

impact

international fortnightly

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Nothing short of madness



Madness is not always pathological, it can also be ecological, a regression of polluted environments. And this is precisely what has happened with Mrs. Gandhi, the Indian Prime Minister.

Nothing short of madness

Much against the advice of sane elements in the Indian society, like Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, the first Indian Governor-General, like Gen. Cariappa, a former Indian Chief of Staff, like Mr. R. P. Kapur, Chairman, Indian Institute of Public Affairs, like Mr. Nirad C. Chaudry, the well-known Indian novelist and columnist and like so many others, and more particularly against any rational appreciation of her own national interests, Mrs. Gandhi has embarked on an adventure which is nothing short of madness. If Hitler and Mussolini went berserk in their times, those times have now changed.

What does she aim to achieve? Certainly transformation of East Pakistan into a Bangla Desh colony. Possibly reduction of West Pakistan into a non-entity state and then installing her own blue-eyed boy as the saviour of Pakistan. That would clear the decks for her to go forth as the counter-Chinese power in Middle East and South Asia.

There is no question of this hallucination ever coming true but suppose it did, it is perhaps still time for her to come out of the £SD world and come to grips with the realities of India's own national interests.

India's leadership, despite its clinging love of ancient lore and mythology, exhibits a pathetic lack of sense of its own history. It indeed is a romantic thought but when in history has India ever been a nation and a state? Not to speak of Chandragupta or Harsha, India was not a political unity even under Aurangzeb or the British. Not that they all lacked the desire or the might to enforce such a unity but it could not be so for the simple reason that one of the few things in the world which is not enforceable is unity. It is either already there or comes of people's own volition. And it may not be irrelevant to pause and reflect on how much real unity and cohesion has India been able to achieve since independence. True a vast area from Kashmir to Cape Comorin is under the Indian hegemony but to say that Sikhs in Punjab, Nagas in the North-East, Dravidians in the South, the Kashmiris, the untouchables, the Muslims and much less the West Bengalis are a willing part of the Indian nation would be no more than self-delusion.

What happens if an Indian Bangla Desh is established? India hopes, that is what she hurried for and this is what the Indian lobby has been selling here in the West: that a Bangla Desh established now under the petit-bourgeois leadership of the Awami League would be a tame social democrat under-dog both to India and the West. Delay meant a Maoist take-over. This

ingenious theory seems indeed to have worked wonders with the West. However, it may well be understood that, even as of now, Bangla Desh is not going to be a social democrat colony. It would be both Vietnam and Palestine put together and that would include not only West Bengal but Assam as well. Some international sadist interests may want precisely this to happen but is that India's interest too? Even without Bangla Desh, the genetic tensions in the Indian society are already far too advanced to permit any long-term continuation of the present polity. Bangla Desh is only going to be the catalyst.

In seeking the rationale of India's adventure, there is of course no need to discuss the so-called refugee problem. Even the over-patronising media in the West has come to admit that the refugees are not the central problem. They are pawns in India's aggression game and that is why it has been interested not in solution but complication of the problem. The whole world knows this and even India has not been too shy at making oblique admissions of the fact. But should there be any simpleton soul to feel tormented, he may well make sure of both international law and social common-sense. Once the re-settlement of refugees is accepted as a ground for interference and invasion, where will it lead the World to?

In Whitehouse, and some other Western capitals there are some signs of a late awakening to what this senseless pandering and spoiling has brought things to. Is it that they did not really realise the implications when the Bangla Desh crusade was launched under their nose and patronage? It is strange how clouds raised by minority pressure groups make it virtually impossible to arrive at any objective formulation of policy. One hopes there will be enough will and courage to rise above considerations of old religious bigotry that has come out in so open.

The plain truth is that but for moral insensibility on the part of responsible members of the public opinion in the West, Mrs. Gandhi would have never dared to to aggress and unashamedly question Pakistan's right to exist simply because it was inhabited by a Muslim people. It is they who have given her this madness and it is for them to carry the pet to the vet.

As far as Pakistan is concerned, she has to fight her own battle. Given resoluteness and faith, she should be invincible. But she has also to be vigilant against high place treachery and not look again towards any Tashkent.

The Pak-Indian

IMPACT REPORT

19 NOVEMBER

President Yahya, in an Eid day message offered his hand of friendship, to India, so that a new era of good neighbourly relations could begin.

21 NOVEMBER

Mrs. Gandhi said the problem was actually between Pakistan and Bangla Desh. "We come into it because of its impact on our country and its security."

22 NOVEMBER

Pakistan told UN that 12 Indian divisions had attacked several sectors in East Pakistan and that fighting was continuing. India denied that its forces had launched a major offensive in East Pakistan. It said the Mukti Bahini had overrun 10 Pakistani positions, and liberated 14 villages in Kushtia and Jessore.

23 NOVEMBER

Pakistan claimed beating back the Indian attack in all the sectors and declared a state of emergency.

"No doubt, Pakistan claims that this amounts to an undeclared war by India is exaggerated. Nevertheless the situation is extremely serious . . . It is now for the world community to bring about a just and peaceful settlement." (*Evening Standard*)

"The refugee problem has created serious difficulties, but it should not serve as a cause of military conflict." (*Pravda*)

Government circles in Whitehall expressed concern and ignorance about the events. The US contacted Soviet and other Governments. The Singapore Prime Minister visiting Delhi supported India's stand on Bangla Desh.

24 NOVEMBER

Mr. Rogers urged the two governments to agree to mutual withdrawal. Mr. Godber, Minister in the British Foreign Office, said it would be a great help if UN forces could be stationed on either side of the border.

Mrs. Gandhi said Indian forces had destroyed 11 Pakistani tanks in a major armour battle on Sunday. She denied that India was engaged in an undeclared war.

"Facts speak of India's responsibility for the recent activities of her troops in Pakistan's territory." (*Tehran Radio*)

"There were some foreign powers trying to exploit the conflict. The USA was trying to divert the world's attention from the Middle East to South Asia." (*Cairo Home Service*)

Pakistan said it welcomed any big power initiative to normalise the situation.

"Pakistan's chances of uniting their country are probably negligible. At all events the political temperament has already become too high for the Indians simply to await . . . The war that seems to be coming is both a muddle and catastrophe." (*Times*)

"India appears bent on serious military provocation which might make Yahya lash back and thereby bring major war without incurring strike blame . . . Such provocation is understandable." (*Guardian*)

The probability of India's victory does not guarantee a peaceful settlement of the problem of East Bengal." (*Financial Times*)

25 NOVEMBER

"The least the Islamic people, particularly the Arab countries could do was to support Muslim Pakistan." (*Ad-dustur*, Amman)

Chou-en-Lai expressed concern over India's provocative activities along the East Pakistan borders. President Nixon discussed with Mr. Heath on telephone the question of taking the matter to the Security Council.

India said that because of Pakistan provocation, Army units have moved to the borders and air force is ready to repel aggression.

"Senior Indian officers said the Pakistani army seemed to have lost all its fights and was retreating along a 400 mile front. They expected a total Pakistan collapse within 7 days." (*David Loshak, Daily Telegraph*)

President Yahya Khan said the Indian aggres-

War

summarising news and commentary

sion is leading the two countries to a point of no return.

27 NOVEMBER

Five new Indian attacks reported from East Pakistan. Deliveries of sizeable quantities of arms to India from Warsaw Pact countries reported.

Egypt proposed averting war through an international agency to ensure safe return of refugees and withdrawal of troops and asking India to refrain from helping guerrillas and seek a settlement of the Bengal issue.

"In the eventuality of a change of government, the army is likely to tighten its grip on the country . . . One of the first victims of such a situation would be Mr. Bhutto, even though he has not cut himself off from the establishment. An ardent nationalist, representing an enlightened middle-class, Mr. Bhutto would like to turn Pakistan into an Islamic socialist state . . . He is an ambitious politician and is in General Yahya Khan's good books . . . Although he had a direct hand in precipitating the present crisis, Mr. Bhutto still hopes to save Pakistan.

General Yahya Khan's regime is having trouble finding 'collaborators'. The white-bearded fanatics, the anti-Hindu irredentists, the Bengali yes-men are all obviously very attached to Pakistan, but they are far too discredited to inspire any confidence . . . The Soviet Union brought off a slick diplomatic victory when it signed a 'treaty of peace, friendship, and co-operation' with India and made sure that a pro-Moscow Communist was included in the Bangla Desh "War Ministry". The speed with which Moscow acted is perhaps explained by the fact that it suspected the Awami League of pro-American sympathies. "If you obtain independence without bloodshed we'll help you", Joseph Farland, the American Ambassador to Pakistan, is reported to have told Sheikh Mujib." (*Le Monde/Guardian*)

India officially acknowledged that for the past 24 hours she has been fighting a tank and infantry battle inside East Pakistan. The Defence Minister said that the independence of Bangla Desh was probably days away.

President Nixon reported appealing to Mrs. Gandhi to recall Indian troops who had invaded East Pakistan. China's Deputy Foreign Minister declared that the Soviet-Indian treaty had led to the launching of their bare-faced aggression. ● An Indian spokesman said that India did not feel that a Security Council meeting would solve the basic problems.

29 NOVEMBER

Meetings and processions all over East Pakistan condemned Indian aggression and expressed full support for the defence of Pakistan. ● "There was a tense and growing expectation in Calcutta that India was poised to take the present undeclared conflict to the stage of all-out war." (David Loshak, *Daily Telegraph*)

The Indian Minister for External Affairs said he did not exclude sending an ambassador to Peking unilaterally and normalise relations with China.

● Chinese Premier reaffirmed support for Pakistan's just struggle against foreign aggressions. ● The Afghan Foreign Minister briefed King Zahir Shah about the "border situation in Bangla Desh." The Pakistani Ambassador in Kabul was summoned and asked to furnish explanation about Pashtunistan.

30 NOVEMBER

Mrs. Gandhi said the very presence of Pakistan's army in Bangla Desh is a threat to India's security and she cannot allow annihilation of the people of 'Bangla Desh' who will not now accept anything less than liberation. ● Pakistan denied the Indian claim that the Mukti Bahini had taken 15,000 sq. m. in the Rangpur-Dinajpur sector.

Tun Dr. Ismail, Malaysian Deputy Premier called for UN action to avert war and help to solve "East Bengal" problem. ● The Turkish Foreign Minister said that as always Turkey is there to help Pakistan in times of need.

Pakistan proposed stationing of UN observers

on the Pakistan side to observe and report on violation of her territory.

"Mrs. Gandhi seems increasingly bent on provoking a desperate fling. Her military incursion, observers agree, are not decisive strikes, but calculated provocations (to) seek either the release of Mujibur Rahman and an automatic Bangla Desh or an outright military victory." (*Guardian*)

1 DECEMBER

"For Mrs. Gandhi to ask President Yahya to call his troops as a gesture of peace is disingenuous. She now increasingly leaves over-wrought Yahya no way out other than complete humiliation or general war." (*Daily Telegraph*)

"India's tactics seem balefully calculated to produce precisely the results that Mrs. Gandhi does not want: more refugees, more chaos and a mindlessly imposed international freeze." (*Guardian*)

Pakistan closed the border areas in West Pakistan and occupied Kashmir to foreign visitors.

Gen. Gowan urged President Yahya and Mrs. Gandhi to end hostilities. ● Radio Moscow condemned the one-sided Chinese condemnation of India.

Mrs. Gandhi said peace can return only if the Pakistani army withdraws from the borders of India; posting of UN observers would serve no useful purpose.

The US announced suspension of arms shipments to India. Mr. Chavan said they had thought of this possibility and were prepared to meet it.

2 DECEMBER

Mr. Kosygin said Russia would do everything to prevent a full-scale conflict. ● Pakistan said India opened seven new fronts in East Pakistan. Indian troops reported poised to thrust into East Pakistan.

3 DECEMBER

Major war flared up on both Western and Eastern fronts. Indian forces launched an all out attack against both East and West Pakistan. Air-strikes were reported from both India and Pakistan. Mrs. Gandhi put the country on a war footing and declared that Pakistan's struggle had become a war with India.

