



TARIQ ALI

REVOLUTIONARY PERSPECTIVES FOR PAKISTAN

TARIQ ALI

BANGLA DESH--RESULTS AND PROSPECTS

TARIQ ALI

INTRODUCTION TO DAMODARAN

ON 26 JUNE, Indira Gandhi introduced a State of Emergency which led immediately to the arrest of several hundred opposition leaders and to the imposition of a draconian press censorship on the country's normally

BACK TO ISSUE

I/63 · Sept/Oct 1970

SHARE

Facebook

Twitter

Email

BACK TO ISSUE

I/68 · July/Aug 1971

SHARE

Facebook

Twitter

Email

I/93 · Sept/Oct 1975

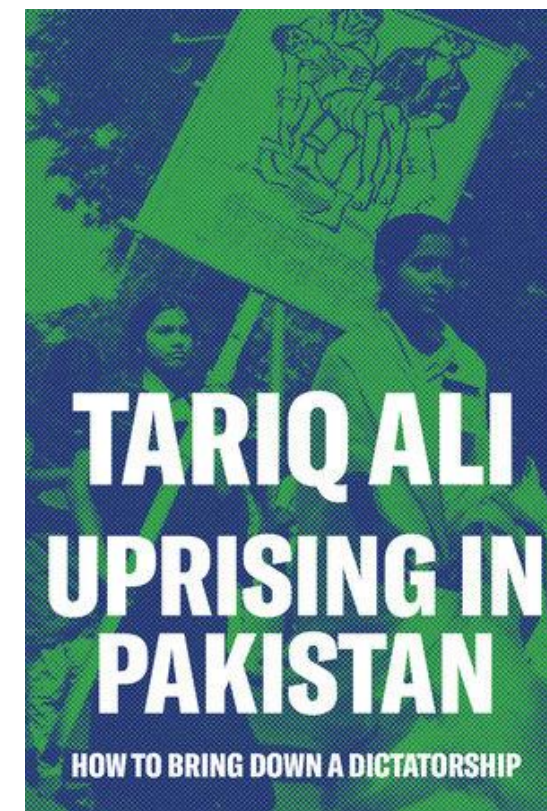
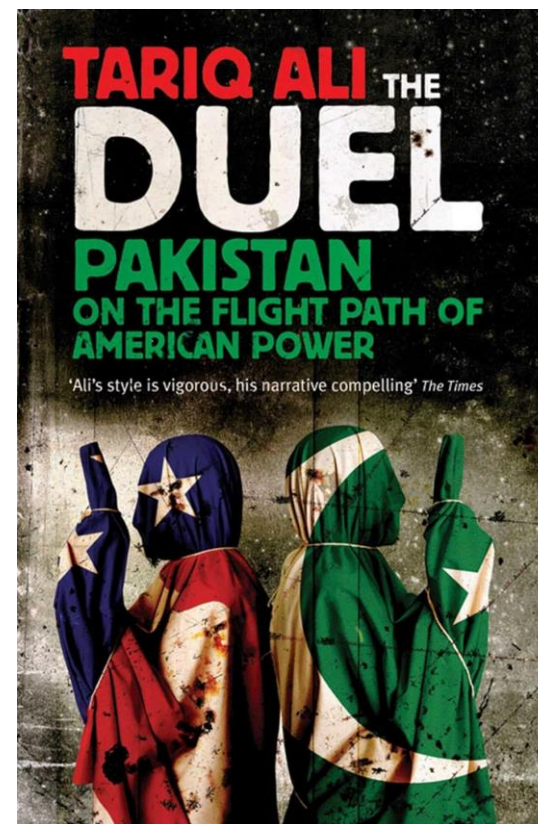
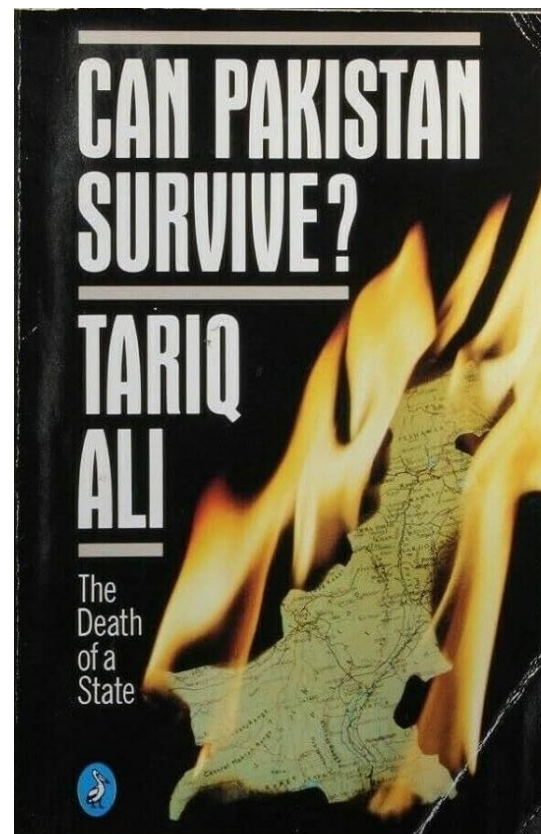
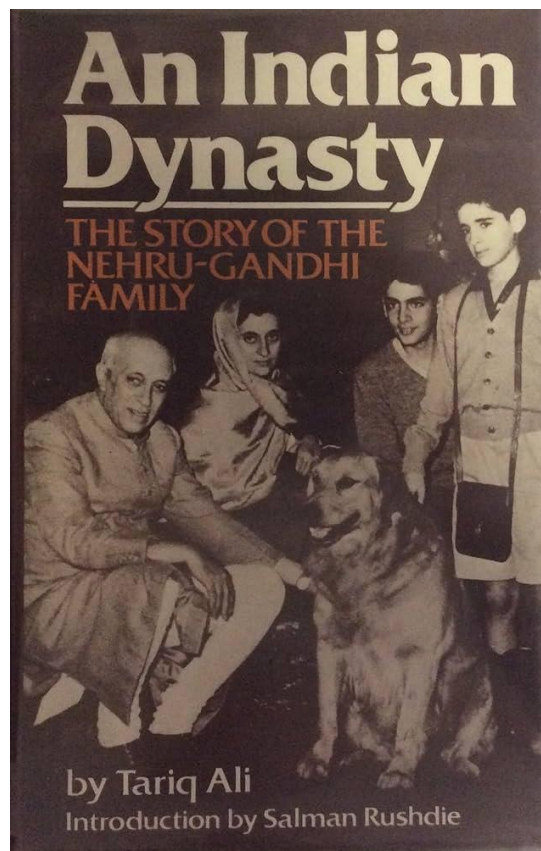
SHARE

