of the ruling party, the United Malays National Organisation. It took an "ultra" in the person of Syed Jaafar Albar to make a plea on behalf of the Tengku. This criticism of the fallen idol is not thought of well by many informed Malaysians. For all his faults, they say, the Tengku has got enough courage to be himself, a rare characteristic in politics. They say that the Malaysians knew what he was and what his plans and dreams were. The "ultras" and "Young Turks" were practically quiet during his premiership. They also point out the "ultra's" silence when the Tengku allowed Malaysia and Singapore to separate, although Singapore had long been regarded as part of the Malay Peninsula. There was hardly a murmur when the implementation of the National Language (Malay) was compromised. To point now to the Tengku, no

longer the Prime Minister, is according to them neither courageous nor honourable.

The third significant event following the race riots is the detente between Kuala Lumpur and Peking. This appears to be strange and paradoxical particularly coming after the race riots and the entrenchment of the Malay nationalism. The detente may partly be due to Peking's own desire to normalise after having undergone the Cultural Revolution. It may also be due to the Tun's desire to allay the fear of the non-Malays. He had certainly been accused of being anti-Chinese and this overt cordiality towards China may help allay such suspicions. Then there is the question of isolating Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, the Prime Minister of Singapore, and disarming him of his accusation that Malaysia is not a suitable place for the Chinese.

To emphasise the shadow of the race riots in the fourteenth year of Merdeka is not to say that life in Malaysia has not returned to normal. It certainly has. The cinema, parks and "satay" stalls are again filled up with people. The riot is like a bad dream for most Malaysians. They would like to forget it but cannot do so. In the meantime, life must go on. As an old friend said, "My children have grown up since then". That is a hopeful statement from a citizen of a country trying very hard to forget a bad dream, if not actually a nightmare.

The Malaysian government, in the meantime have evolved a code of conduct for Malaysians in the form of the *Rukunegara*. Among other things, it enjoins Malaysians to believe in God, to be loyal to the King and the country and to respect the Constitution. The Constitution states that the National Language is unquestionably Malay with guarantees given to non-Malays to practice their languages and religion.

The idea underlying the *Rukunegara* probably is to try to establish a national ideology, akin to the "Pantja Sila" of Indonesia. It was thought perhaps that a "link" stronger than the National Language is needed to create a national identity out of the many races in Malaysia. These are brave efforts by those in authority. The question that may be posed is whether the *Rukunegara* is enough to meet the challenge ahead, especially to avoid another racial holocaust.

Judging from neighbouring Indonesia, one is not sure if the *Rukunegara*, in spite of the undoubted sincerity behind it, would be enough. Indonesia, it may be noted, is not lacking in ideologies and "isms". Yet, to put it mildly, it does not appear to be able to forge ahead. And Indonesia has no racial problems comparable to that which inflicts us in Malaysia.

What then is the answer? A question mark hangs over our future!

LETTERS

Esperanto Translation of the Qur'an

It is unfortunate that your reviewer, Mr. A. M. Nuruddin, of the Esperanto translation of the Holy Koran, is not a fluent Esperantist for he would realise that Esperanto is a rich flexible language and a worthy vehicle for presenting the glorious *Koran*,

I should like to point out that JE LA NOMO DE ALLAH *does* mean "with the name of Allah", and not "in the name of Allah", which is "EN LA NOMO ALLAH".

I am an English Moslem converted by Colin Evan's booklet "Islam Esperantiste Rigardata". Comparing these translations with the lucid Esperanto version I fully appreciate the worth of the Esperanto and it has given me the incentive now to learn Arabic.

I hope your reviewer will continue to study Esperanto and will also come to appreciate the true value of La Nobla Korano as translated by Prof. Chiussi.

Dartford, Kent

F. CRANE

A. M. NURUDDIN WRITES:

In the article concerned I was studying some translations of the Qur'an, and defending neither esperantism nor anti-esperantism. It will be a waste of time to prove or disprove that Esperanto is one of the richest languages of the world, although it can easily be demonstrated that Arabic is by far the richest.

The correspondent himself says: "Je is flexible and means at or with and also in". If there is no rigorous precision, why not use a word which is less ambiguous?

The exigencies of the moment require that Muslims expend their energies in practicing and propagating Islamic ideology. Arabic being the mother tongue of the wives of the blessed Prophet, those venerated Mothers of the Faithful, as the Quran designates them, Arabic is the mother tongue of every Muslim. Let us learn it, at least adopt its script to our local languages. Use Esperanto and profit thereby, but don't become its devotees to the neglect of more important things.

Six Points, Yet Again

Please permit me to submit the following Six Points for the attention of President Yahya Khan. We believe that if Pakistan is to be saved from disintegration, these have to be implemented forthwith.

