

# impact

INTERNATIONAL FORTNIGHTLY

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## ENIGMA AND DILEMMA IN PAKISTAN

President Yahya's broadcast on 29 June has once again affirmed his desire to revive the democratic way of life in Pakistan and hand over power to the elected assemblies.

In these days of increasing political authoritarianism where the army has become sort of a panacea and the permanent ruling elite in several countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, it is no ordinary phenomenon that an army ruling class which came into power not through any coup or revolution, is so anxious to create a democratic infra-structure and go back to the barracks.

It looks too good to be true but it is not honest to deny, that which is so apparent and not easy to prove otherwise. It may be said that this was so because of the Middle East experience where ambitious army officers in their zeal to dabble in national politics and set every thing bright and progressive have instead brought their country as well as the defence forces to a state of shameful existence. The nearer and more real experience of Ayub Khan might also be cited as a sobering and introspective experience. Moreover, unlike many other 'developing' countries where the officer-class was virtually a family-class, in Pakistan the cadres have been more or less open to all its citizens and this has to a degree given it a relatively popular if not fully democratic complexion.

While this was so fine and enviable, it has also its seamy side. There do arise a host of ugly problems because of selfish ambitions and lust of power but, sincerity and righteousness were by themselves, no solution to problems.

With the solitary exception of Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and his People's Party, President Yahya's address has been welcomed by all the political parties in Pakistan. Mr. Bhutto has withheld comment and called for lifting of the ban on political activities to pave the way for a prompt return to democratic rule.

Now whatever disapprobation one may, and quite rightly so, hold about military rule, one cannot deny that in the present stage of Pakistan's percipitous existence, its defence forces are the only surviving reality. They can either hasten the process of decay and disintegration or stem the rot and help put the nation back on the map. It may just be fortuitous, but so much is at stake and so much depends on the success or failure of the present phase in Pakistan that it is essential to take a detached and dispassionate view of some aspects of the crisis and the solution proposed therefor.

The main features of President Yahya's scheme are:

1. The framing of a constitution by the National Assembly being no more feasible, a Constitution Committee has already been set up. The Committee's draft shall be finalised in consultation with various leaders in the Assembly.
2. The guide lines given to the Committee are: (i) The Constitut-

ion must be the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and based on Islamic ideology. (ii) The constitution should be a federal one with maximum legislative, financial and administrative autonomy to the provinces and (iii) a constitutional ban be put on political parties of purely regional nature.

3. The existing assemblies shall stay and bye-elections shall be held for those seats which fall vacant as a result of disqualification of such members who are found and declared to have taken part in anti-state activities etc.
4. The constitution shall come into force with effect from the first session of the National Assembly. This would be after the return of normalcy and a degree of economic rehabilitation. That is, in about four months or so, power shall be handed over to the elected representatives in both centre as well as the provinces.
5. Foreign aid which makes inroad into the nation's sovereignty is no more acceptable and efforts shall be made to develop self-reliance.

One cannot but agree with the fineness of the sentiments and the keenness of the desire to set things right. There is hardly much to say on the point. The important question, however, is whether there is enough determination and capacity to achieve the goal set by the regime before itself namely: "the restoration of democracy in the country, preservation of its integrity and solidarity, and the betterment of the lot of the common man". The answer to these questions does not seem to be equivocal.

First, the question of constitution making.

As is rightly said, the history of constitution making in Pakistan is not a very encouraging or a happy one. It took two constituent assemblies and nine years to produce a constitution in 1956. Then there was a Martial Law from October 1958 to June 1962 followed by what is known as the 1962 Constitution promulgated by Ayub Khan under his authority as the Chief Martial Law Administrator. The "gross resentment and political upheaval in 1969 against this Constitution" led to the fall of Ayub Khan and brought President Yahya in.

Besides its undemocratic provisions, the resentment and upheaval against Ayub Khan's constitution also involved a more important principle of legal and democratic propriety: that of the right of any individual to abrogate without any lawful authority a constitution framed by a lawful and elected constituent Assembly. The 1956 Constitution, as President Yahya feels might have been "a product of all sorts of conflicting compromises and expediences" and there was certainly nothing unusually sacrosanct about the document beyond the simple fact that the compromises and expediences represented a free

## enigma and dilemma . . .

and democratic process. Once the country was able to set itself on the course of democracy and constitutionalism, the undesirable provisions could always be amended or modified. No doubt the 1962 constitution too could be amended wholesale and given an entirely new and fully democratic shape but no amount of amendment could accord it the legal and democratic sanctity so essential in the running, continuity and stability of a democratic order.

Whatever one's personal views and feelings about the 1956 constitution, it was in the interest of Pakistan's very existence that after the exit of Ayub Khan, the State should have reverted to its so far only legal constitution. In the earlier days, there was near unanimity on the issue of restoring the 1956 Constitution. Even Mr. Bhutto and Shaikh Mujib who later became its bitterest opponents, were prepared to go along but, inexplicably the whole issue was thrown open for a fresh start. The results of such a policy are now too obvious to be elaborated and the object of pointing this out is not any expression of wisdom after the event but, to underline the continuing need of referring to the experience of history.

In entrusting the question of constitution making to a nominated committee, President Yahya has unwittingly stepped into the shoes of his predecessor. It is difficult to see the emerging constitution as any thing but a combination and compromise between the 1954 draft, the 1956 and 1962 constitutions, Shaikh Mujib's Six Points and the constitution of Turkey plus all the euphemisms about Islam.

It seems probable that the defence forces would be given some constitutional guardian role on Turkey's pattern. The success of the Turkish experiment is very doubtful and it is impossible to see any committee being competent by itself to decide on such a vital issue and take the nation alongwith. Nevertheless the worry is not so much about the quality of the constitutional draft but the probability of its

success as a morally valid and non-controversial frame-work.

Most of the politicians in their anxiety to get into power without any further delay would okay the draft, but with slightest change of interest they would be the very first to come out against this 'one-man' 'undemocratic' and 'anti-people' constitution. One wonders if there would be enough honest souls in the country who would stand up and say: no matter the legality, let's work it and play no more the constitution game.

A very very grave risk has been taken.

Besides the constitutional frame work no less crucial is the question: whom to handover?

It's barely seven months when Pakistan went to its first ever polls and produced a stalemate in two provinces—Baluchistan and Sarhad (formerly the NWFP)—and brought to ascendancy two regional and contending parties in Sind and Punjab on the one hand and East Pakistan on the other. It is one of the enigmas of President Yahya's proposals that while the Constitution Committee has been told "that in the interest of the integrity of the country it would be a good thing if we ban any party which is confined to a specific region and not national in the practical sense", it is also proposed to hand over power to those very regional parties.

One possible effect of those stipulations could naturally be the regrouping of two or more regional parties so as to be able to escape the mischief of ban on the regional parties. Surely the coming together of any number of regional parties would not transform them into a party which is "national in the practical sense". Regionalism is more a matter of outlook and ideology than any regression of geography and no amount of blending or interbreeding can transform 'n' number of regional parties into a national party.

**The incongruity of the scheme as applied to those elected on the Awami League**

**ticket in East Pakistan is all the more incomprehensible.**

What is proposed amounts simply to promoting a class of 'patriotic' traitors. Without going into what some did or did not do after 25 March, it is undeniable that these were the people who despite the Legal Framework Order contested the polls on the basis of Shaikh Mujib's Six Points and after having been declared elected took a solemn and public oath to stand up and lay down their lives for their achievement. Now these persons were either honest and affirmed in, what they really believed to be true, or were naive enough to go through a joke with God, people and their own conscience. They did not realise the implications of their commitment until the army had succeeded in putting down a rebellion in which they atleast abetted if not participated. In either case to be asked to relent on the pain of being crowned with political power is fair neither to them nor to the country. That is the way of promoting, perpetuating and sanctifying opportunism — a commodity, politics in Pakistan has never been short of.

This would for ever demoralise and shy off those East Pakistanis who despite the severe strains of Pakistan's regional politics have so far chosen to pin their hopes in the original ideal of a single and unified Muslim nation in Pakistan. Who would be there to take their place? Not the purified Awami Leaguers, there are now other forces in the wings. Even from a purely pragmatic point of view these 'non-miscreant' legislators are simply not the ones who can deliver the goods. Pakistan, to be able to withstand and survive, needs men who have conviction and not those who merely collaborate with whosoever happens to be in power.

President Yahya's dilemma seems to be that "the mischief of some misguided persons should not be allowed to nullify the entire result of the first ever election held in the country at enormous costs in terms of money time and energy". One does understand the cost involved in terms of money, time and energy but to brand

## in Pakistan

the whole tragedy as "the mischief of some misguided persons" is too much of an over-simplification. Indeed it is no joke to go to the polls every now and then but the integrity and destiny of a country are far more important than considerations of cost and inconvenience. The real story of these elections is yet to be told, however. So much has been said about the fairness of Pakistan's polls, that even to suggest a question mark may sound blasphemous. President Yahya himself is on record expressing awareness of foreign agencies trying to influence the elections in Pakistan. To what degree, the elections in Pakistan were or not influenced by foreign or internal interference may be a debatable point but, what is incontrovertible is that so much water has since flown down both the Indus and the Padma that the country needs a fresh mandate. After all this upheaval and in the absence of a fresh mandate it would be impossible to have an objective appreciation of the state of the nation and any policy formulations based on what happened on 7 December 1970 are very likely to be infructuous.

The stand against such 'foreign aid which makes inroad into the nations sovereignty' is welcome and so is the desire to develop self-reliance. However, the problem of foreign aid that has now unfolded itself in all its sinister dimensions, is the product of the country's foreign policy and its economic goals and unless there is a fundamental rethinking on both the counts, nothing real may come out.

It is but appropriate that the present regime looks to itself as a provisional and care-taker regime. But, care-taking does not absolve it of any of the responsibilities of running the affairs of the country on the basis of a defined, consistent and firm policy. In all that has happened so far one can discern a kind of mystic attitude—refusing to see the evil and wishing well to every thing.

## Survey

# Immigrants—wanted but not welcome

The Immigration Bill had its third reading in the House of Commons on 18 June. It has since been given a second reading in the House of Lords and should it so please the Lords, the Bill shall go into effect later this year.

It has been denied that the Bill had any racist motivations. On the contrary it is claimed to be a simple measure of law reform seeking to rationalise the state of the law in relation to the existing laws on immigration and citizenship. It is a new, single system of control over all immigrants and is concerned not really with numbers but with the principle underlying immigration control. It is admitted, the measures may create some disquiet amongst the immigrants, but it will also remove the root cause of disquiet in the indigenous population. These are the broad outlines of official explanation.

Leaving the intents and motivations to the more knowledgeable it can easily be seen that it is neither legally rational nor socially reformist. It is nothing of the sort.

Immigration into Britain has already been brought under effective control through the previous legislations. What is being sought to be achieved now is to enable the government to regulate the influx of immigrant labour in relation to the country's 'needs'. Since no upper ceiling has been fixed, it may not necessarily mean a lesser number of immigrants but certainly a controlled number from the 'coloured' Commonwealth. Like the indentured slaves of the not-too-distant past, the immigrants in future, shall not acquire automatically any political lien or a right of permanent abode. Non-patrial immigrants from the non-white Commonwealth will be admitted for a specific job, initially for a year. Each new immigrant will be tagged to a fixed job for which he was allowed in and unless the Department of Employment and Productivity so permit, he will not be able to change his employer. While this would certainly enable DEP to either disperse the immigrant labour or create newer concentrations, it will also have the effect of transforming the immigrant labour into a low-wage, passive and potentially strike-breaking force. This would only help to extend the race tensions to the shop-floor as well.