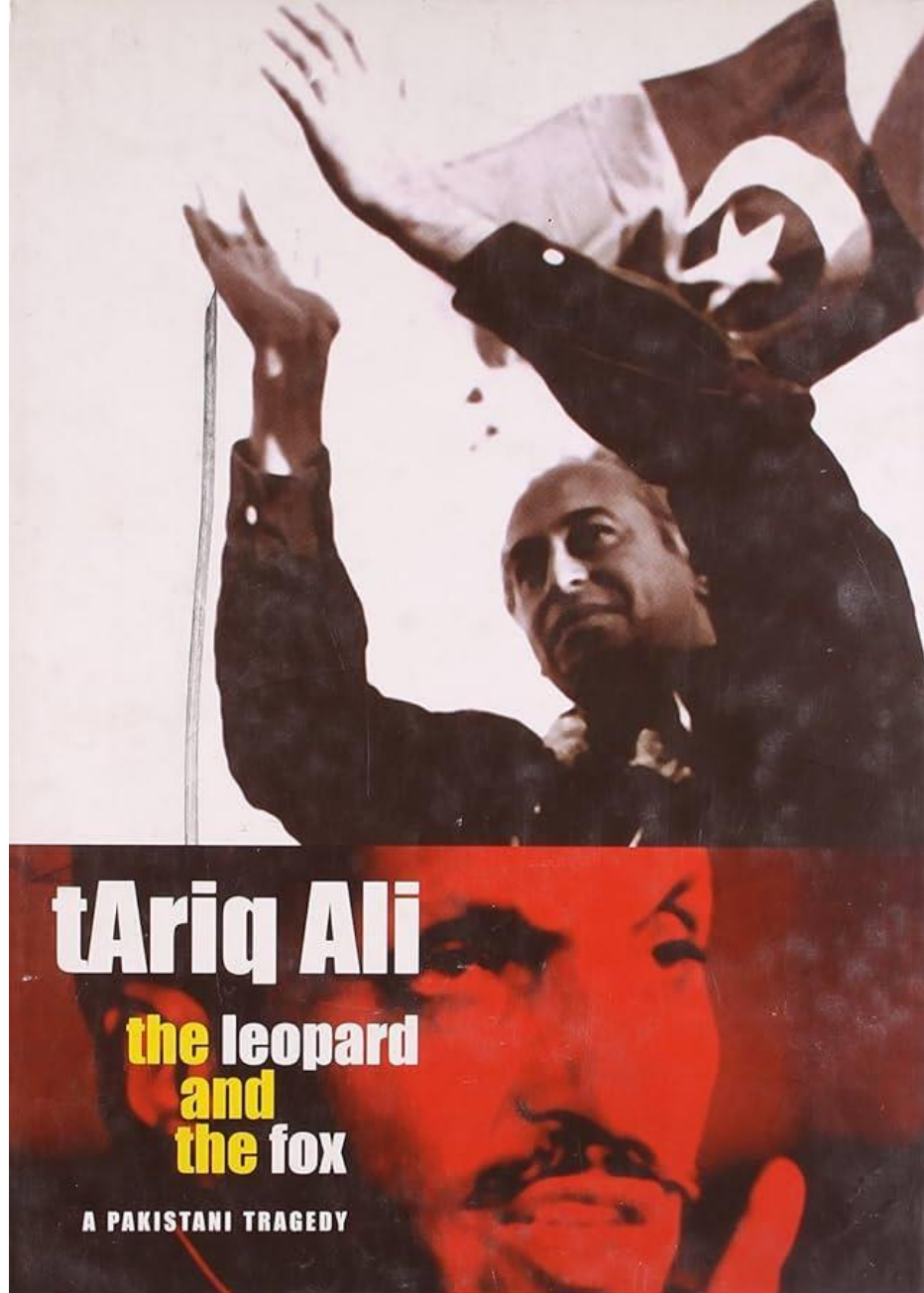
Facebook

Twitter

Email

Download PDF





“In 1985, the BBC commissioned Tariq Ali to write a three-part TV series on the circumstances leading to the overthrow, trial and execution of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, the first elected prime minister of Pakistan. As rehearsals were about to begin, the BBC hierarchy—under pressure from the Foreign Office—decided to cancel the project. Why? General Zia ul Haq, the dictator at the time, was leading the jihad against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan. He was backed by the USA. According to expert legal opinion, there was a possibility of a whole range of defamation suits from the head of state to judges involved in the case. In consequence, it was decided not to broadcast this hard-hitting and provocative play.

The Leopard and the Fox presents both the script and the story of censorship.”

(British Broadcasting Corporation is a public service broadcaster; operates under an agreement with the Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport and is funded principally by an annual television licence fee.)

'A powerful corrective ... an unreserved polemic against the man usually celebrated for standing up to Hitler' *Independent*

The modern Churchill cult is out of control, closing down historical debate and encouraging support for twenty-first-century wars. The man has become a household god for many, preserving an antiquated vision of Britain. In this coruscating portrait, Tariq Ali audits Churchill's crimes – both globally and at home – and shows the celebrated wartime leader to be Britain's most shameless imperialist.