The Chinese News Agency said that the Indian Government backed by Social Imperialism was plotting to create a Bangla Desh and annex East Pakistan. It recalled that it was the Indians who engineered a rebellion in Tibet and created a so-called Tibetan refugee issue. ● Mr. Heath called upon India and Pakistan to exercise restraint.

"It would be wrong to put all the blame on India for following this realistic policy in putting the power to the test. (But) if India has calculated that the cost in human suffering can be less from limited action, no one can accuse them of crass misjudgement." (*Times*)

"All attempts to avoid war must start from the premises that Pakistan as presently constituted, is not a viable state. As Mr. Bhutto confessed, the old Pakistan is dead." (*New Statesman*)

4 DECEMBER

"If the Indian army clears the way for an independent state of Bangla Desh, India will acquire a dependency in the East more expensive and more potentially disruptive than the refugees, and an enemy in the West more implacable than the United Pakistan. These are two very bad reasons for going to war." (*Economist*)

If President Yahya would swallow his pride, release Sheikh Mujib and seek a political solution in East Pakistan he would earn the support and sympathy of all countries genuinely desiring to preserve peace." (*Daily Telegraph*)

"Pakistan's fear of its own dismemberment could mean that its government has been reacting in despair since last March and even more so now." (*Times*)

"If Pakistan were to accept gracefully the partial or even complete loss of the East, most economists reckon that the West could survive (and) it would give the army rulers a chance to forge a truer unity for West Pakistan." (Kevin Rafferty, *Financial Times*)



The US requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council. President Sadat offered to mediate between India and Pakistan. ● President Boumediene welcomed King Hassan II's proposal to call a meeting of the Rabat Islamic states. He condemned the Indian aggression.

Airplanes of both sides continued strikes. Pakistan claimed pressing towards Jammu (Kashmir) and Ferozpur. India mounted pressure in East Pakistan and claimed strategic and territorial gains. It also reported sinking a Pakistani destroyer in an engagement near Karachi. President Yahya said: "We have tolerated enough and the time has come for the Mujahids to give a crushing reply to the enemy."

5 DECEMBER

"It remains an important Western interest, while seeking a peaceful settlement, to avoid an angry revulsion which might carry India more definitively into anti-Western and pro-Soviet position." (*Observer*)

"India, in turn, has won world-wide sympathy for its burden of millions of refugees from Pakistan. Some of that sympathy has now been spent by India's questionable decision openly to use force in East Pakistan. The ultimate justification for it is presumably that, given no interference from outside, India will win and there will be an independent and orderly state of East Bengal. In fact, the more likely outcome is disintegration and chaos, with further suffering on a vast scale. The best hope remains, as it has been all along, in the release of Sheikh Mujib." (*Sunday Times*)

"India is fighting to bring freedom to all the people of the sub-continent, who are, in the eye of God, one people." (John Grigg, *Sunday Times*)

"If it is really too late for diplomacy, then the best of the several bad solutions available would appear to be a quick Indian victory in the East and a completely new political start along the mouths of the Ganges." (*Sunday Telegraph*)

"Either Mr. Heath or Sir Alec Douglas-Home should make immediate arrangements to fly on a peace mission to Delhi and Karachi." (*Sunday Express*)

"The only possibility of a quick finish is through the United Nations . . . What a triumph it would be if China was to establish herself as a peacemaker after the decades of diplomatic isolation." (*Sunday Mirror*)

Russia vetoed a Security Council resolution calling for cessation of fighting, posting of UN observers and creation of conditions suitable for the voluntary return of refugees.

India claimed driving 28 miles inside West Pakistan from the Rajasthan side and continuing to make territorial gains in East Pakistan. Pakistan continued with its push in Jammu and Ferozpur sector. Air attacks continued from both sides. Pakistan denied sinking of destroyer Khyber.

● About 5,000 Muslims from many parts of Britain marched from Hyde Park, London, to demonstrate solidarity for a united Pakistan in the face of Indian aggression. The march organised by the Pakistan Solidarity Front presented petitions to the Chinese legation, to the Soviet Embassy and to 10 Downing Street.

They know now, but will they act?

Mr. Mahmud Ali, who led Pakistan's delegation to the U. N. General Assembly, here speaks to *Impact* about some fundamental aspects of Pakistan's crisis, his reading of the role of the Super Powers and possible lines of its resolution*.



U. N. the magnificent

I should consider the UN to be a magnificent organisation. There is no doubt that at times one is led down to feel that it is too important an organisation to resolve problems. But in spite of that, and however much it may fail to find a solution, it is a forum to ventilate grievances and seek solution of problems between various nations. There is no other forum where it can be done and granted sincerity on the part of the so-called super powers, in course of time a solution can be found.

As far as our own problems with India are concerned, I found the member nations were totally ignorant of the problem as it is. That was due to the false propaganda carried on in the press, particularly in London and New York, which had its own impact on the press in other countries as well. Now I feel that as a result of our projection through the forum of the General Assembly, and in course of our contact with various delegations it has been possible to put forward our own case. By and large, the member nations are now aware of the other side of the picture and if one is to judge from the discussions which are being carried on in different committees, one finds that the opinions that are being expressed are centred round the realisation that India has committed excess; she has a war-like attitude and she has been proving unreasonable.

Difficulties in putting across Pakistan's case

The usual difficulties that one faces to convince a people who have already accepted a particular line on an issue, has been our main difficulty. Since the first information becomes the best information, most people had already formed a biased view of the situation. Our side of the picture was not known, therefore, our credibility too had gone low. We had to rid the people of their bias and the difficulty indeed was great. It is a blessing of God that we have succeeded in dislodging them from

their position of bias. Now they know that Pakistan's case is a just one and the propaganda that was carried against her was not correct.

The mistake and the responsibility

I would not put the blame on anybody but it is a fact that Pakistan was very slow in her response to the Indian propaganda. Maybe it was not possible because of the circumstances, but this question of responsibility really goes beyond the beginning of the present decade.

The mistake in fact was committed 12 years ago when in 1958 the constitution was first abrogated in our country. The elections were to be held under the 1956 constitution but four months before the elections, the constitution was abrogated. Martial law was imposed. The country was deprived of democracy. That was when the rot began. Of course one may go even further when Mr. Nazimuddin was dismissed. But even after his dismissal a constitution was framed and enforced. It was most unfair and high-handed to abrogate the constitution and stop the elections. It was all done by a single person, and people remained deprived of democracy for 10 years. It is this sense of deprivation which created the field for the secessionists. It is not that the people turned to be secessionist, they never turned to be so, but ground was created for the separatist elements to work and to acquire an upper hand. If one analyses this history, he will find that all that came later was the result of these ten years of dictatorial rule which alienated the people.

Then when the time came for the ruler to concede the demands of the people, the whole atmosphere was filled with uncertainty. Even though he wanted to hand over, a situation was created to make an orderly transfer impossible. And those who wanted to take it, they also could not take over. The result was that in spite of the unwillingness on the part of the defence forces, a second Martial Law was imposed. Even now we continue to suffer

from the inflictions then made.

How close to war?

As things stand now, we are in fact very close to war. War may be on any moment, and it can be sooner than many expect, but there is certainly a restraint. My feeling is, that the super powers do not want war. And that is the only thing which has so far restrained India from going to war. I do not say the two countries because Pakistan does not want war. It is India which has made war-like preparations and has aggressive designs. Therefore war could be on in the near future, unless the super powers pull further strings. Whatever preparation is there on our part, it is a defensive one: we have to do that.

Yes, I have heard of the suggestion being made that India does not want war because it need not. Because of economic and political strains, Pakistan is going to fall apart anyway. India can thus achieve its objectives without going to war with Pakistan. I think the argument has been advanced only when India discovered that she cannot defy the will of the super powers.

The Super Powers?

I have a feeling that Russia alone cannot want war to happen in the sub-continent. A desire may be there, but there are always certain restraints. Even Russia has to think as to how others would react or respond. If Russia comes in she will have to think whether anybody else would also come in. Merely Russia's support to India is not enough. Others too are involved. There may be a chain reaction.

Obviously and superficially the Russians may perhaps hope to benefit from the removal of Pakistan from the scene but I do not think they can be sure. In my discussions, the Soviet leaders did not reveal any such inclination. Then we have to consider also the Russian explanation that their pact with India was not directed against any third power.

I am telling you my own impressions about the terms of the pact. I was in

*Mr Mahmud Ali was interviewed on 21 November

London when the Indo-Soviet pact was published. Someone came running to my room and showed me the newspaper. He was very anxious. He told me: "Look, now it is on. Russia and India have signed the pact, which means war". Immediately I read between the lines, I told him: "Why do you get so worried about it. I feel that there will be no war now, because Russia has taken the strings into her own hands." I told the press too at that time that it meant restraint over India. The stipulation about consultation with Russia meant that Russia is to be convinced that India has been aggressed. If she commits aggression and then goes with a complaint that Pakistan has aggressed, Russia may say: "No, we are not bound to help you". So this is the position.

This is my interpretation, and so far from the turn of events we find that this interpretation is more or less correct.

The US? Sure it is in her interest that war does not escalate in this region. I feel that she has now realised that it will not be useful to destroy Pakistan. I would not say why the US should be interested in keeping Pakistan united, but the unity of Pakistan is not in the interests of the US alone, it is in the interest of world peace too that the entity of Pakistan should be maintained. Only a strong Pakistan in that region of the world, is the surest guarantee for peace. If Pakistan is destroyed, then the balance of power will be destroyed and India will start dictating terms to South Asia and the Middle East. I have felt during my stay in the US that the leaders of public opinion and the government, by and large, have realised this fact, and they understand now that the existence of Pakistan is a must for peace in the region.

As to the "recent" efforts to secure Chinese support, firstly, I do not agree that it is a recent effort. Efforts were there since long before and the cordiality we enjoy now with China was achieved much earlier. What seemingly appears to be recent, is merely a reiteration of what had happened already. It is also not true that these efforts were not fruitful. China has re-affirmed that it will help Pakistan in case of conflict with India. Agreement with China was reached long ago and they did support Pakistan in 1965 and she will continue to support us. It may be a question of circumstances, of the stage, or of the manner in which any help comes. That varies from time to time. But the help is there, the understanding is there.

Yes, I know, some people have noted the omission of reference to the present Pak-Indian crisis in the Chinese delegation's maiden speech to the General Assembly while they mentioned other world problems. But I think they made their stand clear in their speech before the Third Committee. Perhaps they did not think it necessary to state that in the maiden speech but there too they said in a garbled way that we shall help our friends with arms.

Solution to the Crisis

The real solution to the present crisis can only be a solution which removes the injustice done to the people of East Pakistan and is regarded as satisfactory by them also. To be very precise, the real solution is a democratic rule. The quicker you pass on to that, the greater will be the effect. The injustice one refers to, in my view, nobody has deliberately done so, but the affect has been that East Pakistan has suffered.

To understand the problem we had better go into the subject and see what was the position on the day of independence. The position was that the West Pakistan area, at least some part of it, was better developed than East Pakistan. The reasons are not far to see. The British imperialists in their own interests of protecting the Empire, developed the Western part and neglected the Eastern part of Pakistan as it is now. Whatever development was done was in Calcutta. East Pakistan produced raw materials, which were marketed through Calcutta. Industries were developed in Calcutta. While the people of what is now East Pakistan produced things by the sweat of their brow, the benefit was reaped by the Hindus and British commercial, feudal and political interests.

The 'Imperial' factor in the underdevelopment of East Pakistan can be understood from just one example. Sylhet district alone had 3—4 times more all-weather roads than all the other districts of East Bengal put together. The simple reason was that Sylhet happened to be in Assam which was British India's eastern frontier province.

On the day of partition there were about 250 miles of all-weather roads in East Pakistan, but today, and I do not say that the developments have been commensurate with the needs of the people, we have got 2,500 miles of such roads. All this development took place since independence. What I wanted to say is that on the day of independence, West Pakistan was more developed than East and after the partition the pace of development in the West was not only maintained but accelerated too. More industries were developed in the West and less in the East because the capital flew into West Pakistan from India. The capitalists who migrated and settled there, they sunk their capital in West Pakistan and you know capital is a necessary ingredient to development. The technical know-how too flowed into West Pakistan. The same did not happen with regard to East Pakistan. In the ultimate analysis you can lay the blame on some people who ran the administration at that time. All these might have been deliberate but not necessarily so. It may be that under those circumstances they could not do otherwise.