After four annual renewals, an immigrant may qualify for registration as a British citizen. But this would depend on good behaviour, i.e. keeping strictly on the right side of their employers and the police. Although the police themselves do not want this, all the future non-patrials shall be required to register with the police.

Whatever the intention, it is more likely to poison relationship of immigrants with the police.

If the deportation of a non-patrial is regarded as "conducive to the public good, as being in the interests of national security or of the relations between the United Kingdom and any other country or for other reasons of a political nature", he has to go along with his family. There is no right of appeal any more, it has been taken away.

Another rationalisation relates to the right of the dependents to join their family. Hitherto the immigrants had the statutory right to bring in their dependents but this is now covered only under the administrative rules. Clearly this right is on the way out. The immigration officers are to have sweeping powers, such as arresting without warrant a person whom they suspect to be an illegal immigrant or deciding on the academic ability of a student already given admission by a college or university. The problem of illegal immigration irrespective of its actual dimensions is sought to be curbed by such penalties which are far in excess of those given for crimes like robbery with violence or even certain types of murder.

The Bill, however, offers one concession to the non-patrials: the right to come in and serve as *au pair* in the British homes.

However, the more note-worthy aspect of the matter is the transparent hypocrisy that surrounds the whole issue of immigration and immigration control.

The recent phenomenon of immigration into Britain from the New Commonwealth dates back to the second half of the fifties. It was not caused by any gold rush or famine or pogrom. It also did not arise from any colonising upsurge in the ex-colonies. It was an invited immigration, to take up the dirty jobs and fill in the deficiencies in the British economy. Despite all the Tory noise, Liberal soothing and Malthus, Britain today, like the whole West, is suffering from an acute manpower malady. More people are going out than are able to come in, the pace of manpower replacement in the population complex is slack and erratic and despite conceivable automation, no solution appears likely to emerge in the near future.

In a world where brotherhood and equality of man is more professed than actually practised, immigration is bound to be both a solution and a problem. It is not always possible to have it both ways.

Bad policy produces bad law but where does bad policy originate from?

## Survey

### INSURGENCY IN S. THAILAND ● ELECTIONS IN INDONESIA

#### Patani — Thai or Malay?

The official visit of the Thailand's Prime Minister, Field Marshal Thanom Kittikachorn, to Malaysia brought the issue of the Malay Muslims under Thai rule dramatically to the fore. Students from the Persatuan Kebangsaan Pelajar Islam Malaysia (National Union of Malaysian Muslim Students) demonstrated in Kuala Lumpur against the Thai Prime Minister and against the policies pursued by both the Thai and Malaysian governments with regard to the Muslims in Patani and other Malay Muslim-inhabited regions of what is now Southern Thailand. There have been reports of the brutality meted out to the demonstrators by the Malaysian police, the arrest and the subsequent release on bail of some of the leaders. In London, Malaysian students demonstrated at their High Commission against the treatment of the students in Malaysia calling upon their government to change their policies towards the Malays under Thai rule.

Ever since the British and the Thais carved up the Malay peninsula among themselves in 1909, there has been conflict in the area. Of the lands disputed then the British took Perlis, Kedah, Kelantan, and Trengganu which they added to their administrative hodge-podge of Straits Settlements, Malay States, and Crown Colonies that they had split the Malay lands up into. The Thais took the Malay states of Patani, Ligor, Petalung, Singgora, Setul, Jalor Menara, Surat Thani, Terang, Kerabi, and Phuket, thereby 'legitimising' their *de facto* colonisation of these states. They have since renamed these states Pattani, Nakhoran Sri Thammarat, Pattahalong, Songkhla, Satun, Yala, Narathiwat, Chaiya, Trang, Krabi, Phuket, and have followed a policy of isolating the inhabitants from other Malays and assimilating them into Siamese-Buddhist culture.

In the states in the north of the areas this policy has been moderately successful with the Malays there losing much of their cultural identity, considering themselves as Thais and looking north to Bangkok and not south and east to the other Malays, losing their language and only speaking Thai. This was not achieved without opposition as one correspondent, Barbara Whittingham-Jones, who had travelled from Siam to Malaya, wrote in 1947: "Everywhere I went it was the same tale of systematic oppression and of deliberate campaign to de-nationalise the population."

The same campaign and the same oppression and suppression are reported continuing in Patani and other areas of the South. Patani is bounded on the South

by Kelantan, on the West by Perak and Kedah, on the East by the China Sea, and has only her smallest frontier on the North bounded by, now Thai, but formerly Malay territory. It is thus more Malay in sentiment, language and population. On independence, the British-Thai boundary agreements devolved on the new Federation of Malaya. It would have been logical to expect the new government to refuse to ratify them and to demand independence for the Malay colonies under Thai rule. That they did ratify the agreements may not be entirely surprising when it is remembered that Malaysia continued to be under the tutelage of the British and inherited and continued its policies in relation to Thailand.

Now, despite the concern and protests of its people, the Malaysian government refuses to recognise that the Malays in Patani and neighbouring states have a problem which is being perpetuated by oppressive Thai rule. They dismiss the whole issue as the internal problem of Thailand. On top of this, they have military agreements with the Thai government ostensibly to ferret out Communist Terrorists left over from the Malayan Emergency—the remains of the Malayan Communist Party under the leadership of Chin Peng (who must now be in his 70's). The Malays of Patani and other states are the ones who have borne the brunt of these measures and there is a growing resistance on their part.

The Liberation struggle is now in a consolidation and regrouping phase, but there is doubt that resistance is the course which more and more Malays—who refuse to call themselves Thai Muslims—are opting for.

#### Indonesia: electing under orders

Indonesia's first New Order general election were completed last week-end.

The last open-for-all elections in Indonesia were held in 1955 and then the country gradually slipped into "guided democracy" and a form of government claimed by the late President Soekarno to be in the best Indonesian tradition of consensus and consultation. After the failure in October 1965 of the attempted coup by PKI (Partai Komunis Indonesia), General Suharto came to power and promised to hold elections and restore democracy. These elections, therefore represent fifty percent redemption of the promise, though only in a way. Indonesia has had the elections but, the time for the arrival of democracy has not yet come.

As the secret Golkar document published in the previous issue of *Impact* (18 June) very frankly and honestly said, the country was not regarded

as ripe and prepared for democracy. Before there is to be any democracy, the "ideological diehards" i.e. the Muslims and the crypto-Communists are "to be eliminated altogether". Democracy, therefore, is a long way off and "there needs to be a change in the attitude of the nation". Meanwhile, it was the economic problem rather than political which should deserve attention.

These elections were unique in the sense that no secret was made either of the desire or the designs to achieve pre-decided results. The Home Affairs Minister Lt. Gen. Amir Mahmud must be given the full credit for being so truthful and unashamed about it. He promised "foul play" if this was necessary "to preserve the nation's stability".

The elections are, therefore merely a step towards recasting the democratic facade and not the democracy itself.

Official results shall be announced later in August, but the trends are clear: Sekber-Golkar (the government sponsored political coalition of army officers, civil servants, professionals etc.) has been able to achieve its target of 40 to 50 per cent of the votes. The parties following the Golkar, are the Nahdatul Ulama and Parmusi (Partai Muslimin Indonesia). The Nahdatul Ulama and Parmusi are less likely to join hands with one another than seeking a coalition with Golkar. In any case, with a block support from 100 nominated members, the Golkar is assured an easy control of the next Parliament.

The 'developments' to follow are to be watched with interest.

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## MUSLIMS &amp; CHRISTIANS

# Is pro-existence possible?

JOHN B. TAYLOR\*

(An encounter of *people* as enemies?/ neighbours?/partners?—not merely a confrontation of systems or “religions”)

**I. Historical Enmity**

Christians assumed that the original expansion of Islam in the 7th century was at the expense of Eastern Christians, whereas many of these welcomed the Muslims as saviours from Byzantium. Islam was not so much “spread by the sword” (a dangerous textbook aphorism) except in some of its political manifestations; its adoption as a faith was by men’s free-will and by slowly operating social pressures.

Byzantines, Crusaders, Luther, and, until recently, many missionaries used a polemic which looked for the worst in Islam and compared that with the best and idealized in Christianity. It has been assumed that the Gospel must destroy, rather than fulfil, Islam... Christians have abrogated to themselves God’s prerogative of judgement.

As well as purifying our old attitudes we must accept realistically the legacy of mutual suspicion and prejudice. Once tolerant Muslims have become intolerant and bitter (Muslim vigilantes in London; Birmingham parents keeping girls away from school because of imposition of Western dress; South African Malay and Indian Muslims increasingly frustrated as leaders die in prison and as sites of mosques and schools in “white” areas are threatened).

Reconciliation is overdue—and urgent—in society AND in the presence of God.

**II. Present Tension and Uneasy Co-existence.**

Religion is often divisive, or at least a complicating factor. Muslims and Christians are on opposite sides of social, tribal, political, economic and regional struggles and tensions all over the contemporary world—viz.: the Nigerian conflict; Lebanon; Sudan; Ethiopia/Eritrea—all of which situations may have much wider repercussions.

In Britain where Christians are for the first time learning to live as neighbours with Muslims, Hindus or Sikhs, religious pluralism often brings tensions. Can these be creative tensions? Can the pluralism be viewed not as a potential “problem” but as a common opportunity? What are the practical implications of religious freedom in terms of religious education, health facilities, housing, places of worship...?

Co-existence is an inadequate goal, cf.

Charles Malik’s indictment of co-existence as “stale and static”/“laughing in one’s sleeve at the other man”. Is *pro-existence* possible? Can we enter into our neighbours’ hopes and fears? Will Christians really help and welcome the stranger in terms of the stranger’s own felt needs?

We Christians stand to gain from co-operation with Muslims and from better understanding of their heritage. Islam is not only significant for its world wide extent and for the *quantity* of its adherents (as numerous as the world wide Roman Catholic Church), but also for the *quality* of much of their faith—discipline and rhythm in prayer/sacred and secular perspectives of Qur’anic teaching/international and inter-racial achievements—all of which can put some Christians to shame.

**III. Mutual Understanding and Collaboration.**

Social pluralism and theological diversity demand positive exploration and evaluation. We are both missionary religions and thus communication and witness are also involved—but not compulsion or the distortion of conversion from being a response to God to becoming a response to man. We bear witness not to ourselves but to Christ Jesus as Lord, loving, dying, rising again for *all* men.

We must study each other and learn to understand each other better—both common ground and areas of disagreement and difference. Our historical inter-involvement (not least in scholastic theology and a common semitic heritage) demanded this, as well as the present need for dialogue and reconciliation. The effort to listen to another and then to learn to speak so that the other would be able to listen could bring about mutually enriching rethinking, re-expressing and re-discovery of our respective religious traditions. We might together make a more effective witness in secularist society. In conversation, in silence, and, where right in inter-faith prayer we might find not only each other but a fuller knowledge and experience of God.