'In Ali's telling, which draws on more honest existing historical scholarship than most popular biographies of Churchill, the two-times prime minister emerges not so much as deeply racist – some of his contemporaries remarked on it in shock – as profoundly authoritarian, with a soft spot for fascist strongmen, and a hostility to working-class assertion' Priyamvada Gopal, *Prospect*

'Ali portrays Churchill as cruel, incompetent and blinded by prejudice' *Spectator*

'For Tariq Ali, Churchill debunking, like Churchill worship, is a political act' David Aaronovitch, *The Times*

'A Marxist insult to history' Simon Heffer, *Telegraph*

'An essential antidote to the Churchill myth ... This book could not be more timely' Lindsey German, *Counterfire*

'An important addition to the Churchill debates and a warning against political deification' *Conversation*

'Deserves to be compulsory reading in every school across the country ... debunking the myth of Churchill far more effectively even than those who daubed paint on his statue' *Morning Star*

V History
£12.99 / \$19.95 / \$25.95CAN
versobooks.com

Cover art: Amin Rehman



Winston Churchill His Times, His Crimes

TARIQ
ALI

V
VERS

'A powerful corrective ... shining a light on the nasty parts that his supporters conveniently ignore. This book is an unreserved polemic against the man usually celebrated for standing up to Hitler' *Independent*

Winston Churchill His Times, His Crimes



TARIQ ALI

**'A Marxist
insult to
history'**

Simon Heffer,
Telegraph

‘There is no need to exaggerate the part played in the creation of Bolshevism and in the actual bringing about of the Russian Revolution, by these international and for the most part atheistical Jews; it is certainly a very great one; it probably outweighs all others. With the notable exception of Lenin, the majority of the leading figures are Jews.’

‘The women’s suffrage movement is only the small edge of the wedge, if we allow women to vote it will mean the loss of social structure and the rise of every liberal cause under the sun. Women are well represented by their fathers, brothers and husbands.’

‘I am strongly in favour of using poisoned gas against uncivilised tribes.’

‘If I had been an Italian, I am sure I should have been wholeheartedly with you [Mussolini] from the start to finish in your triumphant struggle against the bestial appetites and passions of Leninism. But in England we have not yet had to face this danger in the same deadly form. We have our own way of doing things.’

‘I do not admit, for instance, that a great wrong has been done to the Red Indians of America or the black people of Australia. I do not admit that a wrong has been done to these people by the fact that a stronger race, a higher-grade race, a more worldly-wise race to put it that way, has come in and taken their place.’

‘I hate people with slit eyes and pigtails. I don’t like the look of them or the smell of them – but I suppose it does no great harm to have a look at them.’

‘Keep Britain White’

“Churchill cult”

“Churchill almost single-handedly won the war against Hitler.”

Nicholas Soames: “You’re talking about one of **the greatest men the world has ever seen**, who was a child of the Edwardian age and spoke the language of [it].”

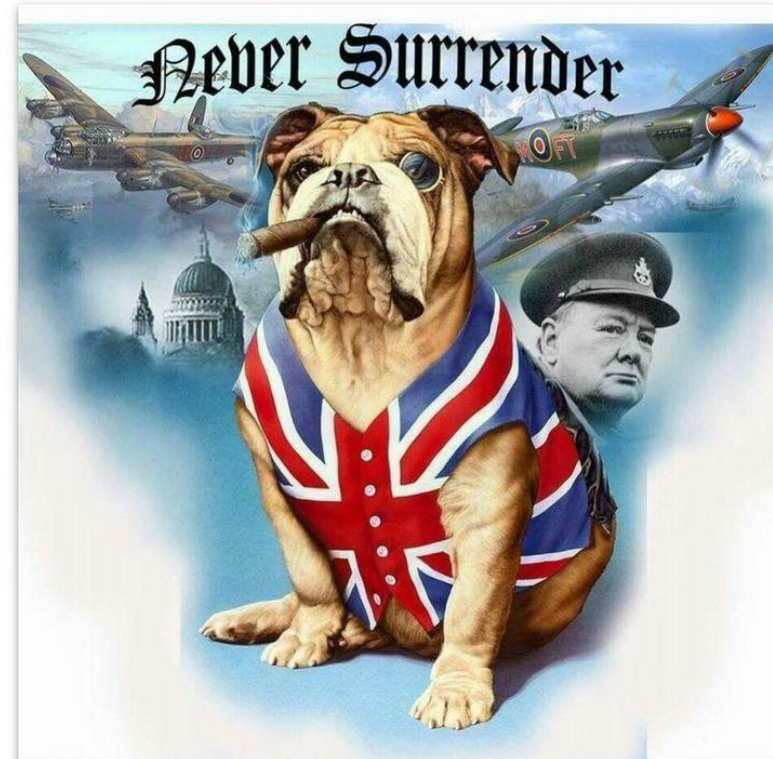
Richard Toye: “Although Churchill did think that white people were superior, that didn’t mean he necessarily thought it was OK to treat non-white people in an inhumane way.”