Again, on the day of independence there was no jute industry in East Pakistan, although this area was used to produce all

the jute that India processed. All the jute mills were in West Bengal. But now today we have got 80 jute mills in East Pakistan and the world's largest jute mill is in Narayanganj. So one should not say nothing has been done. Many things have been done, but these are not commensurate with the needs of the people. Many more things could have been done. What I want to tell you is that the disparity which existed on the day of independence after the establishment of Pakistan, did not set-off, rather it increased because of better developments in West Pakistan.

So that is the position, but, I would not agree that injustice has been done. I would put it like this, that East Pakistan has continued to remain less developed. I would say that East Pakistan should be developed equally with West Pakistan. The people as a whole have got to be developed and that development should be at a par. That requires a type of economy to be followed by successive governments. Until now no democratic government was in power. Maybe in those days it was not possible, but unless a constitution was framed and elections took place under that constitution, you cannot say that there was a purely democratic government. There was no chance of a democratic government until now, and after it is established I am sure economic developments will be undertaken in both areas and economic equality given to everybody. It is the question of people not of an area.

Why not a referendum?

I am very sorry to tell you this is a sinister idea. To say that since the two wings have not got along well in the past, why not a referendum be held in East Pakistan to determine if they would like to be independent. This is a sinister move. If anybody makes this suggestion seriously, he does not have the interest of the people of Pakistan. It is a suggestion to destroy Pakistan from the back door. I do not know how it will solve any problem.

Firstly Pakistan was created as a result of referendum. In 1946, the Muslims of the sub-continent were asked whether they wanted a separate country. That was the issue in 1946 and the entire population voted in favour of the new state. Bengal was in the forefront. Later in 1947, the members of the Bengal Provincial Assembly were asked whether they wanted to retain the unity of Bengal and join Pakistan. It was the view of the British government that if the majority decision was in favour of joining Pakistan then the minority would be asked whether they wanted to go along with or prefer the partition of Bengal. In the first counting, the majority said it wanted to join Pakistan. Then the minority (i.e. the Hindus) voted for the partition of Bengal and that is how it has happened.

Similarly the people of Sylhet, which was a Muslim majority district in Assam were asked whether they wanted to join Pakistan or India. There was a referendum and

they voted for Pakistan. The referendum was held because in the 1946 elections it was found that although the Muslim League had won 31 out of 33 Muslim seats in Assam, the pro-Indian Jamiat Ulema-i-Hind which had also put up Muslim candidates had scored 46 per cent of the Muslim votes. So the Indian National Congress claimed that the Hindu votes plus this 46 per cent of the Muslim votes (the district had 56 per cent Muslim population) made up a majority. Therefore Quaid-e-Azam and the Muslim League agreed to a referendum which went in favour of Pakistan.

The North West Frontier Province was controlled by a Congress Ministry and there too, a choice could be expressed only through a referendum. The people of the NWFP also decided in favour of Pakistan. So Pakistan itself was based on a referendum and free-will of its people and to say that a referendum be held every week-end and a new State be created then God help this world.

Case for a national government

The situation in Pakistan, I personally think, calls for a national government. There is no situation for the party government because no party has got an absolute majority in the house. There is no chance of any party achieving such a majority even when the elections are completed. So on this consideration too, there can't be a party government. At the same time, the crisis that has developed is a national crisis and it should be faced on a national level.

I know that many political parties have taken diagonally opposite views on various national issues and to find a basis of compromise is not easy but, I do hope that good sense will prevail and different political parties will keep in view the grave crisis which the country is facing today and adjust themselves accordingly. The problem the country faces is not a party problem, it is a national one and it has to be faced as such. If all the political parties keep the overall national interests in view, there is no reason why they should not unite together to face it. Therefore, I am optimistic and I do hope that we will be able to adjust and resolve the crisis. As soon as we are out of the crisis, we can let the different parties go for another election, wherein they may try to obtain a clear mandate. This is my personal view and I think this is the demand of the situation.

The responsibility of the World Muslim press in this respect and in regard to other issues is to project the truth and help an objective appreciation of the problems. They also have an obligation to freedom and democracy because the whole question of World Muslim brotherhood depends very much on the establishment of democracy and democratic institution in the respective Muslim countries. It is only through democracy i.e. a state of consultation, consensus and participation that we can all cling together in strength and in unity.

Survey

● RHODESIAN SELLOUT

Rhodesia — rubber stamping injustice

Since November 1965 Mr. Smith and his, now legal, regime has been slowly taking Rhodesia into an alignment with the apartheid regime of South Africa. While the African people of Rhodesia were humiliated, harassed and exploited Her Majesty's Government, which was directly responsible for their welfare, chose to apply economic sanctions against the mutineers. At the same time South African troops walked into Rhodesia at will to assist the Smith regime in fighting "communism".

Not unnaturally, the sanctions had the most punishing repercussions on the black people, but just as they were beginning to sting the correct foe, the institutors of these sanctions decided to withdraw them and save the black Rhodesians. Was Sir Alec really thinking of the five million black majority when he signed the settlement? If he was, then one wonders why the South African papers acclaimed Mr. Smith a hero by saying "Mr. Smith appears to have made a coup that is little short of brilliant".

Other than the conservatives who have business interests, few people consider the settlement as fair; in fact most people have acclaimed it as a sell-out. The hard facts are that Sir Alec for the sake of copper, national interest and in support of kith and kin put a rubber stamp on injustice. The settlement is a clear breach of the famous five principles and gives Mr. Smith and his regime a free hand to maintain power perhaps for decades to come. I wonder what Sir Alec thought Mr. Smith meant when he said to his Parliament that control "would remain" in civilized hands.

The five principles which Mr. Wilson was trying to settle on, in December 1966 on board the TIGER and again in October 1968 on board The FEARLESS gave much to both blacks and whites. These principles were:

1. The principle and intention of unimpeded progress to majority rule enshrined in the 1961 Constitution would have to be maintained and guaranteed.

2. There would have to be guarantees against retrogressive amendment of the Constitution.

3. Immediate improvement of political status of Africans.

4. Progress towards ending racial discrimination.

5. Britain would need to be satisfied that any basis for independence was acceptable to Rhodesian people as a whole.

In spite of Sir Alec's pledges to stick to these principles a quick look at the Settlement clearly shows that these prin-

ciples have been completely nullified even though maintained to some degree. First of all, the discriminatory 1969 Constitution has been maintained and with it many of the discriminatory trends. In the House of Assembly the existing provisions governing the increase of African representation in the House will be repealed and replaced by provisions to give effect to the arrangements set out as follows: A new roll of African voters (the African Higher Roll) will be created with the same qualifications as those for the roll of European voters. The relevant means and educational qualifications are:

(a) Income at the rate of not less than \$1,800 per annum during the two years preceding date of claim for enrolment, or ownership of immovable property of value of not less than \$3,600

or

(b) i. Income at the rate of not less than \$1,200 per annum during the two years preceding date of claim for enrolment or ownership of immovable property of value of not less than \$2,400 and

ii. four years of secondary education of prescribed standard. Judging from the present standing and political status of the African people it will take about 30 to 40 years before parity is reached on the Higher Roll. Majority rule seems so far at this point that Mr. Smith and his regime must be already preparing their next generation to take over. On the African Lower Roll the arrangements lie in the hands and integrity of Mr. Smith and his regime and surely the world and Britain in particular are well aware of their double dealings.

As to the future amendments to the Constitution the reformed constitution has this to offer:-

The Rhodesian Government have given an assurance to the British Government that they will not introduce or support in the Rhodesian Parliament any amendment of the specially entrenched provisions of the Constitution relating to the composition of the House of Assembly or the specially entrenched provisions of the Electoral Act until the *first two African higher roll* seats have been created and filled or until three years have elapsed since the constitutional changes provided for by these proposals have come into force, whichever is the sooner.

Almost everyone can see that Sir Alec took too much on trust from the very man who in 1965 rebelled and broke off from Her Majesty's Government. Not only does the Constitution not give any guarantees as to the treatment of and restrictions on the number of detainees, but Sir Alec even failed to secure Joshua

Survey

● RICE ON THE BANKS OF THE SENEGAL RIVER ● BETWEEN REASON & EMOTION

Nkomo's release to ask his opinion. However, the most striking feature of the sell-out is the way in which the question of racial discrimination and the Land Tenure Act were settled.

According to the Review of Existing Legislation, "the Rhodesian Government have intimated to the British Government *their firm intention* within the spirit of these proposals to make progress towards ending racial discrimination. Accordingly an independent Commission will be set up to examine the question. It goes on further to specify the role of the Commissioner but the main factor is, does the British government need a Commission to spell out the truth of the matter to her?"

The Land Tenure Act is the biggest obstacle to the way of African progress and majority rule. It is difficult to conceive how Sir Alec could accept the terms without removing the Land Tenure Act. By this Act the Africans have only 50 per cent of the land. What is even more important is that the land allocated to them is sandy and infertile whereas the whites whom they outnumber by 20 to 1 have the best land and also have 50 per cent of it. How can Sir Alec claim that it is a fair settlement? So long as the Land Tenure Act exists there is no guarantee at all that the Africans living outside their territories will not be removed.

The question which remains is, is Sir Alec's Agreement which has since received the assent of the British Parliament amidst serious criticism from Labour and Liberal members and even reservations from some Conservatives, the best available means of abdicating Britain's constitutional responsibility for Rhodesian affairs? Should not Sir Alec have refrained from signing such a deal which indicates a total inconsideration of Rhodesia's black population?

The Rhodesian Africans at the moment are facing an economic depression. Thousands are unemployed and a vast majority are at the height of frustration, which is gradually making them militant. This fact can no doubt be seen from the incident which occurred on Lord Goodman's first visit when the Smith regime had to arrest and cane *school boys* who demonstrated. Thus, present trends continuing and with the prospect of economic sanctions preventing the regime from providing employment, it would surely have led the frustrated Africans into taking control from the whites within a few years.

It is regrettable that the British Government has practically turned its back on the problem and not adopted sterner measures to solve it—if not for their constitutional right, then for the principle of defending and protecting the oppressed.

Chinese good work in Mauritania

The presence of China at the United Nations is undoubtedly a potent reminder that this most populous nation in the world is adopting a more outward looking policy and seeking to find new spheres of interest, often in areas where the traditional European imperialist powers have had a free hand. The Arabian peninsula is one such area, the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent is another and so too are parts of Latin America, and Africa also. The Chinese putsch in Africa really began in earnest during the time of the Congo troubles in the early sixties. Since then China has had many successes notably in places like Tanzania on the East coast of Africa.

Now it seems that the influence is being extended on a greater scale to the West coast and in particular to the Islamic Republic of Mauritania. Mauritania is one of the largest countries of former French West Africa. Even after its independence in 1960, it continued to be very firmly under the tutelage of France benefitting and suffering too from all that French neo-colonialism implied.

Now the attempt is being made to break out of this French orbit and the foreign power to fill the gap is the Chinese. The first tentative moves in the Chinese penetration began somewhere in 1967 when Chinese experts began a big water drilling project in Mauritania. This has been followed by the intensive and widespread cultivation of rice which has brought about a revolution in the eating habits of the Muslims on the banks of the Senegal river. Chinese doctors and medical teams are now more and more to be seen in the interior of the country.

A seemingly more ominous sign of the Chinese presence is the new Chinese embassy which is now being built in Nouakchott, the capital, which when completed would have well over 100 rooms. But far and above this is the proposed massive new port which is to be built by Chinese experts with Chinese money and extensive Chinese man-power. China is giving £8 million for the project as an interest free loan which is not to be paid back for over fifty years. The proposed port could be the biggest port on the West African coast and would almost certainly increase Chinese influence in the whole area. At present it is reported that there are about 1,500 Chinese experts of one kind or another working in Mauritania.