**IV. Educational Implications for Churches and Schools.**

In theological colleges and at the university and college of education level in Britain and indeed all over the world there is a new interest; for example Lancaster and Birmingham Universities are sensitive to this need in their theology departments. Both philosophy/phenomenology of religion and the actual needs of would-be clergy and teachers in British churches and schools dictate the need for inter-religious study and preparation. Will

Islamic Studies be less neglected by Christian teachers and clergy in the future?

In churches Christians may become much more sensitive to the continued need for *mission* to one’s neighbour; this will often be a mission of service and practical love, but, when words are necessary or possible, the Christian should know how to speak so that the Muslim understands. The new series “*Christianity and Islam*” by David Brown (S.P.C.K. paperbacks) shows the way here.

The school situation where Christians and Muslims may be side by side demands a more open approach to inter-religious education rather than the brain-washing religious instruction exclusively in one tradition. One does not want to force some children to opt out of religious education because their own tradition is ignored. For life in Britain and for life in a shrinking world, we need wider horizons and a wider concept of ecumenism. Should a new Religious Education syllabus, to avoid being separatist between different religious groups, include basic principle of common background and then allow flexibility and options for concentration? In Britain the issue is urgent if Muslims made frustrated, suspicious and defensive by Christian inaction or insensitivity are to be kept in Christian schools or in the State system of education (rather than opting for voluntary aided schooling on denominational lines); in Britain the need for a better informed “host community” is also urgent.

At the primary school level an experiential approach and thematic teaching could keep a mixed class together; birth, death, prayer, food, dress, marriage etc. might provide themes which all could explore together. At the secondary level some concentration upon a chosen tradition (usually one’s own) seems needed. Good textbooks, approved by adherents of the relevant tradition, should expose both the objective aspects of historical and contemporary context and also the subjective facets of religious experience/appropriation of myth and symbol...

On special occasions (or on regular occasions) in the community, there might be discussion groups or inter-faith services between Christians and Muslims. In schools, the religious assembly might provide an integrating focus for expressing a universal brotherhood. Kenneth Cragg’s new book of Muslim and Christian prayers might be a useful tool for churches and schools which desire to build better Christian-Muslim understanding (*Alive to God* by K. Cragg, Oxford paperback, 1970).

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## THE UNEMPLOYMENT PHENOMENON

**Of the new slave trade**

JAVED ANSARI

Unemployment in Britain has been rising since the Tories took office. Last month however the news reached us that the crisis showed signs of drawing to an end. Unemployment figures released by the Government show a fall in the aggregate number of unemployed and though the regional picture has by no means improved (the Midlands having had a substantial increase in unemployment during the month) there seems to be some justification in the claim of the government that the worst of the crisis is over.

Is this a Good Thing or a Bad Thing? In a capitalist "mixed" economy there is no objective answer to a question of this sort. Increasing unemployment is a sign of imbalance in the Labour market. Such an imbalance arises because the buyers of labour and the sellers of labour feel that the price at which labour is being sold currently is undesirable. A central feature of the bargaining through which the price of labour is determined is that the labourer himself has no say whatsoever in the process.

What then determines the price of labour? We may begin our enquiry by asking the question which we have asked in our previous\* study of the market for money. The price of labour is set by the people who want to utilize it in the production process and the people who manage and control its supply. A useful way of approaching our subject would be to establish the identity of the demanders and the suppliers in the Labour market.

The demand for labour in a modern industrialized (or rapidly industrializing) economy originates in the giant, multi-product enterprises which dominate all product markets. It is not only true that these large corporations contribute a very large portion of the value added in the modern sector of the economy (in the United Kingdom for example 1,620,300 firms which constitute 79.1 per cent of all firms in production, get only 13.2 per cent of the total income that accrues to all the corporations, whereas 400 firms comprising 0.02 per cent of total number of firms in Britain obtain 29.4 per cent of the total income) but, these firms are also

price-setters in the factory as well as the goods market. The fact that a firm is producing a number of products some of which are being used as inputs for the production of others allows it to determine the prices of a number of products and thus gives it an advantage over the smaller firms which produce in one market alone and are to varying degrees dependent on the large firms for their inputs. The price structure of the large firms thus determines the price structure of all producing units in the market. A small firm producing (say) refrigerators may buy some raw materials from a state corporation which produces the raw materials as well as the refrigerators. In this case the cost of the raw material includes the cost of labour, capital etc. which the state corporation has paid and since the cost of the raw material is an important determinant of the price of refrigerators, the price that the small firm will charge will reflect the price of capital and labour paid by the state corporation.

The question therefore arises what price of labour, does a typical multi-product firm consider optimal? The answer to this depends on the motives that underlie the production strategy of the firm. Both classical as well as Marxian economists had maintained that all firms are profit maximizers, though modern apologists of Capitalism say that such an assumption is erroneous. The fact that the managers of the firms are no longer its owners would suggest that profits are no longer of overriding importance. What, then, are the motives of this managerial elite? It has been shown by a number of economists that above all, the managers of a modern large enterprise are interested in maintaining their own position in the market in which they are the principal producers. It was shown by Cyert and March that for the American economy "firms with a declining share of the market strove more vigorously to increase their sales than firms whose shares of the market were increasing" (Cyert and March; Organisational Factors in The Theory of Oligopoly, *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 1970 pp44-46). Such a policy is necessitated by the fact that the

ultimate aim of the managerial elite is to maximize its own control over the whole economy. Given the nature of a modern economy this is essential for its survival.

In order to increase sales the firm seeks to reduce the costs of the factors of production it is using. As long as the rate of increase in its income is not greater than the rate of increase in its costs it will not be in a position to increase production. All firms operating in oligopolistic markets and wishing to undercut their rivals have to be cost-minimizers.

Labour is a factor of production and so is capital. The large multi-product firm will try to reduce the cost of both capital and labour. A fall in the price of capital reflects either a technological breakthrough or a decrease in the control (over the economy) of the financial magnates. A fall in the price of labour represents a victory over the Trade Unions.

The Trade Unions are the major suppliers in the labour markets of the industrial economies. Nowhere in the capitalist world do the people who seek employment take a direct part in the bargaining process through which their wages are determined. Usually the worker is confronted by a range of prices for different types of labour which the firms are prepared to pay. The individual worker has to take these wages as given and can only very rarely have an influence on them. In an industrialised economy the Trade Unions play an increasingly important role in determining the price of the different types of skilled and unskilled manpower. Management has usually recognized the right of the trade unions to function as monopolists in the labour market.

What are the aims of the trade unions? How do they behave in the labour market? Once again the question is who manages the Trade Union Movement. The Trade Unions are led by different groups at different stages of their development. In the days when industrial growth just begins, the trade union leaders are closely identifiable with the working people both economically and socially. The capitalists treat the trade unionists as if they are some sort of criminals who nevertheless

\*Impact, 1 June 1971

**TO BE SOLD & LET**  
BY PUBLIC AUCTION,  
On **MONDAY the 18th of MAY, 1829,**  
UNDER THE TREES,

**FOR SALE,**  
THE THREE FOLLOWING

**SLAVES,**

**TO BE LET,**  
for feeding them in Food, Clothing, Medical, &c.

**MALE and FEMALE**  
**SLAVES,**

Also for Sale, at Eleven o'Clock,  
Fine Rice, Gram, Paddy, Books, Muslins,  
Needles, Pins, Ribbons, &c. &c.

AT ONE O'CLOCK, THAT CELEBRATED ENGLISH HORSE,  
**BLUCHER,**

A Slave-sale bill, advertising public auction in West Indies

(Courtesy Radio Times Hulton Picture Library)

have to be tolerated. As the economy grows the trade union leaders slowly undergo a strange metamorphosis. Union work becomes a full time occupation and union leaders become bureaucrats. Thus in the United States although more than 80 per cent of the labour leaders come from working class background, on assuming office they all leave the bench. Indeed the principle of employing full time officials who are in turn assisted by a regular army of legal, economic, technical and accounts experts is common to all trade union movements in the world. In effect it is the bureaucracy which manages the labour market from the sides of the suppliers.

What are the aims of the trade union bureaucracy? The members of the trade union bureaucracy no longer identify themselves with the workers in the way in which the labour leaders of the last century did. This is as true of the United States where the trade union movement is largely led by people who once belonged to the "working class" as it is of the trade union movements of Europe which have a much higher proportion of professional leadership. The labour leaders are either simply in the movement as a vocation or else they are the lucky few who have escaped the drudgery of the bench. The links between the rank and file members of a Union and its leadership are very tenuous in an industrialized economy. The trade union movement has developed in a way that the local unions have tended to become less and less important.

Today most large unions are integrated across industries either in the form of national trade unions or within the framework of a political party. Centralization of union leadership is so pronounced that local union leaders—such as the shop stewards in Britain—are incapable of taking the initiative in negotiating a deal with the management directly. All major decisions with regard to pay, strikes etc. come from above and as a result of the deals that the National Executive of the Union has struck with the Management of the Industry concerned.

The trade union bureaucracy would like to sell the product it owns at the highest price it can get. The union bureaucracy owns the workers and, therefore, fights for an increase in the wages. Since the wages accrue to the workers and not to the trade union bureaucracy an increase in wages is (as far as the labour leaders are concerned) a means to an end and not an end in itself. The greater the share of wages in a unit of income the greater the bargaining power of the trade union bureaucracy. It is only by increasing the share of wages that the trade union bureaucracy can stake a claim for a share in the management of the economy as a whole. When the managers of production are prepared to recognise the right of the trade union bureaucracy to a share in the management of the economy the pressure on wages is immediately reduced.

In Britain, the Trade Union Council and the Labour Party are the chief organizations that have been devised to promote the interests of the trade union bureaucracy. The leadership of both the Labour Party and the T.U.C. are unrepresentative of the rank and file of the workers in this country. When the Labour Party is in power it puts pressure on the trade unions to reduce wage claims and give thought to productivity trends within the economy. This is because the Labour and Trade Union bureaucracy is firmly in the saddle and has a share in the management of the economy. When Labour goes out of office, it lends support to the demands for increase in wages as this is necessary if the trade union bureaucracy is to assert its right to have a share in the management of the economy.

In the Socialist countries the integration between the management of demand and supply is complete in the factor markets as well as in the goods market. The Communist Party manages both the demand and the supply of labour. Wage

changes do not represent changes in the bargaining power of labour. The trade unions are merely social clubs in the Soviet Union; in People's China they don't exist. The trade union bureaucracy is fully integrated in the managerial elite which controls the economic and political system.

It is with something of a shock that one realizes that the principles on which the slave trade was organized in the medieval world are the very principles on which the labour market is managed today. The worker, like the slave, is incapable of influencing the productive process of which he is a vitally important part. He plays no role in the process of decision making within the economy. The slave dealers i.e. the trade union bureaucracy use their monopoly power as suppliers of slave labour to win for themselves a position of considerable importance within the managerial hierarchy. Every wage hike, every trade union dispute, every strike is used by the trade union bureaucracy to strengthen their position in the collective bargaining process. An increase in wages signifies an increase in the power of the trade union bureaucracy; an increase in unemployment which threatens to develop into an economic crises merely emphasises the need for an understanding between the production managers and the union bureaucracy. Both wage increases and economic depressions facilitate the transformation of a capitalist economy into a socialist one. Neither change the position of the average worker vis-a-vis the economic managers in the slightest degree. Workers control is a never realizable myth. As long as the system of Managerial Centralization exists (in either its capitalist or its socialist variant), the worker will remain a slave.