1. Derogation of Islam and the ideology of Pakistan should be made a cognizable offence.
2. All the educational institutions should be purged of such elements who do not believe in Pakistani ideology.
3. The government services, particularly communication media, should be opened to Islamic and patriotic citizens.
4. The recent blanket pardon given to murderers and anti-Pakistan elements shows that the regime is allowing itself to be pressurised by the so called 'world opinion'. It should be made clear that the miscreants and the secessionists will never be permitted to rise again either in the East or West Pakistan.
5. The system of separate electorate should immediately be re-introduced.
6. The President and all top government servants should take a public oath that they will do their best to lead their own lives in the true spirit of Islam. A precedence has already been set by Sirdar Abdul Qayyum Khan, President of the Azad Government of Jamu and Kashmir.

Liverpool-13

DR. S. EHSANULLAH

Secretary, Doctors Islamic Society
in U.K. & Eire

Pakistan—viability without constitution

Richard S. Wheeler, 1970

THE POLITICS OF PAKISTAN:
a constitutional quest

pp 346 Cornell, Ithaca & London \$11.00

The book has already been taken over by recent happenings in Pakistan where the political situation has always been in a sort of flux. One constitutional crisis after another has been followed by two doses of martial law. One is bound to ask why 'constitutional consensus' has eluded Pakistan for so long. When one remembers that both Pakistan and India attained their independence 24 years ago and that within 3 years of her independence India was able to draft and adopt her constitution, it is difficult to comprehend why constitutional controversy and uncertainty is still raging in Pakistan.

If there were constitutional problems in India it would have been understandable. It has got larger population, heterogeneous cultures, diverse languages and an assortment of religions. In contrast Pakistan has a more homogeneous and compact society. Still it has failed to solve her constitutional and basic problems. Professor Wheeler analyses this and comes to the conclusion that "the successive political and constitutional crisis of the past twenty years have arisen from a continued lack of consensus on the role of Islam in the State... and from the even more difficult problems of reconciling the diverse interests of a geographically divided political community... in a democratic constitutional order" (p. 92)

Pakistan was achieved on the basis of Muslim solidarity. Muslims of the Indian sub-continent were promised that Pakistan would be an "Islamic State". However, when Pakistan did become a real entity according to Professor Wheeler it "seemed to be an anachronism in a twentieth century world dominated by secular ideologies". Hence instead of making any sincere efforts to frame a constitution in keeping with their own promises as well as the aspirations of the Muslim masses, the Pakistani ruling classes went on with their petty squabbles over "loaves and fishes" of political power. The blame was thrown at the door of Islam which according to Professor Wheeler proved "to be a divisive rather than an integrating force." This negated the very basis of Pakistan.

The solution provided by Professor Wheeler to the political problems of Pakistan is very 'original'. He considers that 'a parliamentary system poses grave problems for the (Pakistani) society'. The system of Parliamentary democracy developed in England is not suitable to

Pakistan. "The only alternative is the imposition of a political consensus. In principle the agency for such an imposition could be a powerful party or political movement, a foreign power by means of conquest, or an internal force of some kind." That is to recommend that in the Pakistani context "martial law" is the only viable political system!

(A. R. Siddiqui)

A deadly balance sheet

THE MILITARY BALANCE 1971-72

pp83 *The Institute for Strategic Studies*, London 65p.

The Institute for Strategic Studies publishes an annual study on *The Military Balance*. It contains a wealth of authentic material on the armed strength of a great number of countries. This year's study also includes comparative figures for the last 20 years in respect of the armed forces, defence expenditure and GNP of the major countries. Countries covered relate to five broad areas: the U.S. and the Soviet Union, the European balance, the Middle East and the Mediterranean, Sub-Saharan Africa, and Asia and Australia. Under each broad heading the military strength of the leading countries in the area is stated. The principal military and political pacts are also briefly referred to. This country-wise survey is followed by tables dealing with comparative strategic strengths, nuclear delivery vehicles, defence expenditure, data on national economies and essential information about overseas deployment of forces, major identified arms agreements, and secondary arms producers. The military balance between NATO and the Warsaw Pact is covered in an appendix.

It might be of interest to note that the world's highest per capita defence expenditure is in Israel (\$483). This is followed by the U.S.A. (\$373) and Russia (\$222). The per capita defence expenditure in other Middle Eastern countries is given as: Egypt: \$38, Jordan: \$47, Iraq: \$30, Syria: \$29, Algeria: \$13, Sudan: \$7. War expenditure as a percentage of GNP is also highest in Israel i.e. 26.5 per cent in 1970. The other Middle Eastern countries devote a significantly lower percentage of their resources to defence.

(K. Ahmad)

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Books and Briefing

The Crimean Tatars and Volga Germans: Soviet treatment of two national minorities by Ann Sheehy, *Minority Rights Group* (36 Craven Street, London, W.C.1) August, 1971, 30p. (Presents the little-known story of the Russians' treatment of their Crimean Tatar and Volga German minorities.)

During the Second World War Stalin deported en bloc to central Asia seven Soviet nationalities—totalling some one and a half million people—either to prevent, or as a punishment for, alleged wholesale collaboration with the Germans.