The government of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania is reported anxious to keep Chinese influence to aid projects and not to have it extended to political philosophy. It remains to be seen whether they would restrict their propaganda to "the good works they do."

Egypt: a calmer tone

No one has been able to say what Sadat's year of decision holds in store for the fortunes of his country and for the Middle East as a whole. Cries of war and talk of political settlement with Israel fill the air and as D-day approaches more and more people become uneasy. Haykal, the famous editor of the influential Egyptian newspaper *Al-Ahram* seems to be one of them.

On 26 November 1971 he wrote his long weekly article on "The Necessary Step in the Present Situation" in which he showed himself clearly worried about the possibility of a mindless drift to war and the need to pull the Egyptian leadership from over the brink. He expressed this need in a curious but indeed clever way. He slowly slides into the point he is making and with a great mass of verbiage he prepares the reader and cushions the impact of what he wants to say which really is a criticism of Sadat and a pointer as to how his "legitimate and actual President" and "historical leader" could get himself out of the tangle in which he has enmeshed himself. Said Haykal: "I think there is a balance between reason and emotion, between thought and feeling, and between calculations and risks. If sometimes I stress the side of reason, it is because at certain times I feel that we are plunging our conscious mind into a deep trance in which our potentials are wasted."

From there he can only go on to claim legitimacy for his views by invoking the name of the great leader Gamal Abdel Nasser under whom Egypt performed "a miracle in political courage and won international legality and the support of the world". This is what Egypt cannot disregard and so she must now direct her thoughts to winning international legality and world sympathy. How to do this is to go to the Security Council to petition the five great Powers, to ask China to express its view, to ask for a condemnation of Israel, to ask for sanctions against Israel, to ask for the invocation of the UN Charter articles on the measures for preserving security and repelling aggression it is imperative to go to the Security Council now, and so on.

Haykal contradicted himself dreadfully when while praising Nasser's performance on the international level yet admitted that Egypt's biggest misfortune in June 1967 was that she failed to gain international legality for its actions and actually appeared as the aggressor. Perhaps this is a minor contradiction but somehow it does show a fatal duality of attitudes. But the sober notes of the concluding words of the article ring out loud and clear:

"I hope we shall know that real strength does not need clamour".

Survey

- AFTERMATH OF AN IMPERIAL EXIT
- MURDER IN CAIRO

Gulf: problem of residual interests

Tension and indignation mount in the Gulf and Britain's official presence there enters its last month. Seemingly Britain has been finding it rather difficult to make the arrangements necessary for safeguarding its military and trading interests in the area ever since it announced its intention to withdraw at the end of 1971. Britain has been conscious of the insecurity and the unpredictability of the small emirates, of the rival ambitions of countries like Iraq and Persia, and of the growing interest and involvement in the area of the Chinese.

In the face of all this, it was necessary for Britain to find some element of stability in the whole area which would act to protect its interests. Britain's dominance in the area for over a century now was possible largely because it occupied strategic places. Since Britain has special ties with Iran and not with Iraq, and since common sense suggested that Iran would likely be the new dominating power in the Gulf, it therefore seemed reasonable in British eyes that Iran should occupy the strategic places in the Gulf.

This reasoning has had precisely these results: the full desire of Britain to support Iran and its betrayal of its commitment to the ruler of Ra's al-Khaymah and the unenviable position in which the ruler of Sharjah has been but in the eyes of Arabs who now accuse him of abandoning Arab sovereignty over the island of Abu Musa and paving the way for Iranian imperialism Arab indignation at this act of betrayal on the part of Sharjah has been so strong that an assassination attempt was made on the foreign minister of the emirate two days after the Iranian occupation of the islands of Abu Musa, Tunb al Kubra and Tunb al Saghira.

Apparently everything might have gone smoothly if it had not been for the obdurate attitude of the ruler of Ra's al Khaymah. He had refused to join the six-state Union of Arab Emirates and was not at all willing to act, in the manner of Sharjah, over Greater and Lesser Tunb. When other factors are considered it is not difficult to believe that Iran acted with the full knowledge and approval of the British agent in the area.

In the Arab mind and even among certain dissident anti-Shah Iranians there is no doubt at all in the whole affair of British collusion such as has given rise to hot-beds of crisis and discord wherever Britain went. All indications are that the Gulf will be another such hot-bed and Britain although seeming to be uncommitted at the end of the year will still have a substantial military and naval presence to back up whichever party directly or indirectly serves its interests—treaties or no treaties, agreements or no agreements.

Murder in Cairo



Covering the flank
(Courtesy: Gibbard, Guardian)

Murder is horrible and ignoble. Political murder is all the more despicable and so was the assassination of Mr. Wasfi at-Tall, the Jordanian Prime Minister who had been in Cairo attending a meeting of the Arab Defence Council. Undoubtedly he was unpopular with all the Palestinian liberation groups but it is doubtful if his removal from the Jordanian scene in the manner in which it was brought about would in any way advance the cause of liberation itself.

The task of liberation needs an honest and frank soul-searching. It needed a great deal of patient and seemingly unrewarding hard work. It is not an easy road and there is no short-cut. Such demonstrations of valour and heroics do provide a sort of revolutionary fulfilment but only momentarily. However, whether one is a dialectical theorist or a pragmatist, one can ill-afford to overlook the final outcome.

It is unfortunate that despite three ignominious defeats within a span of twenty years and the continued occupation of its territories, Arab society—the masses, the intellectuals and the leadership—has failed to come up with an objective appreciation of its state of affairs. It is a social state of its own peculiar kind: alienated, divided and defeated and yet unwilling to accept and face reality.

It is the reality which is becoming more and more elusive in the Arab situation, more so when everything seems to be so much wrapped up in exuberance, ebullience and wishfulness. But there was one point at least where slogan matched the reality. When some Arabs march to war they shout "Nashrab damm"—"We shall drink blood". And this is what one of the assassins of Wasfiat-Talldid and there were various groups and organisations claiming responsibility for his actions: the Black September group alleged to be part of Al Fatah (though disclaimed by its leadership) George Habash's Marxist group and there have even been strong rumours from different places of CIA involvement. But who knows?

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THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

Problem of being infallible

A. W. HAMID

The Roman Catholic Church is in the throes of a great debate and a great crisis. The debate ranges, or more properly, rages, over questions such as the position of women in the Church, the law of celibacy for the priesthood and world injustices. The extent of the crisis can be judged from the fact that 2,000 Catholic priests are leaving the Church each year—according to a Vatican survey published last August. Also the membership of monastic orders is falling off. The Ukrainian prelates have openly defied the Pope thus calling into question the very dogma of papal infallibility and black Catholics of America are openly accusing their church of being racist.

Many of these problems and stresses were aired during the five-week meeting of the world Synod of Bishops which ended on November 7. Of the issues discussed celibacy overshadowed all. This was perhaps natural in that the priests who leave the Church do so overwhelmingly because of the celibacy rule. These priests complain of deprivation and repression. One village priest has recently complained that superiors have no idea of the sort of problems that his kind experience in personal relationships when carrying out their duties. Another who has left the priesthood confessed: "O, I had longings when I was a priest. I would have liked relationships with women. I could not repress these desires. Often when speaking to a woman when in the priesthood I would think: 'I would like to sleep with you' and I would like to sleep with her. But I am freely choosing not to because I want to be available to work as a priest."

At the Synod there was a minority of bishops in favour of allowing all priests to marry. Others adopted the more cautious position of allowing only those who want to do so while keeping them within the ministry. Almost all the bishops, however, remained convinced that celibacy was the best guarantee of a true and effective vocation and left the matter to the Pope. The Pope in the end emphasized that even though the Church was aware of the "spiritual, psychological, social and material difficulties which afflict so many priests many of them asking themselves anxiously and seriously what their place would be in the contemporary world", the preservation of holy celibacy was still a great and essential part of a priest's consecration to God. And so this 800 year old rule remains obviously to the disappointment of many present and future priests. With the certainty that there may be no change in the rule for years to come, more priests may be in full-cry revolt. One bishop in anguish asked: "Would it not be better to leave the candidate (for the priesthood) to choose or reject marriage freely,

especially when the church values Christian marriage so highly?"

In addition to its rule on celibacy, the Church remains conservative too on the position of women in the Church which attracted much attention in the Synod. A major proposal discussed was to have women ordained as priestesses, which to some bishops was more acceptable than having married men in the priesthood. This would be in recognition of the fact that nuns have taken up great pastoral responsibilities. At any rate it would be a solution to the great shortage of priests. A group of women went to Rome trying to protest against the present position of women in the Church. They received short-shrift from the Vatican. One lay-woman from Brussels, a widow with seven children, predicted while speaking at a news conference in Rome that a day would come when there would be female bishops and possibly even popes. In fact the Synod was addressed by a lay-woman and this was for the first time. Later on she spoke feelingly about world injustices and the lack of protest from the Church. She pointed out for example that the United States controlled 40 per cent of the world's riches, but when it was made known that it was cutting down its aid programme there was no protest from the church. She observed too that priests should live more modestly.

Similar comments and criticisms were voiced in the debate on the Church's attitude to world injustices.

Delegates from South America affirmed that priests could not be priests in South America if they did not espouse the cause of land reform for example. Delegates from Africa spoke of the seven deadly sins beginning with colonialism and neo-colonialism. Faced with the stresses and the outward pulls of local situations the Pope provided the key to the situation when he maintained that it was impossible for the Church to find universal solutions and that it was fitting that each local diocese to work out its response to its own local situations and problems. But this apparently was not good enough for some prelates who felt that the Vatican itself should set the example in demonstrating its concern for world injustices by selling out some of its valuable art treasures and be seen to put some of its vast wealth into its concern for injustices. Within the priesthood as a whole there is the need to develop a wider world sense, to undertake new works and adopt a new kind of living.

One visible sign of the injustices in the Church just before the Synod convened was the presence of six black American Catholics at the Vatican who were asking for an end to racial discrimination within

the American Church and for a black bishop of Washington. There are one million black Catholics in the United States and they accuse the American hierarchy of outright racialism and the American Catholic Church in general of being a product of white society. They said that they suffer the same forms of discrimination within their church as they did elsewhere in society. The situation reminds one of a comment of the late Malcolm X when he asked in a rather bitter fashion if it was a sign of the Church's love for the black man that they were being made bishops.

Militancy, echoes or blasts of women's lib, charges of repression and luxury, the very question of FAITH itself all plague the Church in these most critical of times. Whether the Church would remain obstinate and conservative while being bombarded with pressure to bring itself up to the times, depends very much on one man, Pope Paul, the Supreme Pontiff of the Holy Roman Catholic Church. In spite of his outlook which has often been described as predictably authoritarian, Paul has been called by a German journalist, "The Pope of the Third World" in contrast to the Pope of the Atlantic Alliance giving a voice to those who have no voice in the world. The Pope has been described as an enigmatic figure, possessing great humility and wanting to know genuinely what people think. He is said to possess tremendous calm, enormous will power and sincerity. He is reputed to be a competent diplomat whose master plan is on the international level and who goes in for private meetings and the long view of things. Cardinal Heenan describes him as one of the great pontificates of this generation.

When all is said and done, the business of the Vatican as opposed to that of the Church continues as if nothing had happened. The Synod which gave the semblance of a great democratic body is conscious of working in what is basically and above all an authoritarian framework. There are other contradictions and conflicts and questions remaining to be answered if there is this desire for democracy and the will to wipe out injustices. Why for example has there never been a non-Italian as Pope? Why does not the Church itself sell out some of its art treasures and use up some of its vast takings from its investment in the stock market and from its business holdings? No one has been able yet to give an answer, far less a frank answer. The power catacombs in the Vatican remain a mystery but one Vatican official at least has tried to explain away the growing criticism by saying: "Well, we do make mistakes sometimes. After all, we are not infallible."