It was originally intended to publish *Impact* on the first and 16th of each month but it has been found that because of the intervening weekends, it would be impossible to follow a date-schedule. *Impact*, shall now, therefore, issue on the second and fourth Friday of the month. The next issue comes out on 23rd July.

## ISLAMIC UNITY

**Be it 'recorded for posterity'\***

TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN

We are in Rabat for a conference and what a beautiful place to be in with its scenic beauty and ideal climate. Our time however, will be spent in closed doors and our task will be to tackle faithfully and conscientiously the subjects before us.

The Conference of Foreign Ministers held in Karachi agreed to form a committee to discuss the establishment of "cultural centres and the reinforcement of existing ones" in Rabat, Morocco. This is the second committee to meet and whatever is decided here will be submitted to the Conference of Foreign Ministers in Kabul in September.

*The Secretary-General has not received any item for discussion at this Conference of the Committee from any of the member countries; on the other hand, he has submitted items for discussion here to all the member countries. I hope we are able to take all the items at this meeting and at the end of which agree on a communique which will be flashed to all countries in the world, in particular the member countries. It has always been difficult to reach an agreement on communiques and so time is wasted on the choice of words, or on how best to present the subject matter to please the ears and eyes of their own people...*

The Secretary-General sends his report on what took place at the Conferences so far held for comments and views of the members. *In the past, I regret to say that no country had thought fit to make any comment.* This is regrettable because whatever has taken place at these meetings and the discussions that followed together with the comments will be recorded for posterity. It is anticipated that this Secretariat will in future play an important role in bringing about consolidation of ideas which will be of value to Muslim countries throughout the world, and this will serve to smooth the way for dealing with one another or provide an incentive for concerted effort to present their case to the outside world.

At this meeting in Rabat, many topics are submitted for discussion under the heading "creation and reinforcement of Islamic cultural centres across the world". In fact, the Secretariat proposes that we go farther than that, that first we should create cultural centre with a Headquarters; and having seen how successfully it works, we could then use the experience and knowledge gained to create and reinforce Islamic centres throughout the world. *We should include under the culture not only spiritual subject, music, art, sports and*

*games but also activities which will help to create a strong sense of Muslim Community or a sense of belonging to one fraternity.* A success in this department would help to create a united Muslim brotherhood with common ideas. The holding of Islamic Conferences forming regional pacts and alliances among Muslim states which had taken place of recent years is a new venture in pan-Islamism aimed at restoring Islamic unity. The desire to co-operate as an Islamic block within the community of nations by getting together, thinking together, working together, can contribute to the fullest advantage to the development of more stable and peaceful world order.

The Secretariat has been set up in April 1970. *The process of development of the Secretariat itself is regrettably slow because member countries had not given their full hearted response the Secretariat so much needed. Replies to correspondence are slow and in respect of some no replies came at all.* I suggested that an officer should be appointed to deal with the affairs of the Secretariat in each member country. This is done in respect of ASEAN and A.S.P.A.C. and the Commonwealth—in the first, South East Asian organisation, the second, the Pacific organisation and the third, countries which were once members of the British Empire.

The conference in Kabul expects to put final touches to the establishment of the Secretariat, and we can then hope to go ahead with all the programmes and projects we have in mind but first I must ask for your co-operation. To-date, we have only completed one meeting and that was on News Agency held in Iran and now in Rabat which is about to begin. At the end of June, there will be a meeting on Finance and the Constitution in Jeddah and I have not as yet received a date for the meeting on Banking in Cairo, but that must come soon.

There is not much time at our disposal and much groundwork has to be done before the Kabul Conference can be held. My object is to see the Secretariat in full working order before the Kabul Conference so that we can expect the members to have an idea of our organisation. After all, it has already been in existence for a year.

I am sorry to sound so despondent but as I have only one more year to go I must make it my duty to bring to my friends the difficulties I encounter and seek their help to help me to make a go of what we together have undertaken in the name of Islam.

In conclusion, I would like to express my grateful thanks to His Majesty's

Government of Morocco for making available to us the wonderful Conference facilities and their vast experience. Many of us have tasted and enjoyed their generous hospitalities at the Rabat Conference of the 22nd-25th September, 1969. I for one will always remember the kind and generous hospitality of His Majesty's Government and the magnanimity of His Majesty himself with complete satisfaction. That Conference set out the duties of Islam towards one another and with that consciousness it was decided to establish a Secretariat. This was followed up by another meeting in Jeddah of 23rd-25th May, 1970. At this Conference it was agreed to establish the Islamic Secretariat in Jeddah with Malaysia to run it. His Majesty the King of Saudi Arabia was kind enough to put at the disposal of this Secretariat all the facilities at his command one of which is the magnificent residence which we are now using as our Headquarters. *Due to the lack of funds and other perquisites, it is not as yet possible for this Secretariat to employ the full complement of staff. In the circumstances, we have to make do with a skeleton staff provided on loan by the Malaysian Government and in addition a few locally recruited staff.*

As soon as all the four committees have made their recommendations and the Conference in Kabul has approved of these recommendations, we will know exactly what our functions are, and if we are fortunate enough to have the money we will then be able to set in motion the full operational capacity of the Secretariat. May I remind you that before we proceed with the Committee meeting you would be good enough to appoint a Chairman, Secretary and a Rapporteur. The Chairman then will conduct this committee meeting as he thinks fit and proper. It is not for me to advise. I am present in my official capacity as Secretary-General and as such entitled to attend the meetings of all the committees. The person you will appoint as Chairman will no doubt be a man of vast experience and will be able to run the meetings smoothly and expeditiously and efficiently. *May I also remind you that it is necessary for members to attend the meetings punctually and in keeping with the time scheduled for the meetings. If the meeting is fixed at 10.00 a.m. I hope that the members will be present before the time and if the meeting is scheduled to end at 5.00 p.m. then it must end at 5.00 p.m. and no longer than the shortest of possible extension.* With that, distinguished guests and gentlemen, I wish the Committee meetings at Rabat an astounding success.

\* Speech by Y. T. M. Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra, Secretary General Islamic Conference at the meeting on cultural centres at Rabat on 1 June, 1971.



A LETTER FROM INDIA

**“A matter of supreme national importance”**

SYED A. HUSAIN

The tragedy of East Bengal has effected life in India in many ways. In the border provinces the influx of refugees has led to an increase in price of food and consumer goods and a fall in wages. This has created great restlessness among the working class population and there have been several clashes between the locals and the refugees. Among the educated people the problem of employment is more acute. Then there is the new crop of racketeers. Throughout the country many organisations have sprung up like mushrooms with the object of providing one kind or another of relief to Bangla Desh refugees.

The case of Malhotra, Chief Cashier of the State Bank of India in the metropolis, is an example of the depth of national concern the Bangla Desh issue has been able to generate. One fine day on 24 May, Rustom Sohrab Nagarwala, a retired Captain of the Indian Army, phoned Mr. Malhotra identifying himself as Personal Secretary to the Prime Minister. “I am speaking from Prime Minister’s Secretariat”, Nagarwala told the Cashier. “We want money urgently for Bangla Desh. Arrange for sixty lakhs (i.e. 6 million Indian Rupees). Our man will come and collect.” The caller then told him: “speak to P.M.”. And immediately a feminine voice came over the phone and Malhotra “really thought it was Mrs. Gandhi’s”. Mr. Malhotra was then told how he could identify the ‘PM’s Man’ and pass on the money. The code was: “PM’s man” would introduce himself as ‘Bangla Desh Babu’ and the Cashier should respond: ‘Bar-at-law’. Mr. Malhotra, with 28 years’ experience in the bank, thought he was handling a matter of supreme national importance. So, he met the Bangla Desh Babu near a church across Parliament Street, where the bank is situated. The two then rode in the bank’s staff car, with money kept safely in its boot as directed by Nagarwala, towards “the airport”. Half way through, Nagarwala asked the driver to stop the car and told the Cashier: “You go to PM’s House, I am in a hurry and should rush to catch IAF plane for Bangla Desh”. The cash was transferred to a taxi and Nagarwala proceeded to his residence. It was not until Mr. Malhotra contracted an official of the Secretariat that he realised that he has been duped by the ‘Bangla Desh Babu’.

The Bangla Desh issue, however, continues to concern all classes of the public opinion in India which seems now to be much more divided as to the future course of action. The influx of the refugees has created immense social, political and economic problems in which the government, the political parties and the

people, all find themselves caught up. All shades are unanimous in blaming Mrs. Indra Gandhi for her inaction and ‘unmanly’ approach to the problem. While sharing this disgust, the majority is equally uncertain as to what will follow in the wake of this ‘manly’ action which they call for. They still remember the humiliation they had to suffer after the ill-concieved confrontation with China in 1962 and the economic crisis which followed the indecisive 1965 war with Pakistan.

Slowly, however, the majority opinion is veering round the strong action lobby. Those who advocate strong action plead that an outlay of another 600 million of rupees (the amount spent on the 1965 war with Pakistan) is well worth a limited war rather than footing a recurring refugee bill of Rs.5000 million. They blame the government for not having recognised the Bangla Desh government in the very beginning. If this was done, all subsequent embarrassments could have been avoided. Even, it might not have been necessary to go to actual war. That was the only way to help the people and the government of Bangla Desh, the argument runs like that. India cannot stand very long the economic strain created by this unexpected refugee influx. These hawks, therefore, feel that the government can still save the nation by declaring a state of emergency in the states neighbouring East Bengal and help the refugees towards liberating their country. But the dilemma is that no one is sure if it will really remain a ‘limited’ war and not turn the whole area into another Vietnam for which Bengal is conditioned already.

These fears are genuine. The Naxalites are opposing the dispersal of the refugees to other States because they want the camps to be retained as recruiting centres for a Maoist revolution. On the other hand, some of the prominent citizens of Calcutta and two former Chief Ministers have gone as far as demanding a Bengali Regiment in the Indian Army. In the Rajya Sabha, the Defence Minister was pressed on the point by Mr. Pranab Kumar Mukherjee of the Bangla Congress. But Mr. Jagjivan Ram made it quite clear that the Government is not in favour of raising any new regiment on the basis of provincial class.

A minority of intellectuals and politicians is bitterly critical of the way the central government has handled the whole affair. They think that the government should not have meddled with Pakistani affairs when the whole movement of independence in East Bengal was ill-prepared and ill-

planned. The wrong assessment of the government, according to them, has only served to discredit and eliminate the pro-Indian leadership in East Bengal. This has also given a great set-back to the position of the Hindu community which has greatly contributed towards giving a secular complexion to East Bengal’s politics and in turn Pakistan’s.