Despite harassment and prosecutions, the Crimean Tatars, who now number about 300,000 have never ceased to campaign for the equality of rights with the other nations of the U.S.S.R. which Lenin had granted them. While protesting their loyalty and communism, they claim that the manner in which they were deported—at bayonet-point, with only a few minutes' warning, and crowded into cattle-trucks to Uzbekistan (near Afghanistan)—came close to genocide. Many thousands of them died during and after the journey.

The surviving Volga Germans (who had been sent beyond the Urals) were eventually 'politically rehabilitated' in 1964, and the Crimean Tatars in September 1967. But neither group has been allowed what they principally want: repatriation to their homes and the restoration of their national autonomy).

The United States Response to Turkish Nationalism and Reform 1914-1939 by Roger R. Trask, *University of Minnesota Press*, Minneapolis, 1971. Price not mentioned (On the rewards of secularism for Muslims and how damaging the Islamic image of a Muslim country can be for her).

Left, Left, Left by Peggy Duff, *Alison and Busbey*, London 1971, £2.80 (An informative though pathetic biography of six political campaigns including the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, written in an autobiographical vein and driving to the conclusion that revolutionary fire is almost extinguished in the Left, particularly the present-day Labour Party).

Bulletin of the AMSE, a periodical mimeograph issued by the Association of Muslim Scientists and Engineers of North America. (Besides reporting on the activities of the AMSE, it also carries excerpts and summaries of technical papers of interest contributed by its members).

M.S.A. Newsletter monthly newsletter of The Muslim Students Association of India. (Reporting Muslim students' activities in India and elsewhere; also some general articles on Islam).

A compilation of the thoughts of the 'Shah' of Persia is to be published next month. Autographed copies will be presented to every Head of State.

The Arabic version of the magazine **World Marxist Review**—Problems of Peace and Socialism published from Prague is to be brought out more regularly and the number of copies of national editions may be increased. The appearance of the magazine is also to be improved.

The Overseas Review of Barclays Bank DCO reports that 75% of the population in sub-Saharan countries live in subsistence conditions and that there has been no significant progress in developing Africa in the last twenty years.

Novosti and the **Aden News Agency** have signed an agreement to provide for the exchange and distribution of news and other mass media material.

A new English language newspaper, **The Star**, serving the northern part of West Malaysia, started publication on 10 September.

MUSLIM STUDENTS

“Made in Britain”

IMPACT REPORT

It is one of the strange phenomena of modern times that many committed Muslims have become thus committed after a period of intimate contact with the West. Of course it is also true of many ardent modernisers in the Muslim world who have had the ground swept from under their feet by the achievements of the West. In the very intricate process of influences and thought selection, many people go different and conflicting ways. And there are different and conflicting groups who engage in a veritable battle for allegiance, for the minds and hearts of people. Students form the centre-piece of this arena. Among the Muslims who pursue studies in the institutions of higher education in Britain, the FOSIS (The Federation of the Students Islamic Societies in the United Kingdom and Eire) has set itself the task of building up an Islamic consciousness and practice.

Formed almost ten years ago, the FOSIS now has more than twenty student organisations from Brighton to Dublin attached to it. So far it has succeeded in getting in touch with only a fraction of Muslim students in Britain, a great number of whom fall in with nationalist groups, with socialist groups or with leisure and pleasure groups or with none at all.



A DISCUSSION GROUP AT THE LONDON ISLAMIC CIRCLE

Most of the membership of the FOSIS has been made up of overseas students but it does not give the impression of an *emigre* group with eyes focussed abroad. Its office-bearers have come from Malaysia, Pakistan, Syria, Egypt, Nigeria, India and Great Britain. The FOSIS is a group which has always striven to maintain its independence and to regard students in Britain as its primary concern.

In its variety of activities, the organisation has always tried to concentrate on doing things in depth. Its monthly magazine *The Muslim* has over the years built up a reputation for high standards which it strives to preserve against great odds. The Hostel Project is another example of solid

and imaginative work. Intended to provide accommodation and headquarters facilities, the Hostel is a £40,000 project which is managed by a Trust set up by the FOSIS. Conversion work on the building (at 38 Mapesbury Road, London NW2 4JD) has already begun. Expected to be opened by the end of the year, the project is still in need of a few thousand pounds for completion.

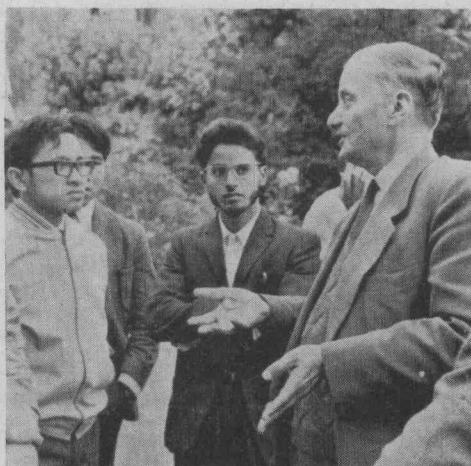
The FOSIS has had and is having its difficulties. But though some of its programmes may lack a popular appeal, FOSIS constituents have been able to do some basic and far-reaching work. The teaching of Muslim children in week-end schools is an example as is the conscious attempt to introduce Islam to others. A pointable deficiency however, is the limited work among the thousands of Muslim youth in Britain which fact was often highlighted in the sessions of its eighth annual conference which was held in Manchester last July.