The Media

A broadening of attitudes

“Monitor”

Despite the popularity and the appeal of television, radio remains one of the most enjoyable and satisfying of the media. It is possible to actually relax while the wireless is on—but often not so with television which summons up all the faculties of sight and hearing and which often leaves one with an old feeling of tiredness. But this is not the only reason why one sometimes prefers radio to television. In news, commentary and analysis, radio can offer more depth and intensity—simply perhaps because it is cheaper and there are not as many technical problems involved. And of course, with radio one has the added advantage of tuning in to almost any station in the world and getting up-to-the-minute coverage of events or a different view of things—but this depends on one's versatility in language. Even if one is tied to English and the BBC, however, there is often enough depth and variety to prove both entertaining, educative and, need one say, provocative.

A good example of a programme for which these three epithets could be used was the story of Dr. Helen Roseveare (*Radio 4*, 30 November) who has been in the Congo for some eighteen years now except for a brief period when she returned to England after the tumultuous troubles of the early sixties in which she herself suffered physical assault. The programme was entertaining in that it was told in the racy and sometimes excited and excitable voice of Dr. Roseveare herself which was punctuated by the deep, profound and perpetually missionary tone of the narrator. Although the story of Dr. Roseveare has been given much publicity before and was even made the theme of a play, the simple narrative told a great deal about the mind and work of Christian missionaries—their in-built attitudes, their responses to situations, their sacrifices, all of which help us to get an understanding of what the white man feels his burden to be.

The radio account tried to show how Christians shared Jesus' or Christ's, as they would say, compassion for world suffering and responded to the appalling call of human need—despite physical dangers and threats while seeking to introduce Christian beliefs like redemption, almost on the sly it would seem. (“Let us give the natives vitamins and talk about Jesus as we do so”). This sense of vocation comes from a mystical call and is the result of cultivated training. How these training and attitudes

are put to the test is no less interesting. Dr. Roseveare's courage in the face of ‘traumas, troubles and heartaches’ is certainly remarkable. Missionaries are no longer afraid of plagues and wild beasts. They now have to contend with mutinies of armies and, if they are women, with rape. When faced with the brute and overpowering force of a rebel on her bed, the missionary's reaction seems truly amazing. First, an inclination to say, “My God, my God, why has thou forsaken me?” and then, “a feeling of tremendous joy, peace and sweetness” in the knowledge that she was suffering for Christ.

This was a fantastic and perhaps unique reaction but there were the stock responses too: the rebellion was wicked, South African, Rhodesian and British mercenaries were deliverers of the people whose lives were one of unrelieved poverty and squalor and who had to be clothed and fed and treated in a condescending manner.

The programme reminded one very much of the documentary “**The Other Side of the Medal**” on *ITV* (Tuesday, Nov. 23) which showed a contingent of 39 young men and girls of every colour from all over the world—winners of the Gold Award in the Duke of Edinburgh Award Scheme working among the Samburu tribe in Kenya. They had won the award for such things as service to the community and the carrying out of foot journeys through wild country. The producer of the programme in the *ITV* magazine mused over the fact that people should win awards for such simple things which came naturally to the Samburu folk, even from childhood. In a penetrating comment he seemed to deplore the fact that competition is the mainspring of western society and has created loneliness and a desire merely to possess more objects. The Samburu by western standards are not winners and if they are called backward and unambitious “you don't find tense, anxious and lonely people among them or neglected children, or homeless families. And when men and women speak their voices are calm.” In recording the progress of the contingent, television came into its own in transmitting the visible enthusiasm and the ‘gaucheness’ too of those who were seeking to export progress to the Samburu from whom they may well learn a thing or two, like respect—for others and oneself—and simple self-reliance.

We were left to ponder about and wonder at the motives and the incentives which make people do things. “**Private Eye**” which gets under the skin of people and things with the most cutting of satire seems to be quite sceptical. The paper was the subject of a radio programme (Wednesday, 1 December) in which one of the editors of the *Eye* concluded that there was rather too much hypocrisy among those who allege that they are working for humanity, for noble ideals, for Christian values. He maintained that people do less and less for its own sake. They raise money not for charity but to make a reputation which was the same conclusion as that of the producer of “**The Other Side of the Medal**” . . .

But we seem to have gone some distance away from our starting point—discussing the pleasure and the usefulness of radio. What I had in mind among other things, was to discuss the merits of some of the excellent regular BBC radio programmes, like *Analysis* (Fridays on Radio 4) or **From our own Correspondents** on Saturdays in the latter of which we are reminded unfortunately of the bias—in the form of, for example, the theatrical voice of Michael Elkins, the American in Jerusalem who is reputedly the only non-British regular correspondent on the BBC's pay-roll.

I also wanted to discuss some of the educational programmes—from the primary school level ones to the open university lectures—which have given radio, and television too, a rather new dimension. In this respect it is interesting to note a broadening of attitudes on the part of the producers. A notable example of this was the programme on religion for schools which dealt with Sikhism, a programme on which Islam and Muslims were mentioned several times but only in the context of conflict with Hinduism.

Another example of this broadening of attitudes is that the BBC intends to start on Radios 3 and 4 a programme introducing the Arabic language next spring. This certainly is an encouraging sign. For years now the only languages deemed worthy of presenting on the BBC were French, German, Italian or Spanish. In this context we may disregard the programme *Nai Zindagi* on BBC radio and television which is meant only for viewers from India and Pakistan and which may be irksome to some of them even, not to speak of the natives themselves some of whom may or may not be Christians fired with a proselytizing missionary zeal at home, but who find strange and irritating the sounds which assail their ears early on sacrosanct Sunday mornings.

Exporting raw tomatoes and importing tomatoe juice

Books

What price Colonialism?

Die WeiBen Kommen: Die Wahre Geschichte de Kolonialismus by Gert von Paczensky, *Hoffman und Campe*, Hamburg, 560 pages, DM 28

Gert von Paczensky's book "Die WeiBen kommen" (The Whites are Coming) has come out at a time when the citizen of the industrial world is getting the impression from all the literature on the Third World—such as Myrdal's "Asian Drama" or Pearson's "Partners in Development"—that there is perhaps something inherently wrong with the Third World itself. Why, after all, did these countries remain so poor so much behind in the race toward development and progress? Voices are even heard: Why should we pay for them? Why don't they help themselves? They are always asking us for help, why don't they change their social order? Maharajas and feudal lords exist there side by side with the poorest on the earth. Look at India's food problems and the holy cows!

It is natural that people in the affluent world should show their anger and disappointment. A lot of it is, as Paczensky has brilliantly revealed in his book, not so much due to any inherent inabilities of these nations to strive for progress, but due to the colonial exploitation, not far decades but for centuries. This exploitation took place in various pretexts, such as the spread of religion or civilisation, the widening of trade, etc. No morals were needed to extract the maximum. When it came to killing, hundreds and thousands were killed; when it came to capturing new lands, nations were forced to flee; when it came to the sale of manufactured goods, indigenous industries were ruined. The Pak-Indian sub-continent was particularly the target of the colonial manufactured goods. The English first imported textiles from India, but later on when they wanted to sell their own textiles, they forced Indian weavers to close down their workshops and flee from cities like Dacca to the rural areas. Hundreds and thousands thus lost their lives in this *march per force*. "The old populous manufacturing towns like Dacca, Murshidabad (which Clive had described in 1757 to be as extensive, populous and rich as the city of London), Surat and the like were in a few years rendered desolate under the 'pax Britannica' with a completeness which no ravages of the most destructive war or foreign conquest could have accomplished." (E. Palme Dutt)

The sub-continent was turned into a flourishing market for Lancashire's textiles. Cotton and jute grown in British India, was first sold to England and then shipped back as textiles at monopoly prices. No other nation was allowed to trade with India except with the consent of the rulers. The merchants were forbidden to use other nation's ships—only British ships were allowed transport of goods from and to India. Though plenty of iron ore was available in the country, she was, however, not permitted to develop steel industry. So steel was imported across thousands of miles in British ships from Great Britain. This strange colonial economic system was not to be seen in "British" India alone, it was also to be found all over the colonial world. Belgium, France, Holland, Portugal and the United States forced their colonies to sell their raw materials and buy in exchange manufactured goods from them. Portugal continues to do this even up till now. It obtains from Mozambique and Angola cotton and raw sugar and sells them textiles and white sugar. The author quoting *Bettelheim*, mentions pre-Castro Cuba exporting raw tomatoes and importing tomato juice from the United States.

While on the one hand this exploitation business robbed the colonies of their wealth and natural resources, on the other hand it contributes immensely towards the emergence of the Industrial Revolution in the Western world.

Paczensky has tried to present a brief balance sheet and exemplifies some of the blatant instances of exploitation. A few examples here:

SPAIN: 19 tons of gold were removed from Haiti during 1503-1510.

BELGIUM: Union Miniere made a profit of about 2.6 billion Marks during 1950-59.

GREAT BRITAIN: India paid 18 million pounds sterling annually as tribute during the period from 1757 (Plassey) till 1815 (Waterloo). This comes close to 6 billion pounds sterling at the present value.

Large firms such as Ferriera Estate (South Africa), Premier Diamond Company, Ashanti Goldfields Corporation and several others, earned exorbitant rates of dividends, at times as high as twice, thrice and even more than the face value of shares in just one year. The shares of the Suez Canal Company rose from just 500 Francs (face value) to as much as 17,000 Francs shortly before the Second World War. The sum total of exploitation indulged in by the colonial powers in some cases stood at more than 5 to 10 per cent of the annual national income of the colonies. Still

more tragic in this whole exploitation business was the insignificant growth of reproductive capital. This way a negative growth was clamped upon many colonies. In recent times, the author claims that the American firms are on top as far as exploitation is concerned. This holds particularly true in the case of South America. Transfer of profits alone in the year 1955 stood at 680 million dollars. Quoting André Heurteaux, Paczensky mentions that profit income of 2.3 to 4.0 billion dollars is earned annually on an investment of 18.5 billion dollars. John F. Kennedy admitted this shortly before his election as President of the United States, when he said that profits and interest returning to his country from Latin America were many times more than the money the United States had put into public and private investments there (René Dumont; in CERES, Rome, No. 13, page 39).

Alongside the economic exploitation, Paczensky notes that this extends even to the cultural spheres. French replaced Arabic in Algeria, and English replaced the local court language Persian in India. At times the suppressed peoples were forced to remain illiterate and untrained. Nobody can deny that at one time the State of Georgia (USA) had forbidden the slave population to learn to read or write. The book, despite its highly critical assessment of the colonial period, is, however, not without weakness. The first weakness is already noticed by its title "Die WeiBen kommen" (The Whites are Coming). The title is misleading as it gives the impression that exploitation of the colonies was carried on by the white nations or the white race. But is that true? Historical evidence, however, deviates from such a global or collective charge. Wasn't it better for the author to blame the early capitalistic system for that matter the colonial system or the men behind these agents of exploitation? Karl Marx, Hobson, Lenin and Oscar Lange, and many more have already dealt with this aspect in fair detail.

It is true historically that it was the members of the white race who engaged in this business of callous and brutal exploitation, yet the title: *Die WeBien kommen* (The Whites are coming) seems to be less apt. In a world which is already too much divided racially, economically and politically, questions of injustice and exploitation need re-examining and correcting the basic value-premises and not accentuating the existing schisms and divisions in the human society. Class justice and a classless society cannot be established through promoting division and class conflicts. This is obvious, yet so strange.

HUSSEIN MULLICK

But whenever there is injustice, an 'intelligent' man must come forward to explain and justify

Briefing

The Liberated Woman and Other Americans

by Midge Decter

Coward, McCann and Geoghegan, \$6.95

It is a collection of the writer's essays on different socio-political problems of American life. A former *Harper's* editor and a liberal, Midge Decter like her husband Norman Podhoretz, the editor of *Commentary* analyses the American social problems from a stand-point of practical reason. Midge Decter is a stern critic of movements such as the black power or women's liberation. She rejects the modern sophisticated view of marriage as simply an economic transaction; in her view it is first and foremost a psychic relationship between two people. In her essays "The Gay Divorce" and "The Liberated Woman" she portrays two young women, one married, who when deeply involved in divorce legalities realises how deep a spiritual meaning marriage has for her. She portrays a spoiled middle class convert to women's liberation.