Others are critical of the impatience shown by Mrs. Gandhi and hold her responsible for having created a problem for herself and the country. Had Mrs. Gandhi left the whole movement of Bangla Desh to go on its own, the situation would have been different and better too. But in India where emotions dominate reason, such farsightedness is difficult to conceive. India’s open association with Awami League has discredited the Awami leadership beyond any repair. This has now left the ground clear for the Maoists in both the Bengals. Such an open involvement has pushed the emergence of an independent and friendly Bangla Desh to a distant and uncertain future. What appears more likely is the emergence of India’s own version of a Bangla Desh problem.

For the last few weeks Yahya Khan’s attempt to make a deal with the opportunist Awami Leaguers has been a debating point in all circles. The doves seem to favour the move and argue that unless an Awami League government’s is installed the whole movement is bound to die. They think that with an Awami government in power in East Bengal, it will be difficult for the Central Government to keep Shaikh Mujib under detention for very long. Once the Shaikh is released the whole movement could be reorganised.

The hawks reject this approach and offer a more practical line. They think that whether the new Awami League government is sincere or not, it will be helpless under the strong hands of the Punjabi Army and would more likely be the butt for more and more repressive actions. On the other hand by organising and arming the Mukti Force around the borders of East Bengal, they can be made to play havoc with Pakistan particularly at a time when it is already under heavy economic strains. This coupled with the mounting world pressure, is likely to bring the army more quickly to a negotiating position with Shaikh Mujib.

What line of action will finally prevail is difficult to guess at this stage but it will certainly depend on what General Yahya has to offer in his broadcast on 28 June.

# Nota Bene

'SCRIBE'

How-so-much absolute and indubitable a truth is, it is none-the-less controversial. But, the more doubtful and flimsier it is, the more controversial it becomes. So whether it is the truth or the untruth of it, the reporting of the recent events in the Pak-Indian subcontinent in the British Press has generated its own share of controversy.

One of the most serious and well-meant critics of the British Press has been Nirad C. Chaudhry, the well known Indian writer. At a time when every thing looked so euphoric, he came out to raise "fundamental questions of journalistic competence and honesty" of the British correspondents. But his anguish and concern over transmission of rumours and deliberately false reports was not altruistic. These rumour-reports, he said, were "likely to lessen sympathy for Muslims of East Bengal" and at the same time "provoke the armed forces of Pakistan to even more cruel reprisals".

*Impact* (18 June) tried to trace the outbreak of the "Great Bengal Cholera" to the columns of *The Times*. By simply cataloguing the various reports it sought to bring out the manifest contradictions and inconsistencies but, to indulge in gross inexactitude is not the same as lying. Similarly reporting a lie is not lying, it is reporting.

All this is a matter of point of view. Nothing, however, could detract Mrs. Judith Hart, Labour's spokesman on overseas development to pay a most eloquent tribute to "one of the most superb of the correspondents reporting from India".

If the reports are really biased, exaggerated and inaccurate, one may, but need not be concerned about politicians reaching judgement and deciding policy on wrong facts. Facts are mere tools and political decisions can be fact-independent. Contrary to what people tend to imagine, facts can also be created to suit a given policy.

Yet there are, some, "who are eager to impugn the integrity of such men as Hazelhurst" and it, therefore, fell to his colleague Louis Heren (*The Times*, 7 June 1971) to do the explaining. These doubters, he said, "never seem to realise that they (the correspondents) work alone, far from family and head office, often in an alien environment and not infrequently in considerable danger. . . . Their reports may be incomplete. They may not be objective—although nobody ever satisfactorily explained to me what objectivity is. . . ."

The nature of correlation between the family, the head office and 'incomplete' reporting may be a subject of psycho-statistical debate but there is that key point about objectivity. Truly, nobody has ever satisfactorily explained what objectivity is and it seems as unlikely a happening as ever before. Should one stop reporting because of that?

Like the 'family' and the 'head office', is the problem of objectivity also related to one's religion?

Prince Sadruddin, the uncle of the Agha Khan, who happens also to be the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees had the audacity to

tell the press in Calcutta that President Yahya Khan was "quite genuine" in his invitation to refugees to return. He saw the situation in East Pakistan as optimistic and did not see why the refugees should not be able to return home in time. He claimed to have seen rehabilitation camps, prepared by the Pakistan Government.

This produced a cynical reaction in Calcutta and Simon Winchester (*The Guardian* 16 June 1971) introduced a fresh poser in the objectivity debate. "The Prince is, of course, a leading Moslem", he wrote, "and as such is not regarded here as the most impartial of observers who could be sent to inspect the current crisis.

It is difficult to say if that was not a valid point unless the whole issue was thoroughly studied. Meanwhile, the reporters may well start on a voluntary scheme of filing also the religion, caste, club, society or agency they belong to. For example a front page report in future may read as below:

## TIDAL WAVE OVER THE HIMALAYAS

Fifty million perish after reading the news  
From MICHAEL DABBLER, Telstar, 1 April 1972  
(religion unknown, cast(e) malleable, agency AIC)

□ □ □

There is nothing which money cannot buy.

A bill seeking to compensate the Arabs living in the eastern sector of Jerusalem for property expropriated as a consequence of the 'War of Independence' in 1948-49, is to be presented to the Knesset. After the June 1967 war, East Jerusalem was also annexed to Israel and its Arabs became 'resident of Israel'. The aim now is to accord these 'newer Arab residents' the same equality as is enjoyed by the Israeli Arabs.

Although the properties were abandoned in 1947, a 25 per cent appreciation in value is proposed to be allowed. All this is going to cost an estimated minimum of £41.6 million. Payments will start in 1975 and except for small sums, it would be made by way of bonds redeemable in 20 yearly instalments.

The land involved now covers much of the business and fashionable districts of West Jerusalem. The Arab villages and agricultural lands have been redeveloped beyond recognition and after the passage of just about quarter of a century, it is simply inconceivable if these lands can be restored to their original owners.

Although the UN General Assembly and the Security Council do not recognise the Israeli annexation of Jerusalem and disapprove any measures taken to change the status of the city, yet this cannot deter Israel from proceeding in accordance with its own sense of obligation and compensation. This is a sheer moral issue and not politics.

The problem with the Arabs too is very much moral—the lack of it—otherwise they also could pool their oil wealth, re-buy Palestine and save the world from the horrors of a nuclear holocaust.

## LETTERS

### British involvement in 'Bangla Desh'

Why has the British Establishment Press and the Mass Media suddenly taken upon itself the task of championing the cause of Bangla Desh? The emergence of a strong "Bangla" Lobby in the U.K. and its rapid penetration into higher echelons is a significant development. *Impact* seems to have missed this crucial aspect of the Bangla Desh issue in its coverage of the House of Commons debate as well as in the "World Opinion" feature.

The Bangla Desh issue should be seen in the context of the developments in Southern Asia. The U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam which seems imminent has necessitated the opening up of another front in Southern Asia where the Western powers can continue to test their strength against the Chinese. Bangla Desh provides an ideal opportunity for the Western ruling classes—an opportunity they cannot afford to miss. The leaders are now exploiting this opportunity and are conditioning the British public so that it may countenance Western—and British—involvement in the Bangla Desh affair. The moral basis of the support for this act of colonialism will thus justify the aggression that may be committed under the facade of U.N. Peace Keeping Forces and other such agencies. The preparation for a war of the giants in Southern Asia is also evident from the bolstering that Mrs. Gandhi's regime has been given. It has been awarded a carte-blanche. Obviously the price she will pay is that she will have to allow the imperialist forces to operate from her territory.

The task of all anti-imperialist forces is to expose these designs and militantly resist British involvement in Southern Asia. It is regrettable that no organised attempt to attack this plot has been initiated so far.

SALEEM KHAN

London, S.E.

### Quiet flows the Don ?

The article "Quiet flows the Don" (*Impact* 18 June—8 July) lacks depth. It fails to focus attention on the fundamental contradictions of which the Soviet social imperialist regime is a victim. The 24th Congress of the C.P.S.U. mirrored the inability of the Brezhev-Kosygin clique to come to terms with reality and to tackle the problem of convergence which will inevitably destroy the Soviet workers state. It is obvious that K. B. Nazir is no Marxist—only a Marxist can understand the crisis that confronts the socialist regimes, and appreciate the grossness of betrayal on the part of the Party leadership which has brought things to such a pass.

SIBTE MEHDI

Birmingham 15

### The Religion of Islam

*Impact* claims to "interpret the ethos of the Muslim World", yet it contains no article on the religion of Islam. You have articles on Christianity, on Communism and on politics but, the religious problems and interests of the Muslim World are totally ignored. I suggest that regular features are introduced on *Tafsir*, *Hadith* etc. Also "A Page from Muslim History" would not be a bad idea. Muslims expect such material from you.

M. ZAMAN

Luton, Beds.

# Books

## Imperialism as aid

Teresa Hayter, 1971

AID AS IMPERIALISM

222 pp. Penguin. 30 p.

There was a time when imperialism justified itself as being a 'civilizing mission', and a form of spiritual and material aid 'to the people of the dark world'. Now aid has become a form of imperialism.

Miss Hayter began by examining the working of international aid and its effectiveness in promoting economic development in the Third World. In the end she found that aid was nothing but an instrument of imperialism, employed more and more to strengthen the capitalist system. The study was made under the auspices of the Overseas Development Institute which has its financial links with the World Bank. After the study was completed, the ODI refused to publish it. It is said that the findings were unpalatable to the World Bank and it prevailed upon the ODI to use the guillotine. For a person who belongs to the Third World and in whose interest all the parties—ODI, World Bank and the author—seem to squabble over, the book is interesting for two reasons: as a study of aid as 'leverage in the underdeveloped world and a case-example in itself of the application of that leverage, albeit on an academic level.

Chapter One sets the tone for the study by stating the concepts of aid and the major principles and techniques of aid finance. It is too ambitious to caption this part of the work "State of the Discussion". It does not deal with the theories of aid or even its economic rationale in the context of the growth theories dealing, *inter alia*, with savings and foreign exchange gaps. It, however, shows that aid does not refer to grants, as is commonly believed, but to interest-carrying loans, in most cases project-specific, and in all cases riddled with a host of conditions: from whom to buy, whose vessels to use, and what policies to pursue within the economy and so on. Although this is done in the name of 'financial discipline', the net result is that the 'lever' is built into the system and aid is used to promote what is known as market-economy within and to protect and strengthen the status quo *vis-a-vis* the capitalist countries without. By linking aid to performance, she asserts, the idea of conditionality or leverage has been made an essential part of the aid machine.

The second chapter is of an introductory nature; a rapid survey of the aid

policies, and methods of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the United States Agency for International Development. The book concentrates on these three international agencies but brief reference is also made to the Inter-America Development Bank and Inter-American Committee for the Alliance for Progress. This is followed by four case-studies from Latin America—Colombia, Chile, Brazil and Peru. These studies are rather impressionistic and limit the relevance of the analysis to Latin America only. The rest of the Third World is supposed to be covered by implication, as it is claimed that the results have rather universal applicability. The last chapter presents the author's conclusions. She rightly holds that aid is an instrument of imperialism. Its purpose is to protect the interests of the United States of America. The IMF and the World Bank always toe the U.S. line. As to the future she thinks that the nature of aid—i.e. its involvement with the political and economic objectives of the donors—cannot be changed and any real internationalization or political-neutralization is impossible. She also thinks that the reformist solution to the problem of development is foredoomed to failure. Structural changes would not be possible without destroying Capitalism and those who want to bring this about through gradual reforms are either unrealistic or dupes. Structural changes through reforms are ruled out because these are alternatives of a sort which do not fundamentally disrupt the status quo. The only solution, she believes, is Revolution but, instead of spelling out the nature, dimensions and mechanics of this Revolution she writes a brief eulogy on Cuba.