But though it has not been able to reach everyone, it is true that for many individuals the FOSIS “has provided an anchor, and a framework within which to realise the relevance of Islam and the fullness and satisfaction of leading a Muslim life”.

There are many who, in so far as they could call themselves Muslims, were ‘Made in Britain’.



MUSLIM STUDENT CENTRE & HOSTEL, LONDON, UNDER RENOVATION



THE STUDENT CENTRE PROVIDES AN OPPORTUNITY TO EXCHANGE IDEAS. HERE A GROUP IS IN DISCUSSION WITH H. E. HUSSEIN SIRAJ, DIRECTOR-GENERAL WORLD MUSLIM LEAGUE, MECCA (Extreme Right).

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World Opinion

CACOPHONY ABOUT AZAN

From Mr. Yehudi Menuhin

Sir, I have just read the good news in your issue of September 3, and have sent the following cable. "Their Excellencies the Minister of Culture and Mehmet Ozgunes, Minister of Religious Affairs, Ankara, Turkey. Congratulations your decision to forbid use of loudspeakers and recorded sound for the muezzin's call to prayer. This is easily the most constructive, progressive, encouraging news of the day. I hope that your wonderful example will be followed by all Mohammedan communities and will serve as an inspiring example for people everywhere who would arrest the vulgarisation of culture and the debasing of the human senses".

From Air Commodore M. W. Palmer

Sir, Why does Mr. Yehudi Menuhin (September 6) object so strongly to the use of "recorded sound for the muezzin's call to prayer"? Many of his own musical utterances, charged with that beauty, nobility and spirituality so characteristic of his style, have been recorded: they, surely, have not vulgarised culture or debased the human senses. On the contrary, the world would be a poorer place if we could only hear Mr. Menuhin "live".

Perhaps it has something to do with the fidelity of the reproduction?

From Mr. A. G. C. Bennett

Sir, If Mr. Menuhin is interested in constructive progress he should be in favour of using loudspeakers and recorded music to call the faithful to prayer.

The Christians introduced automation for this purpose at least fifteen hundred years ago when they put a bell at the top of a tower and attached a rope to it so that it could be operated at ground level.

From Judge Seys Llewellyn

Sir, Anyone who has heard the appallingly powerful and raucous infidelity of reproduction of the human voice from the mosque adjacent to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem will instantly appreciate Mr. Menuhin's objection. (*The Times*, London, 6, 8 and 10 September, 1971)

THE CIVILIZING BURDEN

... We say let merit be the criterion, and this is nothing new in this country. We have always had standards which we believe people should achieve before they participate in government. After all, government is supposed to be responsible and we believe that people should qualify and show a certain degree of responsibility, a certain degree of civilisation before we allow them to take part in government...

Well there are certain qualifications laid down which involve a minimal educational qualification; also there is a financial and earning

qualification. And it does so happen that as far as the black man is concerned the qualifications for him are far less than they are for the white man. To that extent we have bent over to try to assist him, realising that as far as civilisation is concerned he is a long way behind us.

I think few people realise that at the beginning of this century there was no civilisation, so to speak, here amongst the black people... It's because of the fact that they had no contact with civilisation, as I said, until about the turn of the century; so you can't expect a nation or a people to automatically become civilised in a matter of about 70 years. The civilising process, I think, takes centuries... (Ian Smith speaking to G. D. Armstrong, *The Plain Truth* monthly, September 1971).

PROGNOSIS OVER PAKISTAN

... Islam can no longer be effectively used by the junta as a force to bring the peoples of the West and the East together. The Koran may still have an appeal to the simple people of the more remote parts of the countryside but it is not an important factor in the lives of Bengali intellectuals, or even the literate clerks, shopkeepers and farmers...

Mr. Bhutto is concerned that some of his followers are beginning to fall away as the fruits of office recede further into the background, but he is aware that his support among the middle ranks of the Army officers—majors and colonels—is menacing to the ruling clique...

But, plagued with desperate economic problems, worried by the recent pact between India and the Soviet Union, the junta must within the next few months announce a bold and constructive policy and hand over power to Bhutto and the politicians. There are frequent rumours of a coup d'état in Islamabad, and one before Christmas cannot be ruled out. (Clare Hollingworth in *The Daily Telegraph*, London, 13 September, 1971).