<https://winstonchurchill.org/> (**International Churchill Society**)

<https://winstonchurchill.hilldale.edu/> (**The Churchill Project**)

A delayed cult?

- Churchill's transformation into a near-mythic "national hero" only truly took off in 1982, when Prime Minister **Margaret Thatcher** resurrected his image to rally Britain behind the **Falklands campaign**
- Thatcher's instrumentalization
 - facing the need to mobilize public support for retaking the Falklands, **Thatcher explicitly invoked Churchill: Churchillian rhetoric** was applied to frame the **Argentine junta** as "**Hitler-like**" and war-opponents as "**appeasers**"
- "Bulldog spirit"
- revival of imperial nostalgia, filling the vacuum left by Britain's diminished post-Suez status
- "**Churchill cult**" less an organic outpouring of popular admiration and more a **political construction**



“[T]he White race possess all the motivating forces and talents in itself; therefore we must examine it more closely.”

“In the hot countries the human being matures earlier in all ways but does not reach the perfection of the temperate zones. Humanity exists in its greatest perfection in the white race. The yellow Indians have a smaller amount of Talent. The Negroes are lower and the lowest are a part of the American peoples.”

“The growth of the spongy parts of the body had to increase in a hot and humid climate. This growth produced a thick, turned up nose and thick, fatty lips. The skin had to be oily, not only to lessen the too heavy perspiration, but also to ward off the harmful absorption of the foul, humid air. The profusion of iron particles, which are otherwise found in the blood of every human being, and, in this case, are precipitated in the net-shaped substance through the evaporation of the phosphoric acid (which explains why all Negroes stink), is the cause of the blackness that shines through the epidermis.”

“The Negroes of Africa have by nature no feeling that rises above the trifling. Mr. Hume challenges anyone to cite a single example in which a Negro has shown talents, and asserts that among the hundreds of thousands of blacks who are transported elsewhere from their countries, although many of them have even been set free, still not a single one was ever found who presented anything great in art and science or any other praise-worthy quality even though among the whites some continually rise aloft from the lowest rabble, and through superior gifts earn respect in the world. So fundamental is the difference between the two races of man, and it appears to be as great in regard to mental capacities as in colour.”

“[T]hey are full of affection and passion, very lively, very vain in the Negroes way, and so talkative that they must be driven apart from each other with thrashings. They can be educated but only as servants (slaves); that is, they allow themselves to be ‘trained’ as servants. They have many motivating forces, are also sensitive, are afraid of blows and do much out of a sense of honor.”

Kant, Immanuel. *Observations on the Beautiful and Sublime.* Goldthwait JT (Trans.), Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965.

Kant, Immanuel. *Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View.* Victor LD (Trans.), Carbondale: Illinois University Press, 1978.

Kant, Immanuel. *On the Varieties of the Different Races of Man.* Mikkelsen JM (Trans.), Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 1777.

