

MUSLIM VIEWPOINT(S) ON CURRENT AFFAIRS

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Crime, and Prejudice

On 11 October, Libya's Revolution Command Council issued a law providing for the enforcement of the Islamic penal law in the matter of theft, and armed robbery.

In accordance with the law, a sane person who is 18 or over, and is not under duress or in need, if he wilfully and knowingly steals from another person an object which is not less than 10 Libyan dinars in value, he will be liable to punishment with the amputation of his right hand. Such punishment is excluded in cases involving theft from a public place, or when it concerns a creditor and his debtor or the members of a family, or when one pilfers fruit from an orchard and eats it at the premises, etc.

The law also takes cognizance of robbery involving killing, seizure of property, and blocking of highway for the purpose of intimidation or robbery.

The brigand will be punished by death if he had killed; by amputation of the right hand and the left foot if only property is seized; and by imprisonment if he intimidates the highway travellers. The law provides for remission in punishment in cases of genuine repentance.

Amputation will be performed under anaesthesia by a qualified surgeon at a hospital. The offender will be given post-amputation medical care. Amputation may be deferred in case of sickness, pregnancy etc., and it will also not be carried out if the offender has already lost his other hand or foot.

Col. Muammar Qadafi, has always maintained that the Libyan revolution is basically inspired by Islam, and that only Islam provides a true basis for social justice, economic progress and moral regeneration. The promulgation of the law is, therefore, in accordance with the avowed aims of the Libyan revolution.

The disdain, contempt and a kind of self-righteous horror with which the law has been received by the Western world are, however, not unexpected. The measures have been seen as "a return to a literal interpretation of the harshest of Kuranic precepts", as "an amazing leap

into the past", a dramatic 'reversing (of) the overall modernising, secularising trend of Arab society', etc. Qadafi himself was variously described as a "Muslim revolutionary", a "frustrated visionary", "butcher of Tripoli" and even as "twopenny Mohammed" with a suggestion that perhaps it is time the Egyptians took over.

These comments serve to underline the central problem: lack of adequate explanation of the Muslim viewpoint. Lack of explanation prevents knowledge and an ignorant man is more likely to be narrow-minded, prejudiced and even hostile.

Present-day world attitude to crime is characterised by an apparent equanimity but is really confusion and helplessness.

It all depends how the media play it up and how closely or remotely one happens to be affected. At times people reflect feelings of extreme discomfort or even revolt, at others, there is an over-flow of compassion and understanding. If a person loses a penny he would like the whole machinery of law and order to come into action and if it is another person who has lost his head, the sociologists, the politicians, the criminologists and theologians each one of these would come out with various and often contradictory theories explaining the "phenomenon". While these discussions have gone on, the crime rate has come to touch an all high. Penal legislation in the circumstances is a reaction to the given exigencies of a given situation. If a policeman is brutally murdered or if there is killing at Lydda, the call is to bring back capital punishment. Drug-peddling can come to be regarded as 'violence against the human spirit'. In this state of "lawful" anarchy a hardened criminal balances his chance of avoiding arrest against the punishment that he is likely to incur and then decides accordingly. There are situations in which a criminal commits murder in course of thieving but can expect to spend less time in prison than those convicted of less serious offences. Both the anomaly, and the formidable (material and mental) cost of crime deserve thought.

Islam on the other hand, first equips man with immutable and fundamental values about right and wrong, good and bad, fair and unfair and so on. If some thing is good or bad, it is not relative or situational, it is so in all circumstances. Then the social, economic and political laws are designed to establish justice and remove or control all such causes or factors which may force people to commit a crime. If it lays down amputation of hand as punishment for certain types of theft, it removes indigency and such factors as may lead a person to commit theft. Islam not only penalises the ultimate crime but it also bars all the approach roads. If it also forbids extra-marital relations, it makes marriage simple and easy and closes all likely avenues that lead other way. It does not ask a man to drink and not to drive, it asks him not to drink and to drive.

When a man is given guidance as to what is good or bad as well as the requisite social, economic and political cover, and when all the approach roads to evil are barred if one chooses to cross the limit, he really is a criminal. The punishment then is exemplary and salutary but unlike an enactment passed in response to a particular situation, the object is not revenge. Islamic penal system aims to protect the peace and order of the society, to effectively restrain a criminal, to deter all the potential criminals, and finally to purify the criminal himself, if he repents. It strikes a true balance between private liberty and public safety. The present state of the Muslim world may not be complimentary otherwise, but anyone who has been to Saudi Arabia where Islamic penal laws are in force knows what a bliss it is to be in a virtually crimeless society. In Libya too the incidence of theft and violent crimes is already insignificant.

The task of establishing the Islamic society is neither simplistic nor formidable; besides wisdom and leadership, it requires patience, persistence and a transmittable sincerity of purpose. If Col. Qadafi leads Libya to that goal he deserves the goodwill of all rightminded people of the world.