... It would be surprising if there were not a good deal of common ground between the major powers, at least on the prognosis of the coming collapse of Pakistan and perhaps on the need for a measure of stability in the East Bengal area. To most countries at any rate, the prospect of a drawn-out and ruinous war of liberation in East Bengal can be a matter only for great foreboding. If this is so and if it is accepted that the unity of Pakistan can no longer be restored, then it should not be impossible for increasingly effective common policies to be pursued. (Peter Shore, M.P., in *New Statesman*, London, 10 September, 1971)

PRESS FREEDOM: THE MASSES DON'T REALLY MATTER

Careful. The masses do not read the straight press to be informed but

to be entertained. That's why they read "L'Aurore" here and, what? the "Daily News" in New York.

Should they read a leftist newspaper, they may not agree with it, they may in fact be totally against, but they know the object is to inform, not entertain. The concept of freedom of the press is a bourgeois concept. The masses don't worry about such things, and you will never see workers protesting press censorship, here in France at least, and I would conjecture that neither in the US, would masses wage a campaign against the censorship of reports from Vietnam. The masses know instinctively that the press belongs to the bourgeoisie, not to the masses. Freedom of the press is capitalist freedom of the press, which means that, perhaps unconsciously, the masses view the press as the enemy. Hence they don't expect from it anything that is really meaningful in terms of their own lives. This was not true, of course, in Czechoslovakia, where the workers and students were united in demanding a press that would inform them as their own, that is, as a Socialist press.

But in a capitalist country the straight press doesn't really count, so why write for it? As for the independent left-wing weeklies or monthlies, they are not read by the masses, only by the leftist bourgeoisie. In general, I will write, here in France at least, only for newspapers that are militant, even if I don't always agree with their ideological position, that is newspapers whose staff understands that their rôle is to break the vicious circle by going to the masses militantly, and that doesn't mean hawking the newspapers in front of the cafés. (Jean-Paul Sartre: interview in *The Guardian*, London, 4 September, 1971)

A BANGLA DESH FOR INDIA

... The Bangla Desh crisis galvanised the Centre into a new awareness of West Bengal's problem. A new corps of civil servants and top Congress men has arrived to join the police and army already here.

Bengali officials need no reminding that the Marxist leadership and many of its supporters are drawn from the six million refugees from East Bengal who came here over the years since partition and before the present influx occurred.

The Indian Government has so far successfully isolated the bulk of the refugees and has stopped pamphletting by Left-wing parties in the camps. The refugees are, as yet, hardly ripe for politics. How long before they are open to it is a question: some here put it at 18 months to two years at the most.

It is highly unlikely that Mrs. Gandhi will relax her grip on the State. Her lieutenants face the task of coping with the refugees, reviving West Bengal's economy, and replacing the Marxists with a Congress network in the Administration, police, and unions. Given an independent Bangla Desh within the near future the prospects for success are good. Without it failure is almost inevitable. (Martin Woollacott in *The Guardian*, London, 2 September, 1971)

... A team of specialists in nutrition appointed by the Indian government

to examine malnutrition among refugee children from East Bengal, has told the Cabinet here, in a secret report, that the Indian authorities might be held guilty of infanticide if immediate remedial measures were not devised to tackle the problem.

Another observation made by the team is that children and mothers remained severely undernourished because "adult males in the refugee homes ate considerably more than their share of the rations and were in relatively better health."

VOTING WITH MARBLES

Under the new electoral system adopted by Parliament, "tokens" are to be used by electors instead of ballot papers. Each candidate in a constituency will have a box marked with his name and a symbol, and, should the candidate wish it, a photograph of himself. The symbols allocated to each candidate by the returning officer will be displayed and identified at each polling station. The tokens, which, following the Gambia precedent will be like marbles, will be dropped into ballot boxes in such a way that the voter cannot thereafter withdraw them. When the token is dropped into the box a "clear and distinct sound audible to any person of normal hearing in the polling station" will be caused, so that the voter cannot vote a second time. On the other hand, the presiding officer has to ensure that it will not be possible for anybody outside the polling booth, where the voter will be alone, to distinguish the sounds from the various ballot boxes.

In the past there have been accusations that instead of dropping ballot papers into boxes some voters have taken them away and sold them to candidates, who arranged for their supporters to use them in addition to their own ballot papers. The Minister of the Interior has also said that in the long run the system is cheaper than the old one since the same tokens can be used over and over again. In addition voting and the counting of votes would be much speedier.

(*West Africa* weekly, London, 10 September, 1971)

Science is too important to be left to the scientists; if there is one message to emerge from the annual meeting of the venerable British Association for the Advancement of Science, this is it. Scientists are unfitted to the task of shepherding the creature they serve. That creature is today's Leviathan, its coils winding into every corner of our lives. Who is to control it? During the past week eminent members of the scientific establishment have expressed wildly divergent views on the relevance of science and technology to society...

The one truth evident from the Swansea gathering is that scientists are, as a breed, wholly unable to agree upon the manner in which their skills and understanding should be applied. Nor is there any consensus over the uses already being made of the powerful tools which the last century put into our hands. There is only one point on which everyone agrees. These powers must be controlled. By whom? The scientists themselves do not qualify for the task.