Kehinde Andrews' *The New Age of Empire: How Racism and Colonialism Still Rule the World*, 2021:

“In the history of European thought we are presented with all the positive aspects of the sainted philosophers and none of the negative. There is perhaps no better example of this whitewashing of the record than Immanuel Kant. I never realized how cherished an icon Kant was until I pointed out he was racist on television. **Apparently, criticizing Kant is the academic equivalent of questioning the morality of Jesus.**”



Churchill not so different from Hitler?

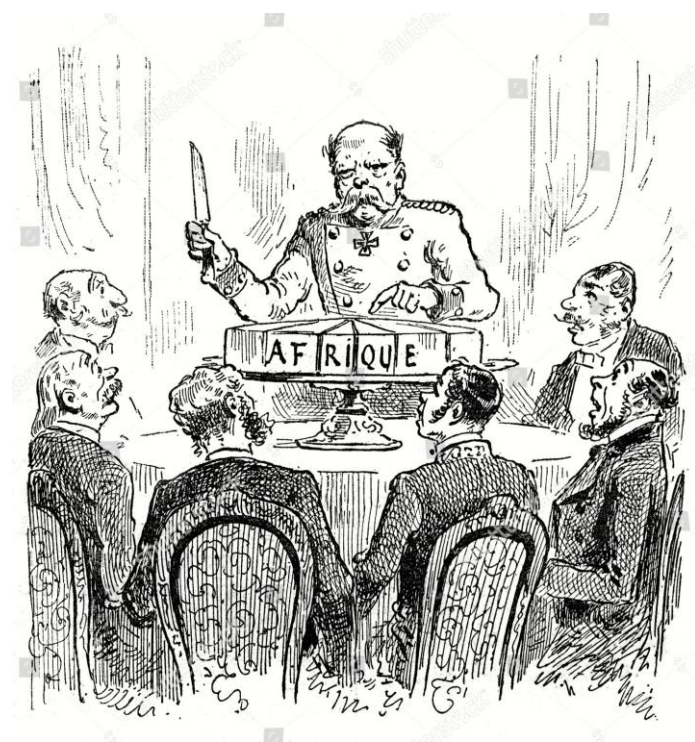
“Yes, it would be worthwhile to study clinically, in detail, the steps taken by Hitler and Hitlerism and to reveal to the very distinguished, very humanistic, very Christian bourgeois of the twentieth century that without his being aware of it, he has a Hitler inside him, that Hitler inhabits him, that Hitler is his demon, that if he rails against him, he is being inconsistent and that, at bottom, what he cannot forgive Hitler for is not the crime in itself, the crime against man, it is not the humiliation of man as such, it is the crime against the white man, the humiliation of the white man, and the fact that he applied to Europe colonialist procedures which until then had been reserved exclusively for the Arabs of Algeria, the “coolies” of India, and the “niggers” of Africa. [...]

I have talked a good deal about Hitler. Because he deserves it: he makes it possible to see things on a large scale and to grasp the fact that capitalist society, at its present stage, is incapable of establishing a concept of the rights of all men, just as it has proved incapable of establishing a system of individual ethics. Whether one likes it or not, at the end of the blind alley that is Europe, I mean the Europe of Adenauer, Schuman, Bidault, and a few others, there is Hitler. At the end of capitalism, which is eager to outlive its day, there is Hitler. At the end of formal humanism and philosophic renunciation, there is Hitler.”

(Aimé Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*, 1950)

“His Times, his Crimes” –
“anachronistic morality”

- the **Belgian King Leopold II** was given Congo as a personal fiefdom (“Scramble for Africa” Berlin Conference 1884-85)
- vast territory formally, internationally recognised as the personal possession of a single human being
- Leopold never bothered to visit his property (scared of being infected by ‘African diseases’)
 - “the most notorious absentee landlord in the history of modern imperialism”



Bismarck carving up Africa



“The horror inflicted on the Congolese people was on a scale, and of a level of sadistic brutality, that surpassed anything else that went on during the colonisation of Africa. The conquerors of the Congo, principally the Belgians, but also some others, were after **ivory and rubber**. Bonuses were paid to soldiers and administrators on how much ivory and rubber they could force villagers to collect. If a village did not turn over enough, **its adult males – and sometimes women and children too – were killed. To prove that they had killed the necessary number of people without wasting bullets, soldiers cut off the hands of their victims while they were still alive. Sometimes feet, heads and breasts were added to the gruesome collection sent back to Brussels. To prevent decay the hands were often smoked, while heads and breasts were put in jars of spirit to preserve them.**”