Survey

• STRANDED BENGALIS • CONSTITUTION MAKING IN PAKISTAN & BANGLADESH

The Stranded Bengali's no one's really interested about

When Muslims go to civil war, they can go to any limit. Pakistan and Bangladesh are no exception; in fact their's is the most outstanding example since the Arab-Ottoman split earlier in this very century. While the 'Biharis', the 100,000 prisoners of war, and the "collaborators" (an euphemism for those East Pakistan Muslims who despite odds, excesses, and a subsequent betrayal chose to stand for the integrity of their country), are the much prized booty on the Bangladesh side, Pakistan holds about 400,000 people of East Pakistan origin, among whom there are about 50—80 thousand civil and armed forces' officers and other cadres. They are the Pakistan's counter-lever in this uncivil non-war.

The civilian 'Bengalis' in West Pakistan are known to lead their life and vocation peacefully and without any manifest hindrance or discrimination. For this tribute must be paid to the good sense of the common people of West Pakistan who despite covert instigation from certain official circles have refused to behave otherwise. Their position is incomparably better and even happy, if one considered the fate of those in the other three categories in Bangladesh, but the uncertainties and agonies of their situation deserve their own note. Their suffering is basically psychological and emotional: lack of communication with their families and a kind of suspended living. And the agony of staying in a limbo is no ordinary agony.

The problem of those employed in the Pakistan armed forces and the civil service is, however, more acute. Soon after taking over, President Bhutto had given a solemn assurance that "personnel from East Pakistan have complete security of tenure of service and that they continued to be citizens of Pakistan like everyone else". The promise was, however, not kept and all government employees of East Pakistan domicile were asked to opt between Pakistan and Bangladesh. Understandably a vast majority opted in favour of going home, going to Bangladesh, and having given such an option they were relieved from their duties, and are now receiving a reduced salary. Those who were serving in the armed forces were also withdrawn from operational duties and are now confined within barracks. They stay there because there is no dialogue between Dacca and Islamabad and meanwhile an illegal traffic has developed in smuggling out the Bengalis via Afghanistan or even by country boats to India. Naturally this is no solution to the real miseries of the situation. For Pakistan the most sensible and morally upright thing

to do would have been to have honoured President Bhutto's words, to have *actually* treated them as Pakistan citizens and to let them travel freely to East-Pakistan which it claims, if though only theoretically, to be its own territory. These Bengalis are in no way responsible for the plight of the 'Biharis' or the PoW's or the 'collaborators', and it would be immoral even to think of holding them as hostages. Had they been allowed unilaterally to go, Bangladesh would have had by now 400,000 Pakistani ambassadors.

As a result of pressure from the families of these stranded Bengalis, Sheikh Mujib last week appealed to the UN Secretary-General and the International Committee of Red Cross "to secure their safety, well-being and speedy repatriation"; but does he not know what he himself can do to solve the problem? The lot of those Bengali civil servants who have been able to escape from Pakistan to Bangladesh is none too satisfactory. "They are made to reel by certain offices as if they are undesirable elements and (that) they are being allowed to join the duty as a matter of grace" (Letter in *The Bangladesh Observer*, Dacca, 13 October 1972).

Perhaps, here one is faced with an unbelievable situation. It seems both parties are really not interested in alleviating the miseries either of the stranded Bengalis or the PoW's.

Parliamentary Democracy Pakistan style

The recent agreement in Pakistan between President Bhutto and all other parties in the National Assembly on the outlines of the country's future constitution, deserves to be treated with welcome, but with caution.

Agreement has been reported on the basic nature of the Constitution, i.e., federal and parliamentary. The N.A. which is the lower house, will consist of 200 members and 10 ladies, elected on the basis of proportional representation through direct adult franchise. The upper house or Senate will be composed of 64 members, 60 to be elected by the provincial assemblies and four from the centrally administered areas. President Bhutto has agreed that the Prime Minister will be the chief executive, that he will be elected by the lower house, and that he and his cabinet will be answerable before the N.A. In order to ensure political stability, the opposition parties have agreed that a no-confidence move will need a two-third majority of the N.A.; it will not be

moved during a budget session; the same resolution should also name the alternate Prime Minister; and once a no-confidence move was lost, it would not be moved again for a minimum period of six months. The Federation would enjoy almost all powers that it does now.

The plethora of safeguards provided for the person who once happens to become a Prime Minister might be well-intentioned but they are so many and so over-burdening that in actual practice they could well be self-defeating. An irremovable Prime Minister may reproduce the kind of politics Pakistan experienced during the reigns of Ayub Khan and Yahya Khan. Then, supposing that Pakistan will have a Constitution and supposing that it will have a free and a fair poll on the basis of proportional representation, the centrifugal process in the country has reached such a stage where the likelihood of one single party enjoying an absolute majority in the N.A. is only theoretical. In that eventuality, the country may revert to the game of the musical chairs it witnessed during the hegemony of Governor-General/President Iskander Mirza.