The main body of the study investigates a very specific and limited issue: whether or not international aid agencies use any leverage to influence economic policies of the recipient countries. The book shows to a reasonable extent that they do. Although the case has not been built up as it should have been it is clear in respect of the countries she has studied, that aid was not just 'disinterested international munificence' but was being used more often than not, as a weapon of foreign policy. This, however, was only stating the obvious but, Miss Hayter's contribution lies in showing that the IMF and the World Bank are also serving the donor-interests. She presents some evidence of their collaboration with the U.S. or of using their influence in accord with the U.S. policy and of the mode of their operation. For example; the case of the missions of the three institutions holding discussion in the U.S. embassy in the country concerned (p. 27) or the World

Bank telling the New York bankers to stop lending in Colombia (p. 112) or the IMF and World Bank discouraging land reform in Chile (p. 132) etc. One, however, expected better documentation of evidence and rigorous argumentation. The press-debates in the countries concerned could have been exploited. The reports of the concerned Governments and other agencies too would have provided relevant material. As it is, although her conclusions in respect of the ineffectiveness of aid, its misapplication and the political leverage attached to it are correct, her arguments remain weak and the evidence scanty.

This failure to establish an otherwise sound case may perhaps be because of her attempt to super-impose an ideological position on the central argument of the book. This has made it a hotch-potch of economics, reporting and revolutionary romanticism. The study could better have been concentrated on the leverage theme or with the wider controversies over the economic systems. The poignancy and precision of the study has suffered because of an ambivalence between two themes. She wants to prove the exploitative nature of capitalism (which is correct and beyond any questioning) and its incapacity to generate development in the Third World (which is true but not made explicit) but confines the study to the use of political leverage by three international agencies in four Latin American countries only. She wants to show that aid is imperialism but never cares even to define imperialism. She *assumes* that imperialism is only white—it could have no other shade or hue. She *assumes* that aid is not imperialistic if it comes from Russia or any other socialist country. She *assumes* that the developmental problem is automatically solved with the flush of socialist revolution. But fails to look upon aid in the context of the rivalry of the world powers, each one using its own lever, whether it be in Columbia, Indonesia, Czechoslovakia or Pakistan.

(K.B.N.)

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## Religion and Relevance

F. P. Dunne (Editor), 1970

### THE WORLD RELIGIONS SPEAK ON THE RELEVANCE OF RELIGION IN MODERN WORLD

220 pp. *Junk*, The Hague, unpriced.

Is religion relevant to men of the 20th century? Has science destroyed the concept of Divinity? Is religion no longer able to help us with things that are obviously wrong with our world? Has religion been nothing more than an opiate for the masses? These are the questions which often agitate minds in the West. The papers presented at the first Spiritual Summit Conference held in Calcutta, India, from 22 to 26 October 1968 are an exposition of the way the religions regard themselves capable of supplying unequivocal answers to such questions.

The Conference was held under the auspices of Temple of Understanding, Washington—an organisation founded in 1960 by Mrs. Hollister to 'promote education about various religions' and was attended by persons from all major religions of the world and a panel of distinguished scholars of comparative religion. As such the convictions expressed come not from outside but from within these religious people themselves. They analysed the relevance of their own religions to a world confronted by such problems as of poverty and plenty, injustice and war, racial discrimination and religious prejudice.

The Islamic viewpoint was presented by Dr. Husayn Nasr, now Chancellor of Tehran University, Pir Vilayat Inayat Khan of the Ecole International de la Mediation, Paris, and Dr. Syed Vahiduddin, Professor of Philosophy, Delhi University. One is free to express his personal views and his understanding of his religion. But at the same time a Conference like this is entitled to hear and know what the great majority of people belonging to any religion believe in and practise. Viewed from this angle, the presentation of the Islamic viewpoint appears deficient and unrepresentative.

(A. R. Siddiqui).

## Briefing

**History for a United World**, by E. H. Dance, *Harrap*, £2.25 (Paperback £1.60) (Argues for a less conventional approach to the study of history in Britain which would take in the study of science, religion, and the arts of Asia, Africa and Latin America; these would not only be interesting and informative in themselves but in many cases prove to be more relevant to present day issues).

**Towards Revolution**. Vol I-China, India, Asia, The Middle East; Vol II-The Americas edited by John Gerassi, *Weidenfeld and Nicholson*, £5.25 each (Out-of-the-pocket-of-proletarians collection of documents and commentaries selected, introduced and 'over-viewed' by the presiding editor).

**The Heartland** by Stewart Legg, *Secker & Warburg*, £3.25 (A documented account of life in Central Asia, inhospitable home of the Golden Horde that once controlled an empire stretching from the Yellow to the Black Sea).

**The Price of Air Travel** by M. H. Cooper and A. K. Maynard *Institute of Economic Affairs*, London, 1971, 40 p. (An interesting study of the effects of maintaining a 'producers cartel' in international air travel in the name of 'security' and 'service standards'; result: high fares and empty seats or under-cut fares and full seats).

**Israel and Arab World** ed. by C. H. Dodd and Mary Sales, *Routledge & Kegan Paul*, London, 1970, pp. 247. £2.25. (Another anthology in the world studies series with a fairly wide selection of documents and statements dealing with different aspects of the problem of Israel in the Arab World from the last phase of the Ottoman Empire to the post-1967 era. Although the Arab case is not left unrepresented the Israeli and pro-Israeli viewpoints get a better say).

Prof. Abdul Hamid Siddiqui is translating into English Imam Muslim's *Al-Jami-us-Sahih (Sahih Muslim)*, the collection of authentic *ahadith* of the Prophet.

**Sahih al-Bukhari**, Vol I translated into English by Dr. Muhammad Muhsin Khan and available from *Jamiat al-Islah al-Ijtimai*, Kuwait.

**Foreign Policy**, *National Affairs Inc.*, New York, No 2, Spring 1971, Single \$2.50, Annual \$9.00. (A new quarterly devoted to a "re-examination and redefinition" of the basic purposes of American foreign policy, concentrates on "issues which in one form or another confront policy-makers".)

**Non-Aligned Third World Annual**, ed. Andrew Carvely, *Book International of DH-TE International*, Inc. St. Louis, Missouri, U.S.A., 1970, pp. 366, \$14/£5.70 cloth, \$8.50/£3.45 paper. (A collection of thirty articles, essays, notes and interviews from an international team of scholars, journalists, statesmen and businessmen dealing with myriad problems of the Third World. The Middle East figures prominently in the studies and editorial notes. Contributors include Gunnar Myrdal and Ivan D. Illich. Exhaustive bibliographies on Myrdal, Non-Aligned Third World and Libyan Arab Republic, and notes and research material on Libya, Yugoslavia, Palestinian refugees, Israel, China, Vietnam, India and Pakistan).

**Multinational Enterprise and National Security**, by Raymond Vernon Adelphi Paper No. 74, *The Institute of Strategic Studies*, London, pp. 34, 25 p. (Examines the nature of multinational enterprises in the modern world, their role in the national and international economy and the challenges so posed to the host nations either as competitors in economy or as political 'Trojan Horses' or 'hostages'. Acknowledges that multinational enterprises have been used as instruments in international strategy but the author hopes that with new adaptations and development of a multi-governmental approach to the question of multinational control, the position will change.

The paper contains information tables about multinational enterprises and their 'position' in selected developed and developing countries.

**Soviet Attitude to SALT** by Lawrence T. Caldwell Adelphi Paper No 75, *The Institute of Strategic Studies*, London, 1971, pp. 28, 25 p. (Examines some aspects of the USSR relationship with the USA since the former's intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968, with particular reference to the S.A.L.T. — Strategic Arms Limitations Talks. Instead of treating the Soviet society in the old terms of a totalitarian and repressive society, the study purports to deal with the Soviet Union as on as much as possible 'on its own terms', and as 'a functioning system with its own history separate political culture and particular structures'.

The Government of Tamil Nadu State in India has withdrawn an earlier ban on **Ravana Kavyan** which contains unfavourable sketch of the Indian religious heroes Rama and Sita.

**Pakistan**, Karachi, a new bi-weekly in Bengal started publication on 20th June.

The Jordanian Press Association has started publishing **Ar-Ray**, a new Arab political daily from 2 June 1971.

The Kuwaiti Teachers Association's weekly magazine **Ar-Ra'id** has been banned from publication for one month.

The **Pharmacopea of Al Beiruni** has been translated into Russian by the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Uzbek Academy of Science.

**Times Newspaper Ltd.** are to launch a weekly newspaper for higher education latter this year.

**Seven Days**, a new weekly left-wing newspaper is to come out from London in September 1971.

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## THE COMMUNITY

**Grown-ups & the growing**

## IMPACT REPORT

The Ealing Muslim Association is one of the few of its kind perhaps in the whole of Britain. Situated in one of the more respectable boroughs in the south west of London in contrast to say Islington or Hackney in the north east, the Association is made up of parents who have come together mainly because of their children but who are now beginning to realise some home truths about themselves. Most of the parents are concerned and worried about the future of their children in an environment which they consider to be different and challenging and sometimes distasteful and frightening. Now they are beginning to reflect too on their own adequacy and competence as parents in handling the types of problems which they are often suddenly and cruelly faced with.

The dilemma of the Ealing parents is typical of most Muslim parents throughout Britain. In the first instance, they may have come to Britain intending to stay just for a short time. Before long they set up family and begin to settle down without even knowing it. Children are born and not enough attention is devoted to how they are brought up, consideration being given to the main task in hand—completing a course of study or training or task of work. Often children are shuttled to and fro from continent to continent from parents to grandmother to parents again while the parents get on with the tasks in hand. Many parents do remain stationary, eking out an existence, but still giving no real thought to the joys and sorrows and the well-being—material and otherwise—of their children.

Now when the children have grown, and roots are deeper and links have multiplied in Britain, and with the country 'back home' receding further and further in the background, parents suddenly realise that the chips are down and as Muslims they have to discharge their responsibility for the proper moral up-bringing of their children according to Islamic standards. Often it is almost too late as in the case of the father who takes tranquilisers to escape the agony of his teenage boys gone hippy and haywire and with whom he cannot even communicate. Their language is far removed from the standard English which he is far from fluent in, their manners infuriating, their clothes repulsive, their social habits degrading. Blame is shifted and the children alone censured. Little real thought is given by parents to their own omissions and mistakes.

Many parents however do realise the necessity for their children having a good grounding in Islamic teachings. This cannot be had either in the school or even

in the home and is made dependent on the child itself who is irregularly despatched to the local week-end school or mosque, wherever there may happen to be one, and who is expected to learn to read the Qur'an without any idea of what the Book teaches. And this, so far as many parents are concerned is as far as the Muslim upbringing of their children is expected to go.