The Assault on Privacy

by Arthur R. Miller

University of Michigan Press, \$7.95

Arthur R. Miller, a professor of Law at Illinois, is also well known as an expert on the proposed National Data Centre and the misuse of credit networks. With the help of modern laser technology an incredibly vast amount of data and information on men and institutions can easily be fed into the computerised data-banks. This poses a new and very serious threat to privacy as we know it at present. It is possible for example to store a 20-page dossier on every American on a piece of tape less than five thousand feet long and anybody can have an instant access to this through computer terminals. Professor Miller says: "Many people have voiced concern that the computer with its insatiable appetite for information, its image of infallibility, and its inability to forget anything that has been stored in it, may become the heart of a surveillance system that will turn society into a transparent world . . ." In a world where both government and industry are vying with each other in collecting vast quantities of private information about individuals and groups such a result is not in the least unexpected. The army in the US has computerised files on almost every organisation in the country. The Atlanta-based Retail Credit Company has files on no less than 45 million people besides those maintained by credit bureau and various insurance companies. How serious a threat this vast store of private information can be for individuals is shown by the example of the Hooper-Holmes Bureau which is reportedly known for specialisation "in derogatory information" and maintains files on 9 or 10 million people. It is because of the seriousness of the threat to individual privacy that governments have started making laws for the containment of its dangers.

The British in Africa

by Roy Lewis and Yvonne Foy

Weidenfeld and Nicolson, £3.75

History of British presence in Africa, an unedifying story of a people who went to the black continent in the fond hope of duplicating their gilded triumphs in India, but when they left it, confusion prevailed all around. The Anglo-African history is a story of horror, oppression and exploitation of whole nations and vast countries. The first British settlement in Africa was founded in the 17th century when Charles II received Tangier from Spain as part of Catherine of Braganza's dowry. But the creation of the British African

empire is essentially a nineteenth century phenomenon. Until then the far flung coastal settlements were no more than isolated out-posts. The victorian impulse to move into the interior of the black continent coupled with a search for the source of the Nile, the missionary zeal and the discovery of gold mines finally created out of these isolated settlements what later came to be known as the British African empire. But no uniform pattern of later development emerged in them. Thus in Kenya, for example, a white governing class dominated the scene and defied both social conscience and imperial responsibility. In South Africa we find the British enfeebled by their soft and easy modes of living. They suffered terribly from lack of conviction. Result? They were gradually pushed aside by the sturdy and more bigoted Boers. The British may be proud of the technical progress made under their surveillance but for most part their stay in the continent is predominantly overshadowed by sorry and sordid memories. This is so because when the British first settled down in Africa they were like the rest of the Europeans seized in an unnatural and inhuman frenzy for expansion. When they sensed that their days of ascendancy were over, they displayed all the nastier characteristics in their behaviour: conceit, greed, snobbery, and cruelty. It is in this historical perspective that one finds Ian Smith determined to hold down the vast majority of the blacks in perpetual servitude. The reason for this is not far to seek. The British never had any soft corner for their black subjects; theirs was a rule of hatred and not of love. Lord Rosebery aptly summed up the situation in his famous remark: "What is empire?", he said, "but the predominance of race?"

Race, Intelligence and Education

by H. J. Eysenck,

Temple Smith and New Society, £1.50

In most of the objective intelligence tests the African negro is given much less marks than his white compatriot. Is the black American's I.Q. lower than a white American's? And why? It is this central question which Eysenck has tried to answer. Tracing down the genealogy of the white and black American to the remotest past he says that the white Americans are the descendants of Angles, Saxons, Jutes, Vikings, Danes and Normans—a mixed ancestry which surpassed all other nations in one respect: the art of government. And thanks to this art and efficiency they, the people of a small island, at one time became the virtual and undisputed masters of several continents. As against this illustrious elite, the black Americans are the descendants of those African slaves whom the early white settlers in America captured or bought in slave markets of those days. The intelligent and more shrewd among them being a potential source of revolt were carefully eliminated by their new masters.

In this process of selection those that survived naturally had good physiques but a poor intellect. Besides the point that the whole IQ testing is white-oriented and not an objective test of human intellect, it is not true that intelligence characteristics are inherited or transmitted in the same way as physical characteristics. But whenever there is injustice and inequity, an 'intelligent' man must come forward to explain and justify. That is how it can perpetuate itself.

Religion and Literature

by Helen Gardner

Faber, £2

Two courses of lectures: 'Religion and Tragedy, deal with different concepts of tragedy, ancient,

Shakespearian and modern. The other three lectures are on religious poetry. For Prof. Gardner tragedy unlike comedy, is a rare phenomenon of life. Naming some of the great tragedies she says: "And at once we can add that such a list shows that tragedy is a term of honour and more than a description of a certain literary 'kind'. In giving such a list we are naming masterpieces of art. To speak of a great tragedy is really a tautology. Tragedy that is not 'great' is not tragedy but 'failed tragedy'. Tragedy is great because it gives an interpretation of life that chimes in with our most serious reflections."

● All daily and weekly newspapers in Libya except the official *Ath-Thawra* will stop publication as from 10 December unless they obtain non-political permits to resume publication. The decision affects eight papers.

● *Azad*, a left wing Urdu daily from Lahore, Pakistan, has ceased publication and its staff have appealed for the payment of their wages not reimbursed since last September.

● In Turkey, the *Demokrat Izmir* has been banned for one week for publishing a report captioned "Those who enter police posts as maidens come out as widows". □ *Yeni Ortam*, Turkey's left-wing weekly has announced its intention to cease publication.

● After discovering a major printing error involving a passage from Ecclesiasticus, the Cambridge University Press have recalled copies of the lecturer edition of the New English Bible.

● A book in Polish, "Panskie Wieczory" (Paris Nights) published by a Catholic Book House carries scurrilous remarks about the Prophet.

● "Vladimir Ilyich Lenin — Biograficheskaya Khronika" (V. I. Lenin—a biographical chronicle) Vol. II, published by The Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Moscow.

● *Pakistan Tomorrow*, published by Pakistan Solidarity Committee, P.O. Box 6173 Station A, Toronto, Canada and *Pakistan Students Association of America*.

● A district court in Novi Sad has banned an issue of the Hungarian language journal *Uj Simpozio* published by the local youth forum for carrying an article entitled "Everyday Abortion" about conditions in Yugoslavia. It also insulted the People's Republic of China.

● V. S. Naipaul, the Trinidad-born novelist has won the annual £5,000 Booker prize for fiction, for his novel *In a Free State*.

● George Jackson, the "Soledad Brother" killed in San Quentin jail last August has been posthumously named winner of the first non-fiction book award by the Black Academy of Arts and Letters.

● Jon Kimche (formerly of *Jewish Observer*) has resigned from the editorship of the monthly *New Middle East*. He is succeeded by Dan Gillon.

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Letters

Elephant: dead or deaf?

I was surprised to find the *Organizer* speaking about "War to end all wars" (*Impact*: 12-25 November). It seems the Indians are still living in a fool's paradise. Do they seriously believe Lord Pethwick Lawrence in his quackery that with the help of plastic surgery the elephant would be able to regain the "ears" lost 24 years ago. Perhaps they do not know that the quackery could instead paralyse or mutilate the already deaf elephant. So a deaf elephant is better than a dead elephant.

Cheddleton, Dr. MANZOOR-UL-HASSAN
Leek, Staffs., U.K.

A disappointment to note

The flatulence which the *London Times* and the *Sunday Times* discharge every now and then against Pakistan is nauseating to all fair-minded people. However, it was a disappointment to note you projecting Mr. Ispahani to defend Pakistan's position (*Impact* 24 September—7 October). While treachery by some is mainly responsible for the present crisis, the basic problem arises not the least from the doings of such politicians who were more businessmen than politicians. It is because of them that such disparities and inequities have come to exist in Pakistan today. Mr. Ispahani says: "We would rather be half-hungry than take aid with strings". May I ask him how much *zakat* he has paid in the last 24 years? What is his own contribution to the strengthening of the bonds of ideological unity between East and West Pakistan?

Halifax, Canada. KAUKAB SIDDIQUE

Ideological issues

I take this opportunity to offer a few comments and suggestions. I am greatly impressed by *Impact*. The editorial job is really first rate. *Impact* has a wide coverage and compares well with other international periodicals. It fills a long felt gap in Muslim journalism. I wish it success and hope it will have an impact on the minds of men.

I suggest you devote some space to ideological issues. I mean the first principles of Islam. Secondly special attention needs to be paid to the economic issues relating to the world of Islam. Brief economic surveys of the Muslim countries and articles discussing the possibility of greater economic co-operation between these countries will be most useful. I would also suggest that the journal reflect a variety of views so far as purely political issues are concerned. Issues relating to the Indian sub-continent, for example, should not be viewed only from the Pakistani angle. In this context I regret to note that the *Jamaat Islami Hind* resolution on East Bengal situation did not find a mention in your journal.

Aligarh, DR. M. NEJATULLAH SIDDIQUI
India.

Of the Islamic disunity

It was very interesting to read the views of Tunku Abdur Rahman, Secretary-General of the Islamic Secretariat about the problems facing the "Islamic Unity" in *Impact*, 12-25 November 1971. Having had too much interest in Islamic unity, like all other Muslims who believe in Islamic ideology, I have tried to follow its organisation from the very

beginning and there are some points worth recalling.

The formation of the Islamic Secretariat should be traced back to the beginning of the second half of the sixties when the Shah of Iran and King Faisal proposed the foundation of "Islamic pact" and which was openly and severely opposed by some other Arab countries, particularly Nasser of Egypt, who said it was inspired and sponsored by the USA to unify her allies in the Islamic world under the name of Islam. And, soon the entire scheme was forgotten. (Among many sources see: Maxime Rodinson, *Israel and Arabs*, English Translation, pp. 160-161).

After the 1967 war one notices a change in the attitude of some Arab countries and of necessity there was a desire to "improve" their relations with other Muslim countries. The Al-Aqsa arson provided a good opportunity to the Shah to show his keen and great enthusiasm for the establishment of Islamic unity and "in Muslim brotherhood" and so he made an appeal to all the heads of Islamic states to gather and confer about the issue and the repair of the sacred mosque. Many in the Muslim world saw this as "an attempt to ignore the main problem: the existence of the Israeli aggression and its occupation of the Muslim lands". Anyway this was the conference that led to the formation of the Islamic Secretariat.

The fact that apart from Pakistan—that is understandable—the Secretariat has so far been helped only by the two monarchs who had earlier proposed it, also goes to explain the lack of progress and interest by others.

Sir, when, as your leading article states, more than "three quarters of the Third World is under some form of dictatorial rule" a Muslim who wants "to do his service for his God" need not waste his time and ignore the fact that the Islamic unity cannot be achieved through the heads of states, more so the monarchs. Islamic unity can only be achieved if the representatives of the Muslim community can get together and confer; and any Muslim who knows Iran also knows that the Shah and his entourage represent the Iranians only as much as Smith or Vorster represent their African subjects.

Keeping these in mind, one is not surprised to see the Secretary-General of the Islamic Secretariat joining the 'elite' of the world and enjoying the most expensive wine and food in the world, in the most over-lavish ceremony held in history on the occasion of the so-called 2500th anniversary of Iranian monarchy while the supreme Islamic leader of Iranians had made it abundantly clear that participation in these celebrations "would amount to taking part in the blood-bath of the oppressed Iranian nation". (*Impact* 24 September and 22 October). God knows he might have taken it as an opportunity to meet most of the heads of the Islamic States or their representatives and to ask them to show responsiveness and interest in the unity of Islam. One might also like to ask the Secretary-General that when he speaks of the conference of "Muslim nations" he includes or not, more than 200 million Muslims in the world who have no "Muslim head" or no "Islamic" label i.e. those under Chinese, Soviet, Indian, Albanian, Israeli and Ethiopian rule?

Sir, may I also suggest that, for *Impact* to be an "independent journal of Muslim affairs", it would have been advisable if you had let the name of the author of the pro-Government advert-like article, *The Saudi Arabian perspectives*, be mentioned to bear the responsibility rather than saying "by our Middle East correspondent".