MONGALA



MOLA EKULITI



BIASIA

NATIVES SHOT AND MUTILATED BY CONGO SOLDIERY

(For particulars, refer to Appendix)

“Leopold’s soldiers and settlers **killed half the population of the Congo**. Figures vary, but it is generally agreed that the dead totalled **between eight and ten million**. In size and scale the closest equivalent crime by a European state was the Judeocide of the Second World War, carried out in most of Europe by Germany and its quislings. The indirect victims of that crime are still being counted in Palestine every single week.”

“But as the photographs of the horrors began to trickle back to Europe there were many expressions of outrage, most commonly from British writers, relieved in some cases by the fact that these crimes were being committed by a non-British empire.”

Some examples of public outrage:

American poet Vachel Lindsay’s ‘The Congo’:

Listen to the yell of Leopold’s ghost
Burning in Hell for his hand-maimed host,
Hear how the demons chuckle and yell
Cutting his hands off, down in Hell.

Cecil Rhodes after meeting Leopold II: “Satan! I tell you that man is Satan!”

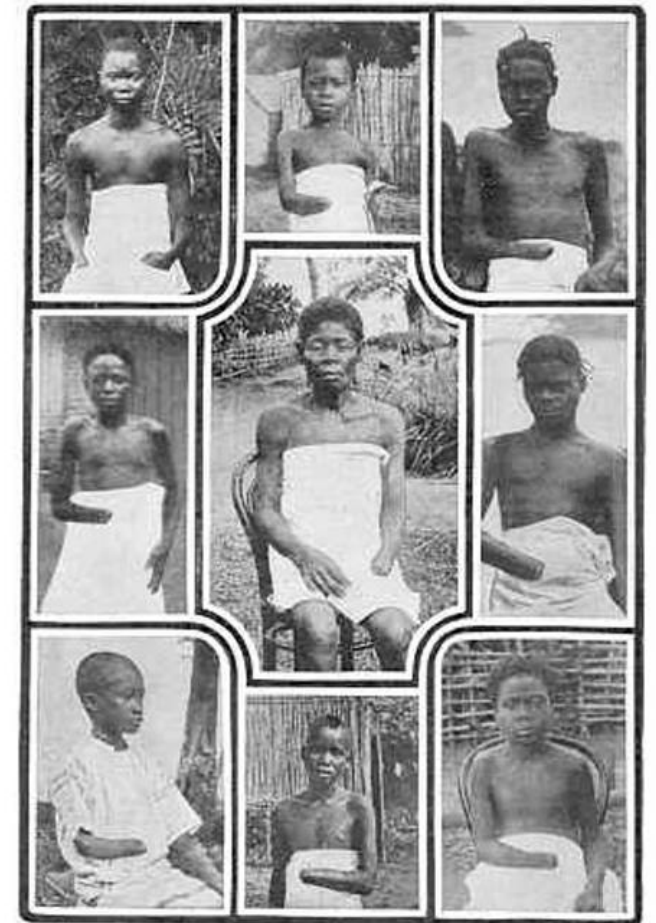
In 1904, E.D. Morel and Roger Casement set up the Congo Reform Association to publicise Leopold’s crimes in ***The Crime of the Congo***. (sold more than half a million copies in its first three months)

The Crime of the Congo

By Arthur Conan Doyle

London: Hutchinson & Co., 1909.

Some of the Victims



This slide was intentionally left blank – that's exactly as much as Churchill had to say about the Congo atrocities.

Holodomor

<https://holodomor.ca/communism-and-hunger-the-ukrainian-chinese-kazakh-and-soviet-famines-in-comparative-perspective/>

What happened in 2022/2023?