(*New Statesman*, London, 10 September, 1971)

IRANIAN CELEBRATIONS

Viewpoint of the Underground¹

AYATOLLAH KHOMAINI²

The history of Islam is a history of constant and protracted struggle against monarchy. The establishment and consolidation of a monarchical system of government has been the most unfortunate calamity that has befallen the Muslim nation. Its effects have been deep and far-reaching. The malaise has invaded not merely the body-politics of Islam, it has also affected the cultural, moral and spiritual growth of the Muslim Community as well. A genuine renaissance and revival of Islam is possible only when political tyranny is vanquished and the dignity and liberty of the individual is assured and guaranteed.

The people of Iran have suffered terribly at the hands of the dynasties that have ruled this nation. The cruelty, ferocity and barbarism of these rulers have been unparalleled in the annals of history. The kings have waged an incessant war against Islam and the Muslim people in our country. They have created a political and economic system of exploitation. They have fostered the development of alien cultures and norms. They have stifled liberty and freedom and have persecuted and tortured hundreds of Ulema and thousands of freedom fighters. The crimes against Islam and the Muslims have extended over the whole span of 2,500 years during which the Monarchy has been in existence. The present regime now plans to celebrate the anniversary of the establishment of the kingdom. A mourning would have been more appropriate.

There is no wonder that the people of Iran show deep anger and resentment at these celebrations. They come at a time when the people of our villages are living in abject poverty and misery. In the southern part of the country starvation is a common phenomenon. Almost daily I receive reports and requests from the Ulema seeking permission to use funds of the Bait-ul-mal for the poor peasants. The so-called white "revolution" has come and gone; a miserable farce enacted by a power-hungry clique. It has not changed the condition of the people in the slightest degree.

Meanwhile all opposition to the Shah and his regime is being put down ruthlessly and shamelessly. Thousands of students,

freedom fighters, Ulema and workers are in jail. Their only crime is that they have refused to remain silent spectators of the drama that is being enacted. At this moment my heart goes out in particular sympathy with the thousands of students—both in Iran and abroad—who are ceaselessly struggling against this tyranny. We remember the shooting in Qum, Tebriz and Tehran where literally thousands of our children were slaughtered. In the struggle for the emancipation of the Iranian people the students are playing a heroic role which cannot be forgotten.

The Shah has mortgaged the economy of our country to foreign powers. The Imperialists now have a definite plan for Iran. They want to use our country in their fight against the heroic Palestinian Muslims. The Shah has already succeeded in giving concession to the Israelis to the extent that their agents dominate the economic life of our country. They have also penetrated into a number of important government departments and services. The Iranian Muslims deeply resent this collaboration with Israel. The Muslims of Iran are prepared to shed the last drop of their blood for the liberation of Al-Quds. They cannot think for a moment that they can remain quiet while their brothers in Palestine face oppression. On the other hand, the regime is every day enlarging its area of collaboration with Israel. Oil is being supplied and other links are being established. Indeed the people who are actually planning the celebration and festivities to mark the 2,500th anniversary of the kingdom are Israeli businessmen and civil servants.

It is our duty to show our resentment of their "celebration". We must dissociate ourselves from these activities and proclaim to the world that it is the exploiters of the people of Iran who are celebrating the 2,500th anniversary. The people of Iran have cause to mourn and lament the establishment of this kingdom. The Governments and the people who come to attend these celebrations must know that the Iranian people deeply resent the fact that these celebrations are being held and that they will not forget the identity of those who have rejoiced, while the people



of Iran have mourned.

The Ulema have a special responsibility. They have to lead the fight against the regime and to guide the students and the workers along the path of the Islamic revolution. The regime has been trying to persuade the Ulema that they should keep out of politics. Surely the Ulema know that Islam is a complete way of life; it is religion *and* politics, this world *and* the hereafter, the Quran *and* the Sword. Did Ali keep out of politics? Did Husain silently agree to the Monarchy of the era? Are we holier than Husain or Ali? It is manifest to all who can think that the duty of the Ulema is nothing but to sacrifice their lives and their wealth in the struggle against oppression and exploitation.

The Ulema have great political strength. The thousands of Makatib can provide enthusiastic revolutionaries. Given a disciplined and sustained struggle, our battle can yet be won. On the other hand if we do not oppose the regime now, it will encourage them to increase their excesses and to strike boldly at the Muslims of Iran in the future.

1 Condensation of message issued from Najaf.

2 Ayatollah Khomeini is regarded as the supreme leader of the Shia Muslims.

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NEWS BRIEF

China. Efforts are being made to popularise the new Kazakh alphabet in the Autonomous Uighur Province of Sinkiang in order to popularise Mao's thought among the Turkic peoples of the area. □ Fifty coloured photographs of "the brilliant image of our great leader, Chairman Mao" are being distributed throughout the country. This is in order to mark the 50th anniversary of the founding of "the great, glorious and correct Communist Party" as well as "to meet the demand of the workers, peasants and soldiers who warmly love Chairman Mao and are eager to see his coloured photos".