London, E.1

H. YAZDI

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Nota Bene

by Scribe

Change of song, the perennial question. . .

The whole case of India's non-interfering and altruistic interest in the "Bangla Desh internal affair" is based on the denial that it is not India but the people of East Pakistan who stand for the independence of Bangla Desh. And of course this lib-love is special and monogamous, it cannot be extended to the other Bengal—the Indian Bengal. Love is not something which can be shared. The world may have gone permissive but India is still so conscious of her morals and norms. Old traditions do permit royal polyandry such as in the case of Queen Darupadi but certainly there is no question of tolerating a bigamous thought.

To say that the people did not want independence because they actually voted for Sheikh Mujib's Six Points i.e. greater autonomy is not the right answer. They might have voted only for autonomy but did they also know who actually gave them the Six Points? Since they were not the originators, they cannot be its interpreters; for only 'she knows best who createth'. And they ought to understand that they want nothing short of independence.

Since last month when Mrs. Gandhi started sending her own Maratha and Gurkha Bahini on a 'defensive and liberationary' strike against East Pakistan, the important question—before all those who have been lucky to have survived the 'press-cholera' and 'tivy-jaundice'—was about the reaction of the people of "Bangla Desh" to this kindly aggression undertaken in complete pity and sympathy to their cause.

But how to know the facts when one happens to depend on the British press or television reports? During the past few months their truthfulness and objectivity have been the subject of questioning not only in regard to the Pak-Indian crisis but also Ulster, etc.

Whether objective or not the communication media have their own special problems. Not that they do not know the truth or they are innately incapable of saying it, but there are several latent and manifest constraints. All said and done about the freedom of press, much depends on the "briefing" as to the overall national interests and the quality of articulation a medium is capable of deploying and that's how one gets that spectral assortment from *Guardian* to *Express*. There are always ex-

ceptions to prove the rule but all that classification and labelling one comes across are more tags of convenience than indicative of any faith, ideology or principle of any sort. The labels are there to attract, distract or confuse but no more.

Anyway, having been fed all through on 'Fleet Street curry', perhaps it was unnecessary to search for news about East Pakistani reaction to India's 'defensive' invasion. But then, all too sudden, there was "a change of song." At last the news came about "reports from inside East Pakistan talking of large anti-Indian (anti-Sheikh Mujib) demonstrations. And the peasantry in the paddy fields . . . do not want Indian tanks rolling destructively towards them".

Guess how it was reported? Not as an item on the news pages but as part of an editorial comment in *The Guardian* (1st December) which perhaps sought to caution Mrs. Gandhi against "bizarre belligerence". Presumably this did not contradict the paper's own previous role in raking up the whole crisis when one considers that emphasis here was not on 'belligerence' but its being 'bizarre'.

In any case those who have to churn out thousands and thousands of words each day, can hardly afford to worry about consistency or contradiction.

Therefore, it was not surprising to find *The Daily Telegraph* (1 December) also coming up suddenly and asking in all innocence: "Is conquest India's aim?" If so this meant "forfeiting the sympathy of those who . . . held that her interference in the East Pakistan dispute, although clearly illegal, did not exceed the bounds of what was understandable." Because "to give some help to the independence fighters as a means of putting pressure on President Yahya to adopt a political solution by releasing Sheikh Mujib is one thing . . . intervention with . . . thousands of troops, including armour, is quite another". After this moral sop the real cause for concern is spelt out though only towards the end of the editorial and with a casual nonchalance. It said "India's superiority is so great that she would almost certainly win such a war . . . A victory by Russia's protégé India over China's protégé Pakistan . . . would show who is the arbiter in Asia." Although the premises are very much questionable, the possibility of not

being the arbiter any more can indeed be agonising.

Times do change but *The Times* took its own time to come up with the realisation that the American decision to cancel arms shipments to India owing to continuing military engagements will "be a blow to India's pretensions." With the realisation that the American decision to cancel arms shipments to India owing to continuing military engagements will "be a blow to India's pretensions", it pretends no more "This gap between pretensions and reality has been obvious for some months past". But can Pakistanis "hope now to swing international support to their side by representing themselves as innocent sufferers of unprecedented aggression"? The answer is no.

A perennial question in any discussion about Pakistan is "the Islamic faith of majority of its citizens". Paradoxically enough this is less apparent in the religious press than in the secular and otherwise "tolerant and liberal" press. The common man is a poor man: unlucky, brain-washed and deprived of any reasonable opportunity of getting an unbiased view of things. So he himself needs sympathy and understanding, but the case of the 'unbelieving' crusader is indeed a case of peculiar psychology.

He is agnostic in all matters but one: his crass antipathy to anything remotely connected with Islam or Muslims. He does not believe in narrow and divisive nationalism. He stands for the integration of Europe—both East and West—as a prelude to his own one new world but "now that nationalism of the Bengalis has shattered Muslim unity, set an example for the disaffected Pathans", he is full of glee and unashamed happiness. He believes in liberty and human rights, he stands for peace and non-aggression but he is joyous that "Mrs. Gandhi has seized upon President Yahya Khan's difficulties and by a skilful military escalation hopes to give the new nation of Bangla Desh the chance of self-government".

Did the *New Statesman* (3 December) have to be so transparent in its bigotry because according to it Pakistan is a "geographic and cultural monstrosity" and a "theocratic state" having "but on unifying force within its boundaries?" One is not sure.

The jibe "cultural monstrosity" would remain a meaningless jibe unless it is said that the euphemism was there as a mere camouflage to intellectual cowardice. Pakistan is not a theocracy but say it was, what is the objection to a secular, democratic and socialist Palestinian Palestine?

World Opinion

Two Pakistans: the Socialist solution

Two conclusions arise from our analysis. Firstly, it emphasises the political role in post-colonial societies of the educated middle class, whose aspirations are directed primarily towards positions in the bureaucratic-military oligarchy which dominates such societies. The ideology of 'national' solidarity is put forward by privileged groups in that oligarchy in order to obscure their own privileged identity. On the other hand, under-privileged groups put forward their demands in the idiom of regional culture or linguistic or ethnic identity... The frustrations and the energies of the under-privileged groups are, therefore, channelled into 'nationalist' movements instead of movements directed explicitly towards a socialist revolutionary change. But, because the underlying structure of capitalist development continues even after concessions are made to regional demands, the problems of the regional groups are not solved simply by the achievement of regional autonomy. Their problems can be solved only by a social revolution, and an end to uneven capitalist development. Secondly, the specific conditions of East Bengal have given rise to a situation which can no longer be considered simply as a regional problem, on a par with the problems of the under-privileged regions of West Pakistan. For the latter the perspective must be that of a united struggle for a socialist West Pakistan rather than a narrow struggle for regional autonomy within a capitalist West Pakistan...

Socialists everywhere will support the struggle of the people of Bangla Desh, and resist the intrigues of the Western powers to thwart the aims of the people's struggle in Bangla Desh.

(Hamza Alavi: *The Crisis of Nationalities and the State of Pakistan*, *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, Stockholm, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1971)

Two Pakistans: the Capitalist solution

The United States has often been accused of attempting to remodel the rest of the world in terms of American social, economic and political institutions. As a continental power, organised as a political federation to form the world's largest economy, we have implicitly also attempted to get other nations to measure up to American standards of size. It is not at all clear, however, if this bigness bias is in our interest...

Until very recently the large developing nations have done much less well than their smaller brethren in this expansion of exports... Ironically, the size of the larger states is very much an illusion. Although countries like India, Indonesia, Nigeria, Argentina and

Brazil have large expanses of territory and large populations in terms of economic size, they are all fairly small.

The larger ones have, however, suffered from a severe handicap—the illusion of size and the ill-conceived policies to which this has led. Fragmentation might have the beneficial effect of forcing a reassessment of these policies... Fragmentation might also help the mobilisation and allocation of capital and other scarce resources for development. First, there may be savings on the volume of military spending.

Finally, one must consider political advantages which the establishment of smaller states would offer for some of the less-developed countries. Domestic stability might of course be expected to increase with the elimination of one of the major causes of internal conflict... Fragmentation might also have liberating effects on the internal political life of the poor countries. Consequently, in the interests of the less-developed states themselves, a U.S. policy of not contributing to the repression of secessionist movements may be justified.

To tolerate breakaway movements towards the creation of smaller states, then, may not be such a bad idea. Hopefully, a reconsideration of U.S. policy in this area will take place before the next Biafra or Bengal.

(Nathaniel H. Leff: *Bengal, Biafra and the Bigness Bias*, *Foreign Policy*, New York, No. 3, Summer 1971)

The Nixonian choice

From a diplomatic point of view, the United States is, for the time being, in the position of greatest manoeuvrability. Obviously we would wish to stay on the present tightrope between the two adversaries as long as possible, and it is quite conceivable that President Nixon may hope to make a bold end-run around the subcontinent when he goes to Mao next year. But if we are actually forced to make a choice, we have indicated in telltale ways (largely developmental—having to do with the spread of our socio-economic commitments, private-sector as well as public-sector) which we would choose. It would be India—against Pakistan—no matter how the situation may appear in the current headlines.

(Paul Deutschman: *Pakistan—what never gets said*, *The Nation* weekly, New York, 8 November, 1971)

Understanding the Chinese foreign policy

If we want to understand the Chinese foreign policy, we must consider it in connection with the goals which the present leadership of the CCP and PRC pursues in domestic policy, above all in connection with the effort to strengthen the military-bureaucratic dictatorship in the country...

After the results of the cultural revolution, the Chinese leaders are trying in the political sphere to create a new power mechanism and to replace the Party by a political organisation which has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism. In the ideological sphere, the leadership is striving to deepen the isolation of the Chinese people from the influence of scientific socialism, by turning Maoism into the only decisive doctrine. In the economic sphere it is trying to revive and reconstruct the national economy. In international relations it shifts to a stronger orientation towards undermining peace and security of nations, towards aggravating international tension and towards utilising the contradiction between socialism and capitalism in favour of its hegemonic goals... (Jiri Miraz in "Where do they lead China?", from *Prague* home service, 25 November, 1971)

India that is Indira

The Hindu Pantheon is not at all like the all-male Trinity of the Judaeo-Christian tradition. In Amber I knelt before the shrine of one of the female avatars, black-faced Kali, the destroyer, whose hands and feet are always red with blood. The story goes that she got so carried away with blood-lust that Shiva, her consort, was sent to remonstrate with her and she stomped on him with her myriad feet before she realised who he was, and so her tongue hangs out in eternal surprise.

Mrs. Gandhi could be thought to have a good deal in common with Kali, if one considers that in India Bangla Desh means East Bengal freed from Pakistan and by no means West Bengal freed from India. The mother who has taken untold millions of refugees to her bosom may prove to be their destroyer if she continues to excite war-hysteria at the present rate.

Indians who want to prove their country's pro-feminist orientation are happy to cite Mrs. Gandhi's brilliance as a statesman (no, not stateswoman), but even the most chauvinistic among them cannot claim that Mrs. Gandhi would ever have been in a position to demonstrate her abilities if she had not been Pandit Nehru's daughter. (Germain Greer in *India: in search of confusion*, *The Sunday Times*, 21 November, 1971)

Libelling the foreigner

Whatever our personal feelings about union with Europe, is it not time we thought about making a simple contribution to better relations by cleaning up our language a bit?

The French, this instant, will have to stop saying "mechant comme un Anglais" to describe someone who is as "ill-natured as an Englishman". All together now, *mes amis*, from tomorrow you will no longer use the term "mariage Anglais" when you expect that soon after the wedding husband and wife will live in separate quarters.

You Swedes over there! If someone is mean or money-grabbing, you will no longer call him an "engelsk kramare", or English shopkeeper. And you Italians, you say that things are like "zuppa inglese" when they are in a hopeless mess. Please stop slandering English soup in this way, and we will stop calling you spaghetti-eaters, dagos, wops and Eyeties.

Another thing: why should you Italians cast a slur on a friendly country by calling a gatecrasher, or someone who sponges on his friends, a "portoghese", or Portuguese?