The Ealing Muslims have gone stages further than many of these parents. They realised that they themselves had a problem or a set of problems and that they needed to do more than what they have been doing in the past two years or so of their existence as a body to find the appropriate solutions. Already the Association is running a week-end school for the children for more than two years now and teachers have been using an enlightened approach in covering a very broad syllabus which includes Islamic teachings and practices, the reading and to some extent the understanding of the Quran, and Islamic history. Apart from the school and various outdoor activities (e.g. outings to Woking mosque, to Bristol, and football) organised for the children, the occasional social and religious gathering is held like the celebration of the Prophet's birthday or special gatherings in Ramadan and Eids. These activities are aimed partly at establishing the feeling of a community spirit which is indispensable for the proper upbringing of the children.

But the parents still have not been satisfied with what has been achieved. So on Friday 4 June, they gathered to discuss how they could become a more cohesive body and how they could train themselves to meet the problems which they face as parents. What was remarkable about the meeting was the degree of informed and intelligent participation on the part of most parents, though one or two still clung to sterile methods and ideals which they were made to grow up with. The intelligent participation was no doubt due to the fact that many of the parents were professional people including medical doctors and accountants whose identification with the community was complete.

Many of the parents were worried about the fact of their own inadequate knowledge of Islam which prevented them from being able to give the right and satisfying answers to their children. It was remarked that this caused great emotional stress among some parents who found themselves simply unable to cope. The problems which the parents face in this regard would be the subject for discussion at the next meeting of the Association.

Other specific matters were much discussed: the problem of determining what was *halal* and *haram* giving the increasing adulteration of food; the problem of proper school meals for Muslim children and the problem of getting the Association on a better financial footing to meet expanding activities. The need for a community centre was felt where both parents and children could meet for discussions and games at least for one day in the week possibly a Friday. This it was felt would go some way in providing alternative and desirable social amenities. To get this started a hall could be hired for the purpose. As an earnest of their intentions to carry on with these plans, the Association has decided to meet regularly on the first Friday of each month to learn more about Islam themselves and to try to find together answers to the problems as they arise.

From the meeting it was very obvious that a great amount of imagination and resourcefulness was needed on the part of Muslim parents to meet the challenge of bringing up children in Britain. And apart from worrying about the children, they also need to worry a great deal about themselves.

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## AL-AQSA CONFERENCE

# Solidarity for the restoration of Al-Quds

## IMPACT REPORT

The Al-Aqsa Conference organised by the Muslim Students Society of Great Britain meeting at the Royal Albert Hall, London on 27 June 1971 has declared that the Al-Aqsa Mosque and the holy city of Jerusalem were an integral part of the Muslim faith and of fundamental spiritual value and significance to the world Muslim community. It decried the continued occupation of Jerusalem by Israel, the desecration of the holy places and the designs to change the holy and noble character of that holy and noble city.

The declaration ruled out both Israelisation and internationalisation of the city and called upon the conscience of the humanity to realise the abject realities of the situation and be not an abetting party either to the uprooting of innocent men, women and children from Jerusalem or the desecration and political pollution of the holy lands—holy and dear to all the three major faiths of the world. It were the Muslims alone who religiously believed in all the three blessed prophets, Moses, Jesus, and Muhammad, and their scrupulous respect and regard for all the holy places was not a matter of claim but proven history.

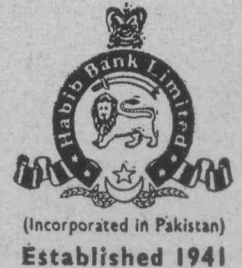
The declaration called upon the Muslims—people and the governments—to realise that solution to their problems lay not outside but within the guidance revealed by God through his blessed Prophet Muhammad and if they wanted vacation of aggression in their lands, whether Kashmir, Palestine, Chad or elsewhere, they must first mend their own fences.—The Conference urged the Muslim in Britain to unite their ranks and address themselves to their responsibilities as Muslims.

The four-hour Conference was attended by more than 4000 Muslims who came from all parts of Britain. It was addressed amongst others by Pir Maroof Shah, Mr. Yusuf Qamar, Dr. M. A. Saud and Mr. Khurshid Ahmad, who sought to clarify the background and the nature of the problem, and dwelt on the need for the Muslims to address themselves to their own failings and responsibilities.

Dr. A. L. Tibawi's paper presented to the Conference gave a concise but lucid survey of the history of Jerusalem and showed how Muslim tolerance and respect for the Christian and Jewish holy places contrasted with the present behaviour of Israel. But, he said all that "has been obscured by powerful Zionist propaganda which thrives in the West on indifference and ignorance or sometimes bias displayed by the press and other

information media". This may perhaps explain the complete blackout of the Conference by the British Press, Radio and T.V. who were naturally busy in reporting smaller meetings and blowing

up more interesting subjects. There are, however, about two dozen press correspondents based in London who represent various newspapers in the Middle East and Pakistan but they were absent too.



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PAKISTAN'S FOREIGN AID  
CRISIS

RECENT TRANSLATIONS  
OF THE QURAN

COMMON MARKET - A  
PROLETARIAN VIEW

A LETTER FROM PAKISTAN

# World Opinion

## CULTURAL REVOLUTION — U.S. STYLE

Among the measures taken by Yankee imperialism to destroy the culture and nationality of the people of Puerto Rico is the contempt for the cultural expressions of the people, ignoring their traditions and customs and introducing the concepts and values of the American way of life through textbooks in the schools and through the mass media, thus blocking cultural development . . .

One of the ways in which U.S. education destroys or tries to destroy Puerto Rican culture is the language. From the time you enter school they tell you, 'Only English is to be spoken here'. This creates a contradiction, if you speak Spanish at home. From the time we start in school, the teacher and the U.S. students start enjoying themselves at our expense. They call us 'Spicks' and are always commenting that we can't speak English. They put us to shame and, as a result, we develop a complex . . .

. . . when you enter school, you realise that the school is more or less all white. Then you say you don't speak English . . . Then you look at the wall and see the breakfast which a typical American family should have: eggs, bacon, milk and fruit juice. You see this and think: 'How come there isn't any of that at my home?' You feel inferior and refuse to describe the kind of breakfast you have . . . Then you continue looking at the wall and you see the houses and you see that in the homes of white Americans everyone has a separate room. When you open the books, the first thing you see is 'Dick and Jane' and the white, blond-haired and blue-eyed family where papa works and mamma stays at home playing the piano and doing little things around the house; you see that papa has a car and they have a grandmother who lives on a farm. Now, this creates an attitude in most of us, because, as a result of the economic situation in Puerto Rico, many of us are separated from our families, we have a father here and a mother there. This was my problem and I would say to myself, 'I don't have a father.' This places us in a situation where we can't identify with those books.

. . . In New York, . . . there are three television stations, channels 41, 47 and 31, whose programs are supposed to be in Spanish. They are in Spanish, but they are owned by Yankees . . . and those stations broadcast soap operas which are carbon copies of similar U.S. programs; the only difference is that this way they reach the Puerto Rican population in Spanish, that is, with the values of the American way of life.

. . . Take history, for example. The only history that's ever studied is the History of the United States . . . Moreover, there's the way they teach history: they're always men-

tioning their great men, George Washington and Abraham Lincoln. They tell us that Lincoln was a great man because he freed the slaves, but we don't hear a single word about José Emeterio Betances. They don't tell us what he meant to us Puerto Ricans. They don't tell us that he was the leader of the movement to free the slaves in Puerto Rico. They don't tell us a single thing about our great figures . . . as a result, we grow up thinking that we really never had a great man in Puerto Rico, that we really haven't done anything, that we have never had a history of our own. This gives rise to an inferiority complex among us and, as a result, we think that the Americans are the only ones who are worth anything, that they are the only people who have ever done anything.

. . . We are faced with a question which our writers asked themselves—and tried to find an answer to—30 years ago: 'What are we and where are we headed for?' (*Granma*, Havana, Cuba 13 June 1971).

## HOW TO STAY AMERICAN WITHOUT PAYING

The American University of Beirut (has) . . . a remarkable history. It is doubtful whether any other seat of learning has produced so many leaders in all walks of life, not just for one country but for a whole region. As far back as 1870 secret groupings among its students made it the cradle of Arab nationalism . . .

Founded as the Syrian Protestant College, its purpose was to win converts to Protestant Christianity . . . In 1909 . . . the non-Christian students respectfully requested that most of the element of compulsion should be removed. . . . It particularly ceased being a specifically Christian institution, . . . although some vestige of compulsion was retained until 1945 . . . the students were compelled to attend . . . an "assembly" rather than a "service". Thus . . . an element of ambiguity and, some say, even hypocrisy was introduced into AUB's role.

There are in Beirut two institutions that have nailed their religious colors to the mast: One is AUB's sister institution, the Beirut College for Women and the other is the Jesuit University of St. Joseph. They are both quite open about their religious affiliations and they challenge their students to take it or leave it.

. . . A heavy blow at the moral integrity and intellectual independence of AUB was struck, unwittingly, in 1950 when the university agreed to be an instrument for the point-four program of the U.S. Government . . . At present at least 50 percent of the AUB budget, and perhaps more, is contributed by the U.S. Government . . .

The troubles of the AUB are by no means hopeless or insoluble. The

main . . . hope is that the students, and the communities they come out of, value the university and want it to continue . . . (and) . . . return to its original policy of concern for and involvement in the life of the Middle East area, in all its aspects, and especially the most important, the political.

This means that two things should be done . . . First, the AUB . . . should . . . have an Arab president . . . Second . . . the U.S. Government should withdraw its financial support if it feels the AUB cannot be run according to official government interests. There are oil rich governments, and the oil companies themselves, who are prepared to fill the gap . . . (Godfrey Jansen in *Christian Science Monitor*, London, 19 June 1971).

## LABOUR'S LOVE FOR ISRAEL

. . . all Labour members should think out very seriously their attitude toward the oppressed Palestinian Arabs. Representing a movement which has always vigorously opposed racialism, colonialism, militarism, and the acquisition of territories through conquest, should it not criticize Zionism with the same force and conviction as it denounces apartheid? Yet in fact, . . . a large section of the party is still neutral between Israel and the Arabs; and a significant section, including the majority of the NEC, are actual Israeli supporters. They denounce every form of oppression of man except oppression of Arabs by Jews. They oppose colonialism and military government in every part of the world except Gaza, the West Bank and East Jerusalem. They attack racialism as an unforgiveable sin, unless practised by Zionists. The NEC record is particularly bad in this way, and has been so for many years. In April 1944 its hostility to the Arabs embarrassed even the Zionist movement. In an official statement on Palestine it declared: "Let the Arabs be encouraged to move out as the Jews move in". About this infamous statement, Chaim Weizman himself wrote (*Trial and error*, p335): ". . . We have never contemplated the removal of the Arabs, and the British Labourites, in their pro-Zionist enthusiasm, went far beyond our intentions". In the event, of course, the Israelis did effectively remove over a million Arabs; but . . . they never officially advocated removal . . .

. . . the last public reference to the Arab peoples by a NEC member was that made by Ian Mikardo at a public dinner last year attended by Harold Wilson. On that occasion, Mikardo complained about the Arabs that they were "prone to homosexuality" . . .