Egypt. Sir Richard Beaumont, British Ambassador in Cairo presented a cheque for £70,000 for Egyptian television education programmes to Dr. Abdel Kader Hatem, the Egyptian Information Minister. □ General Elections are to be held on 27 October to elect the Peoples' Assembly. Voting was held on 11 September to approve a new constitution for the country which guarantees new freedoms and democratic institution to the people.

Ethiopia. Israel has offered Ethiopia a radar net-work for installation on its Red Sea Coast, patrol boats and missile launches. These proposals for strengthening the Ethiopian navy would allow the Israeli advisers to be posted on the shores of the Bab-el-Mandeb, the southern entrance of the Red Sea. □ The population of Ethiopia has been recorded to be now 24,319,000—a growth of 2.5 per cent per annum.

Hungary. The Deputy Director of the National Institute for Dermatological and Venereal Diseases has reported growing incidence of VD in Hungary. Among the causes mentioned are tourism, permissiveness and irresponsible emotional relationships.

India. The Indian Government has decided to accept Chinese invitation to take part in the Afro-Asian Table Tennis Tournament to be held in Peking. □ The Indian Defence Minister has said that India was now self-sufficient in conventional weapons and could even export them.

□ A two-day Conference organised by the India-Bangla Desh Friendship Association endorsed the stand of the Bangla Desh people fighting for democracy, secularism and socialism.

Indonesia. Mr. Jusuf Wibisono, former Indonesian Minister of Finance has welcomed the forthcoming Congress of the Indonesian Islamic Students' Association in Palembang and urged them to be idealistic, dynamic and maintain the organisation's independence. □ The Central Board Council of the International Islamic Organisation has appealed to the permanent secretariat of the Islamic States in Jeddah to widen the scope of its activities so as to include humanitarian projects as well.

Iran. A railway line linking Turkey with Iran will be opened on 27 September.

Israel. The draft budget of the Jewish Agency for the next financial year totals 645 million dollars. The money is used for immigration, absorption, settlement, social welfare and health services, housing and education in Israel. □ The South African Minister of Finance, Dr. Diederichs has announced that the transfer of funds to Israel may be resumed. The transfer of funds was suspended last June when the Israeli government reportedly offered to donate about 2,000 rands to the OAU.

Jordan. Jordan has asked for an urgent meeting of the Security Council to stop illegal and unilateral Israeli designs to change the character of Jerusalem.

Libya. Libya is playing host to the first constituent conference of League of Nasserist Union of Arab students to be held in Tripoli from 28 September to 3 October.

Malaysia. Prime Minister Tun Abdul Razak has said that in drawing up development plans for rural areas, consideration should be given to countering Communist propaganda. The Communists, he said, are bent on obstructing the success of the second plan.

Morocco. A group of 21 Romanian physicians have arrived in Morocco as part of a Medical Assistance Programme.

Nigeria. A loan of £75 million has been granted by the Federal Government for reactivation of beer industry in Eastern Nigeria. At present there is an acute shortage of beer and stout in the country. □ The British brewery company, Guinness is to instal new equipment to its breweries in Nigeria which will give them a capacity of 500,000 barrels a year—equivalent to 288 million glasses. □ Seventy per cent of all Federal grants for agricultural developments are to be allocated to the States on the basis of population.

Pakistan. According to official figures, collected from various districts, about 2 million people are estimated to have left their homes during the recent troubles in East Pakistan.

□ President Yahya Khan in a defence day message has declared that Pakistan would brook no interference in her internal affairs by any outside power.

Qatar. The Security Council has unanimously recommended to the General Assembly to admit the Arab Emirate of Qatar to UN membership. If approved, Qatar will become the 130th member of the world body.

Saudi Arabia. The Government has decided to employ 3,200 male and female teachers from Egypt. □ The Saudi Arabian Airlines has ordered five Boeing 737 jets to be delivered by June 1972. □ His Excellency Agha Abdul Hamid, United Nations Assistant Secretary General for Information Affairs said in an interview in Saudi Arabia that Muslim young people are looking forward to the realisation of Islamic Solidarity and that Islamic unit which is not directed against anybody will serve the general interests of all the Muslim nations.

Sudan. Mr. Babikr Awadallah, Vice President of the Revolution Command Council and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, has stated that

next year will see Sudan joining the Federation of Arab Republics. □ The Government is planning to set up an Afro-Islamic Centre to help spread Islam and Arab culture in Africa by training missionaries and teachers from among Africans. The project is supported by Libya and Kuwait, the latter having set aside £50,000 for the proposed centre.

Tunisia. Centres for memorising the Quran were opened in several districts in Tunisia. Sessions would last throughout the summer holidays and many young students have been attending.

Turkey. There is a waiting list of 1,066,038 persons seeking employment abroad. 979,112 of them are men and 86,926 women. Five thousand Turkish citizens have been allowed to leave for the United States for employment.

Uganda. Arrangements have been completed for census of the population of Asian origin.