Poles! We can make a move towards true camaraderie when you start dropping from your lexicon of proverbs, such sayings as: "Nothing excites him, he's an Englishman."

And now let us put our own house of epithets in order.

People who have been to the Soviet Union usually agree that the children are charming and polite. Why, then do English mothers and nannies still try to shame a naughty child by telling him that he is behaving "like a little Russian"?

And then there is the cafe owner who, finding himself with some cheap chopped beef on his hands, slaps it into patties and puts it on his menu as "Swiss steak".

Who suffers most in this business of libelling the foreigners?

Perhaps it is the Dutch male. Do we really mean to belittle Dutchmen when we suggest to a girlfriend that we "go Dutch" for an evening?

(Ian Ball in *The Daily Telegraph Magazine*, 26 November, 1971)

Education in Egypt— largely on British lines

Egyptian universities are run largely on British lines. Cairo, built in the early 30s, was modelled on the experience of this country. And 80 per cent of Egyptian university staff were trained in Britain. Many are now reaching retirement.

There is a fear that their young replacements, educated in Egypt only, do not have the same grounding as the older teachers. The diplomatic break with Britain severed many personal academic links...

The Americans have the greatest aid programme, in the shape of their university in Cairo. This, the largest single American investment in the country, is comparatively small with 1,500 degree students. Although its degrees are not officially recognised, it plays an important supporting rôle in higher education. It has courses in area management, to which civil servants are seconded; it has a well-developed English language Institute, offering in-service courses for teachers; it runs a vast evening school for adult education.

No discussion of higher education can ignore Al-Azhar, the Islamic university, 1,001 years old. In 1957 it underwent secularisation, and in addition to traditional theological studies, faculties of engineering, arts, medicine and agriculture were added. Its moral pre-eminence is still widely acknowledged, but as a modern university the view, privately expressed, is that it has not yet got off the ground.

(Michael Binyon in *The Times Higher Education Supplement*, 29 October, 1971)

NEWS BRIEF

Afghanistan. Members of Soviet-Afghan friendship Association headed by the Soviet Deputy Prime Minister paid a goodwill visit to Afghanistan. ● **Britain** has approved a loan of £1 million for digging wells. ● **Albania.** Youth Organisations throughout the country have taken initiative to further improve the moral character of the youth and eliminate remnants of 'petit bourgeois' psychology which manifested itself in things like misuse of socialist property, gossip, indifference etc. ● **Algeria.** Agreement has been signed with Polmot, a Polish foreign trade company for the supply of 5,000 Polish Fiat cars. ● The fatwa committee of the Ministry of Religious Affairs has ruled that in the state interest, it was permissible to receive interest from investment bonds and saving accounts.

Arab Amirate. Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Sharjah, Ajman, Ummal-Quwayyin and Fujayrah proclaimed the formation of Union of Arab Emirates as an independent and sovereign state.

Bhutan. Bhutan is not to exchange missions with other countries for the time being, and also not to seek aid from any country other than India.

Ceylon. A Catholic Information Service of Ceylon has been established with a view to circulate information about the activities of the Catholic Church in Ceylon. It will also deal with information on ethical, moral, social, economic, educational and cultural matters.

China. Herr Schmidt, West German Defence Minister said in Canberra that a growing Russian naval presence in the Indian Ocean was directed mainly against Communist China.

Egypt. Mr. Richard Wood, the British Minister of Overseas Development said in Cairo that he had been assured that private British investments would be welcome in Egypt. The climate was more favourable than he ever thought.

India. Production of the modified Mig-21 which will have more striking power will start early in 1973. The first Mig-21 was delivered by the Nasik division of HAL, Hindustan Aeronautics Ltd, in October 1970.

● A special alloy steel plant for modern armament production requirements is to be set up at Kanpur at a cost of Rs. 460 million. ● The Minister of State for Defence Production said that systematic efforts have been made in the past several years to build up the naval capability. A large programme of construction of naval ships, including major warships and submarines, has been under implementation. Steps had also been taken to strengthen the submarine arm and anti-submarine naval air wing. Naval dockyards facilities on

both coasts are being expanded and modernized. ● The value of Polish trade with India is expected to reach 400m foreign exchange Zlotys. The main Polish exports are machine tools, tractors, ship engines, electronic equipment etc. ● Iraq has offered to supply India with 1 million tons of crude oil in 1972.

Indonesia. President Suharto has said that economic development was not an end in itself and they must work to improve the ideological, political, economic, social, cultural and defence sectors of the nation. ● A total of 231 C category political detainees have been released in West Sumatra.

Libya. A shipping service between Tripoli, Alexandria and Tertus, linking the three countries of the Arab Federation is to be opened sometime during this month.

Malaysia. The ASEAN nations have signed a declaration proclaiming South East Asia a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality. They have assumed joint responsibility for the safety of navigation in the Malacca Straits and the Strait of Singapore. A summit conference on neutrality is to be held in Manila in March next year.

Middle East. The US congress adopted a resolution to grant 500m dollars worth of aid to Israel for arms. ● *Pravda* correspondent in Beirut reported a secret US-Israeli agreement on the manufacture of US weapons under licence in Israel.

● Mr. Mahmoud Riad, the Egyptian Foreign Minister has said that if the American policy continued to be so strongly influenced by her Jewish electorate, it seemed pointless to have diplomatic contacts with Washington.

● A Hungarian Agency comment said it was not impossible that Wasfi at-Tall's assassination had been made under the remote control of the CIA, to prevent an eventual Palestinian-Jordanian agreement; in other words for the sake of Israel. ● Brig. Misbah Al-Budayri, Chief of Staff of the Palestine Liberation Army sent a telegram to the acting Jordanian CGS condemning the "abominable" murder of Wasfi at-Tall, and the forces which aim at striking on the efforts made to achieve domestic reconciliation. ● Libyan Chief of Staff, Lt. Col. Abu Bakar Yunis said that the meeting of the Arab Joint Defence Council did not reach decisions consistent with the national character of the battle; in fact they intended to waste time and avoid the basic objectives. ● King Hussain, in an interview published in *Al-Hawadith*, Beirut, indicated his willingness to meet Israeli leaders if they agree to carry the Security Council resolution of November 1967 and return East Jerusalem to Jordan.

Morocco. West Germany has agreed to supply Morocco with 7,000 tons of wheat between January and March, 1972.

Nigeria. The Governor of the Central Bank of Nigeria has reported that the economy has recovered from the effects of civil war much more rapidly than anticipated.

Saudi Arabia. King Faysal has offered to continue to allow Muslims from occupied territories to perform Hajj provided they are cleared by the

Jordanian authorities.

Singapore. To combat the growing drug problem in Singapore, the Ministry of Social Affairs, has suspended the American field service exchange programmes with high schools in the United States.

Sudan. President Numeiry addressing a Youth Conference in Omdurman asked the "May Youth" to hold "to all the virtues of our true religion and avoid pitfalls and immorality". He said, "there is nothing more saddening than to see a young man letting his hair grow, hanging amulets round his neck, wearing tight and shiny and straight clothes, or to see a young girl abandoning modesty and decency", and imitating an alien behaviour. He asked them to "arm themselves with the virtues of persistent work, good behaviour of our true religion and the true virtues of socialism". ● The government are preparing to receive about 8,000 refugees, wanting to return from Zaire Republic. Some 20,000 refugees will have returned to the Sudan by the end of 1971. ● China is to send 40 more doctors making a total of 60 to work particularly in rural areas.

Tanzania. The Government banned travel during the 'Id-al-Fitr holidays to neighbouring countries by car. All the intending travellers were asked to furnish a surety bond to the customs authorities. ● Tanzania and the Netherlands have signed an agreement under which the Netherlands will send volunteers to work on specific development projects on a three year term basis.

Turkey. The Senate and the National Assembly have approved the extension of Martial Law for two more months. ● The Council of Ministers has ordered the suspension for 30 days of the strike planned by the cement, ceramics and earthenware industry workers' Union. ● A new Directorate General has been set up under the Ministry of Labour to deal with the problems of Turkish workers abroad, who number 700,000 and annually remit home \$500m.

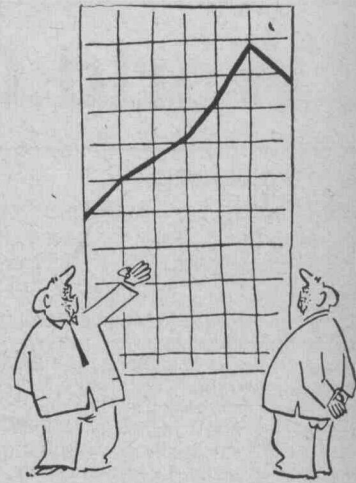
Uganda. The independent *Uganda Argus* has opposed Gen. Amin's plans to create a second Uganda university to specialise in French and Arabic studies and applied science.

USSR. Although there were fewer cases of robbery and theft in Belorussia during the first 9 months of the year, hooliganism, road accidents, plundering of socialist property were still committed on a large scale. As always drunkenness was the cause of most of these.

Yemen, South. All public establishments and corporations operating in Yemen have been prohibited from investing abroad except through Yemen Currency Authority and the Yemeni National Bank. They have been asked to withdraw any money invested outside the Republic. ● The monopoly over the import and distribution of books, newspapers and periodicals has been abolished.

PEOPLE

Mr. Ahmad Lawzi appointed Premier of Jordan ● Mr. Abd al-Malik al-Yasin is the new Iraqi ambassador to Algeria ● Premier Abbas Hoveyda of Iran visited Yugoslavia. ● Dr. Abd al-Qadir Hatim Egyptian Deputy Premier and minister of Culture & Information visited Moscow ● Tun



The fall in the labour safety plan was caused by the painter who fell from the ladder whilst painting this graph and broke his leg

Courtesy Czechoslovak Life, October 1971

Dr. Ismail, Deputy Premier of Malaysia paid official visit to Yugoslavia. ● **Alhaji Sanusi** is to be Nigeria's first ambassador to China. ● **Dr. Taha Hussein** re-elected chairman of the Arab Languages Academy of Egypt. ● **Mr. Muhammad Ahmad Muhammad** appointed secretary, Presidential Council of the Federation of Arab Republics. ● **Mr. Yasar Tunagur,** former director of the Turkish Religious Affairs department, arrested last July on charges of exploiting religion for political purposes, acquitted by martial law court and released. ● **Dr. Carson Blake,** Secretary General, World Council of Churches visited Poland at the invitation of the Polish Ecumenical Council. ● **President Nixon's** visit to China starts on 21 February, 1972. ● **Mr. Herbert Stein,** 55, appointed chairman of President Nixon's Council of Economic Advisers. ● **Maj. Gen. David Elazar,** 46, is to be Israel's Chief of Staff from 1 January, 1972. ● **Herr Martin Mussang,** 35, replaced **Heer Adolf Von Thadden** as chairman of the German Democratic Party. ● **Sir Alec Douglas-Home** who will be 69 next July may retire and be succeeded by **Lord Carrington.** ● **Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe** former president of Nigeria appointed Chancellor, University of Lagos. ● **President Losconzi** of Hungary visited Algeria, Guinea and Congo. ● **Mrs. Golda Meir** arrived in New York on 30 November. ● **Mahir Cayan,** the Turkish guerilla on trial for alleged murder of an Israeli diplomat last May, escaped from military prison in Istanbul. ● **Madame Ninnette de Valois,** director of the State Ballet awarded Turkey's highest cultural award.

VISITORS

Mr. Ferruh Niyazi Adali, President Supreme Court of Turkey. ● **H. E. Mohammad Sarur al-Sabban,** Secretary General, World Muslim League, Mecca. ● **Prof. Seyyed Hossein Nasr** from Iran. ● **Dr. Oleg Grabar** from Harvard. ● **Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan,** President Pakistan Muslim League, postponed his visit to Britain because of emergency in Pakistan.

DIED

Mr. Wasfi at-Tall, Jordanian Prime Minister assassinated in Cairo on 28 November.

IN THE NEXT ISSUE
An IMPACT reporter on "The Festival of Islam, organised by The Institute of Contemporary Arts, London."