Both as prime minister, and leader of the opposition, Harold Wilson has shown a similar one sided attitude. He has cultivated the Israeli leaders and made himself accessible to representations from pro-Israeli sources, such as the Jewish Board of Deputies. But he has done little to make friends with Arab leaders, and has declined to listen to representations from groups in this country which understand the Arab point of view. Denis Healey recently visited South Africa, and

spoke out admirably in support of the Africans there. But he is another party leader who sees nothing inconsistent in attacking the oppression of Africans in Africa, while condoning the oppression of Arabs in the Middle East. Moreover, as minister of defence he pressed the Cabinet, fortunately without success, to conclude an arms deal with Israel which would have strengthened the Israelis in their opposition to the Rogers peace proposals, and could have been used to repress the Arabs in the conquered territories . . .

The NEC's one sidedness is also shown in its attitude to the two principal party organisations concerned with the Middle East. The first of these is Paole Zion, which is wholly committed to Israel and to the doctrines of Zionism . . . The second is the Labour Middle East Council . . . friendly to the Arab world, is not committed to any particular government. LMEC is backed by 28 Labour MPs, and aims at a peaceful settlement based on United Nations resolutions . . . The NEC encourages Paole Zion and allows its continued affiliation to the party . . . At the same time the NEC has rejected LMEC's application for affiliation, refusing even to record this rejection in its report to the annual conference, so that it cannot be debated (Christopher Mayhew, M.P. in *Venture*, June 1971).

## ALL THAT GLITTERS IS GOL(D)KAR

. . . the Indonesian elections seem bound to end in a safe parliamentary majority, for the official Sekleer Golkar Organisation.

Golkar, enjoying complete Government and military support, is in confident mood while nine parties opposing it appear demoralized and uncertain . . .

Just how far Golkar has gone was demonstrated this week with as glittering fund-raising dinner as Jakarta is capable of. Plates cost £220 a head and the evening brought in, it was proudly announced, more than £100,000.

It was unannounced but understood that almost all this came from Chinese businessmen. One prominent Chinese alone is believed to have contributed a [total of about £100,000; a businessman from Singapore bought 10 plates at the dinner; and an airline run jointly by the Indonesian armed services and Chinese financiers has made a further contribution to bring its total to £500,000. Plainly money is the least of Golkar's worries . . . (*The Times*, London 17 June 1971).

The term 'Stalinism' is a mythopoeic formula and it is to this that contemporary communists cling. They are not the first to do so for previously 'Stalinists' hung onto 'Leninism'. Indeed 'Stalinism' was not a 'mistake' but rather the final consequence of Marxism. The sheer fact that Marxism, meaning communism, believes in its own scientific nature precludes the possibility of changing Marxism into some kind of communism which would not be 'Stalinist' in some way. (Milovan Djilas in *Survey*, Winter 1971, Vol. 16, No. 1).

## NEWS BRIEF

**ALGERIA.** An agreement has been reached between Sonatrach and the Compagnie Francaise des Petroles acceding complete Algerian sovereignty over her oil resources. The French Company will have at its disposal half the quantity of the oil which it had prior to nationalisation.

□ A protocol on cultural cooperation between Algeria and U.A.R. was signed in Algiers on 21 June.

**EGYPT.** A communique issued at the end of King's Faisal's visit has declared that there could be no lasting peace unless Jerusalem and all the Arab territories are liberated and the Palestinian people regain unsurpassed rights.

● A joint committee of Libya, Egypt, Sudan and Syria has completed drafting a unified constitution for the proposed Federation of Arab Republics. The draft will be submitted to the respective head of States and a referendum will be held in September.

**ETHIOPIA.** The Union of African Students in Europe has called for a total withdrawal of Ethiopia from Eritrea and the liquidation of US-Israel forces in Ethiopia. The resolution condemned killing of women, old men, and children, burning of towns and villages etc. and called for the release of all the Eritrean political prisoners.

**INDIA.** Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed the Prime Minister of 'Bangla Desh' has condemned the Arab countries for not supporting the movement for an independent Bengal.

**INDONESIA.** Foreign Minister Adam Malik has denied that Golkar was a grouping of Generals or a Government Party. He said it was a federation of 200 organisations and its aim was to maintain 1945 Constitution and promote democracy and development. It had no specific ideology. The Government and the army supported Golkar and if they won the elections Indonesia's foreign policy would not change. □ Major General Witone, Commander of the West Java Military Territory has denied reports about political murder of 17 members of the Nahdatul Ulema Party. □ Foreign Minister Malik has called upon Indonesian businessmen to take initiative in establishing trade relations with China and not to wait for normalisation of diplomatic relations.

**ISRAEL.** Mr. Aba Eban on return from the African tour has said that on the diplomatic and economic level the Arab States do not have much influence in Africa. It is only in the sphere of political conferences where the Arabs exploit their leverage.

● The Minister of Labour has said that because of manpower shortage only 74% of the factory capacity is being used. Over the next four years the country would need 140,000 additional workers and that would mean full mobilisation of Israel's manpower including women, elderly people and youth.

● The Finance Minister has said that the need to maintain arms balance has led to worsening of Israel's balance of payments position. The imports presently amounted to £ 850m. and the sum of £ 3m that Israel was to receive from the U.S.A. did not meet minimum needs.

**JORDAN.** The Government has decided to purchase car tyres from India only.

**KUWAIT.** The Kuwait National Assembly has refused to ratify a 15-year agreement for building a gas liquefying plant signed in February 1971 between the Kuwait Government, the Gulf Oil Company and the British petroleum.

**PAKISTAN.** Mr. Christopher Van Hollen, Deputy Assistant Secretary in the U.S. State department has told a Senate Judiciary Sub-committee that "to impose a formal embargo on military and economic aid to Pakistan . . . would undermine American efforts to achieve a productive relationship with Pakistan." He said that since the India-Pakistan 1965 war, the U.S. has only permitted shipment of spare parts of non-lethal equipment previously supplied. The present shipment included "absolutely no lethal weapons". Besides spare parts, it carried 2000 rounds of .22 calibre ammunitions for sporting purposes. The policy remains under active review. □ The Chairman of the Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission, Dr. Usmani, has proposed that the Indian atomic reactor at Trombay should be immediately put under international control. India is capable of producing annually at least two nuclear bombs and was already preparing for underground nuclear tests. □ The budget for the fiscal 1970-71 shows a deficit of Rs. 940m. and contains fresh taxation proposal for Rs. 460m.

**PHILIPPINES.** About 60 Muslim men, women and children were killed in the village of Manili in Cotabato province when a group of men armed with high power weapons attacked Muslims gathered in a Mosque for a peace conference with Christians. The province has recently been the scene of fighting between the native Muslim population and Christian settlers.

**TURKEY.** An Ataturk Principles Commission has been formed to define the principles of Mustafa Kamal Ataturk. □ Lt-General. Kamal, Chief of the movement department of the Turkish General Staff told the Ataturk Principles Commission that the recent incidents in Turkey are being methodically staged under an international guidance. On one side the country has been inundated with Chinese political literature and on the other, the Soviet Union has surrounded the country with a circle of its own influence. The nation has no time to waste and it must acquaint itself with the righteous principles of Ataturk.

● Premier Nihat Erim has denied that there was any shortage of cash in the market. What has happened, he said, is that Investment Funds in the 1971 budget were less than in preceding years. The Government is planning to open large chain stores like *Migros* and eliminate the middle man. □ A group of 299 Turkish refugees from Bulgaria has

arrived in Turkey.

● Mr. Yasar Tunagur, Vice-Chairman of the Islamic Affairs Department and a well known Muslim leader has been arrested for "exploiting religion for political purposes and handed over to the Ankara Military Law Command." This has been followed by the arrest of a number of other Muslim leaders including Mustafa Cahit, Irol Ciner, Recep Yanar, Mustafa and Ahmed Sahan, Ozturk Tuncay, Suleiman Osmen, Recep Kok and Fezullah Taser. They are to be tried by the Marshal Law Court for "engaging in Nurist activities."

**SOUTH YEMEN.** A Rumanian technical delegation is carrying out a survey for oil and mineral in South Yemen.

**SUDAN.** A Cairo Radio broadcast has alleged that in accordance with their old policy, the British Imperialists continue to extend moral and material support to the separation movement in the South. The object is to prevent the spread of national currents, Arabic language and Islam to their former colonies in Central and East Africa. □ The Minister of State for Economic Sector has informed the British Ambassador of the Sudanese desire for the investment of British capital and of its readiness to give full guarantees.

● Under a new trade agreement India is to buy Sudanese cotton worth £27m. up to December 1972. Sudan will import Indian jute, tea, textiles and electrical equipment worth £12m.

**SYRIA.** The population of Syria at the end of 1969 was 6,471,074.

### PEOPLE

Mr. Adam Malik, Foreign Minister of Indonesia is expected to be elected as president of the 1971 UN General Assembly ● The name of Dr. Gunnar Jarring, the UN mediator for the Middle East has been thrown in as another probable in the game to select U. Thant's successor. Yet another would-be is the Ceylonese diplomat Hamilton Amerasinghe. ● The American basketball star Lew Alcindor now Abdul Jabbar has accepted Islam. ● Mr Mohammed Ahmad Numan has been appointed Secretary and Political Adviser to the

Republican Council of Yeman. ● Mr. Khayri Mohammed Bin Amir has been appointed as the Libyan Ambassador to the United Kingdom; Mr. Yousuf Abdullah Al-Qirathah goes to the USSR and Mr. Abdullah ash-Shibani as-Suwaysi to the USA.

● Dr. Abdul Zahir, Afghan Ambassador to Italy has taken over as the Prime Minister in Afghanistan. Prof. Mikhail Zand, a Soviet scholar in Persian and Arabic studies has migrated to Israel ● Chief Awolowo has resigned his appointment as Federal Commissioner for Finance and as the Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council in Nigeria.

● Dr. Syed Hussien Alatas has resigned as party Chairman as well as from the membership of the Malaysian Opposition Party, Gerakan. Ben Bella, the deposed Algerian President, and now under detention has married Zohra Salami, a journalist.

● Mr. M. Rashid, Governor of the State Bank of Pakistan has been appointed as Deputy Chairman of the National Planning Commission. He is succeeded at the State Bank by Mr. S. U. Durrani from P.I.A. Air Vice-Marshal Zafar Chaudhry, is to head the Pakistan International Airlines Corporation. ● Dr. Sajjad Husain, Chairman, University Education Reorganisation Committee in East Pakistan has been visiting Britain and the U.S.A.

● Mr. Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed and Mr. Moinul Huque Chaudhry, Muslim Ministers in Mrs Indira Gandhi's cabinet have been visiting the Middle East on a mission to explain the Indian concern over the "Bangla Desh" issue. ● Dr. Ahmad Mohanina from Al Azhar has been appointed Assistant Director at the Islamic Cultural Centre, London.

### DIED

President Carlos Garcia of Philippines (1957-61) on 14 June. ● Lord Reith, 81, first Director-General of the BBC and a pioneer of broadcasting on 16th June in Edinburgh. ● Prof. M. Habib, former Head of the History Department, Muslim University, Aligarh, India on 20 June in Aligarh. ● Lord Boyd Orr, 91 first Director-General of the FAO on 25 June at his home near Brechin Angus, U.K.



A FLOWER IS BORN TO BLUSH UNSEEN  
(after *Organiser*, Delhi 19 June 1971)