United Kingdom. Middle-aged housewives and foreign girls are the most common shoplifters in London. The British Medical Journal commented that the findings show the effect on morals of being relatively poor and isolated in alien affluent surroundings especially when the impression was that everybody does it. □ The British Y.M.C.A. movement in its annual conference held in Manchester has re-affirmed its Christian basis as well as the desire to maintain its traditional evangelical character.

Upper Volta. The Fifth Congress of the General Union of Voltaic Students passed a number of strongly worded resolutions including a denunciation of "French colonialism and imperialism" and of the U.S. Peace Corps which was described as a nest of spies.

U.S.A. The United States is about to begin construction of a naval communications base on the British Indian Ocean territory island of Diego Garcia—about half way between Mauritius and Ceylon. The base is to cover the Indian Ocean area as Britain prepares to withdraw from Singapore this year. There will thus be a chain of bases from Port Louis (Mauritius), Seychelles, Simonstown and N.W. Australia.

PEOPLE

Mr. Ibarahim Qaddarah has been appointed First Chairman of the Supreme Judicial Council in Morocco. ● Mr. Sjarif Padmodisatra has been appointed Indonesian Ambassador in Cairo. ● Mr. Cho Shing-Chin presented his credentials as the first Chinese Ambassador to Cameroon. ● Sir Alec Douglas-Home completed a 4-day visit to Cairo. ● Colonel Qdhafi is due to visit Sana on 25 September. He has also accepted an invitation to visit Pakistan. ● Muhsin al-Ayni, the Yemen Arab Republic Ambassador to France is to succeed the outgoing Premier Lt-Gen. Hasan al-Amri.

● Mrs. Indira Gandhi will pay a visit to Britain from 27 October to 3 November. She is also visiting Washington and some other European capitals. ● Queen Juliana completed an eleven-day State visit to Indonesia. ● The King and Queen of Afghanistan paid an official visit to the U.S.S.R. ● Admiral Sudomo,

Chief of the Indonesian Navy paid a visit to India. ● Prof. A. Mukti Ali has replaced Hadji Mohamed Dachlan as Minister of religion in Indonesia. ● President Amin of Uganda postponed his visit to the USA on security grounds. ● Fuad Seraj ad-Din, Minister of the interior under King Farouq has been released after a detention of 13 years. ● President Yahya Khan paid a two-day visit to Teheran. ● Mr. Mahmud Ali, Vice-President, Pakistan Democratic Party is to head Pakistan's delegation to the UN General Assembly. ● Khalid Mahmood has been named to lead Pakistan in the World Cup Hockey Tournament in Barcelona. ● Lij Endalkachew Makonen, 44, Minister of Communications in the Ethiopian Government has entered the race to succeed U. Thant as UN Secretary General. ● U Thant has re-affirmed his decision to retire. ● Mr. A. A. Khalatbari formerly Secretary-General of the CENTO has replaced Mr. Zahedi as Foreign Minister of Iran. ● Paul Hoffman, Head of the UN Development Programme is to resign and be replaced by Rudolph Peterson, the former head of the Bank of America. ● Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia is to visit Iran from 13 to 17 October to attend the 2,500th anniversary celebration of the Persian monarchy. ● General Chaim Bar Lev, the Israeli Chief of Staff visited Uganda and Ethiopia on a secret visit at the end of last month.

● Musa al-Alami paid a visit to Israel via Cyprus with a view to discussing the idea of establishing a Palestine State. ● Dr. Salih Ozcan, editor of the Ankara monthly *Hilal* has been placed under arrest for publishing material against secularism.

● Mr. Ahmad Muhammad al Shamy has been appointed Ambassador of the Yemen Arab Republic to Britain. He was for five years the foreign Minister of the Mutawakkilite Kingdom of Yemen during the Civil War.

● Mr. Abul Hayath has been elected chairman of the Pakistan Solidarity Front in Great Britain. ● Prof. Hamid Algar of the Dept. of Near Eastern languages in the University of California, Berkeley, gave a talk to the London Islamic Circle on "The Hidden Secularisation of Islam". ● Sh. Mohammad Rashid, Chairman of the Pakistani Peasant Committee was received by Geogri Traykov, the Secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union.

DIED

Sheikh Muhammad Naseef, 90, well-known Islamic scholar of Hejaz in Jeddah on 7 August. ● Mr. Abul Hashim, scholar and Secretary of pre-independence Bengal Provincial Muslim League in Dacca on 3 September. ● Sir Horace Perkin Hamilton, 90, a United Kingdom member of the Commonwealth Economic Committee. ● Sir Francis Humphrys, 92, British Minister in Afghanistan in 1920's during the reign of King Amanullah and Britain's first ambassador to Iraq 1932-35. ● Prof. J. D. Bernal, 70, distinguished physicist and Lenin Peace Prize winner, in London on 15 September. ● Nikita Khrushchev, 77, First Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party from 1958 to 1969 in Moscow on 11 September.