Certainly there should be a middle path between the two extremes and that is adopting and abiding by normal democratic methods and practices. A special democracy is no democracy, but just now in Pakistan, any agreement may be better than no agreement.

Bangladesh-towards a secular constitution

While Pakistan is engaged in settling the outlines, the Bangladesh Constituent Assembly was presented on 12 October with a draft Constitution for the People's Republic of Bangladesh. Pledging itself to the "high ideals of nationalism, socialism, democracy and secularism", the draft envisages Bangladesh as a unitary state and as parliamentary democracy with a Prime Minister as the head of the Government and answerable to the parliament (*Ganoparishad*). The Fundamental Principles of State Policy lay down that the state shall establish "a socialist economic system with a view to ensuring the attainment of a just and egalitarian society... the people shall own or control, the instruments and means of production", and the ownership shall assume three forms: (1) State, (2) Cooperative and (3) Private. The principles of secularism are defined negatively, i.e., eliminating (1) communalism, (2) "political status in favour of any religion", (3) abuse of religion for political purposes, (4) discrimination and persecution on grounds of religion. Communalism itself is not defined.

On fundamental rights and democracy, the provisions are a great improvement

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● CYPRUS TURMOIL ● MUSLIMS IN THE PHILIPPINES

over those of Pakistan's two late Constitutions of 1956 and 1962. No person is to be detained in custody without having been informed of the grounds of arrest. Within 24 hours of his arrest, the detained person shall be brought before a court of law and there shall be no further detention save by the order of the court.

On the moral side, "the State shall endeavour to prevent prostitution and gambling" but not alcohol which is reported to be banned from official and diplomatic functions. Reading through the whole draft, it is impossible, however, to suspect that it is the Constitution for a democratic People's Republic where more than 80 per cent of its people are Muslim. By being Muslims they hold and believe in certain fundamental social and cultural values and *their* Bangladesh is an entity distinct and separate from India or even West Bengal.

The framers' Muslim-shyness can be seen in the otherwise harmless mentioning of the Hijri year. Although both AD and the Hindu Bikrami year are proposed to be enshrined in the Constitution, Hijri year is not mentioned.

Seemingly, there is a genuine desire in Bangladesh to get things legitimised and be on the democratic rails as soon as possible. But the draft as it presently is, contain all the seeds of a big crisis in the near future. Maulana Bhashani whose National Awami Party is said to be left-wing and Maoist, has already threatened agitation, and called for a constitution in which nothing was repugnant to the "Quran, Sunnah and Shariat".

Now the Archbishop's turn?

With the three senior bishops of Cyprus repeating their call to remove Archbishop Makarios as President of the Republic, Cyprus appears to be in for another spell of internal turmoil. The prelates assert that by holding both spiritual and temporal power Makarios was violating the canonical law of the church. On the other hand, the Archbishop claims that it is his duty to lead the people as long as they asked him to do so and says there is nothing in the canonical law to forbid this. The bishops have joined with the followers of George Grivas, leader of the EOKA guerrilla movement, and asked for a plebiscite to determine the people's will on the issue of *enosis*—union with Greece. The element of Greek involvement is obviously there; only recently circles close to Makarios alleged that Athens was smuggling large quantities of arms to the underground group of General Grivas in Cyprus.

In theory, Makarios too is not opposed to *enosis*, at least he does not oppose it publicly. Cyprus, otherwise has grown into an independent entity, is a member of the UN, the Commonwealth, the Council of Europe and even the country's Constitution, as it is now, precludes union with Greece. Although for different reasons both Russia and Turkey are opposed to *enosis*, and the US too is not keen on the idea. In reality *enosis* is simply being used both as a stick as well as a carrot in the interests of NATO.

Cyprus is too important a British/NATO base to be left at the mercy of an aging priest. Britain not only maintains its military presence in Cyprus

but has recently expanded it. She has bases at Episkopi, Dhikelia and Akrotiri, and controls 30 other strategic areas. The British bases are used by parachute brigades of the NATO countries and the US Sixth Fleet.

Of late, Makarios has been showing a tendency of leaning towards the Russians. Even otherwise he has grown old and is not always co-operative. NATO Secretary-General Joseph Luns last July accused Makarios of acting in a "flippant manner" and asked the member states to call him to order. Makarios, he said, was flirting with Moscow and was not an element of stability in the Eastern Mediterranean.

So except NATO and the search for a new face, not much is involved. Makarios' difficulty, however, is that he is unwilling also to settle with the Turkish Cypriots. The Turkish-Cypriot Executive Council has, since the past four years been engaged in searching for an agreed formula on a bi-communal and sovereign Cyprus but to no success, so far. The Greek and Turkish Cypriot deadlock has dragged on virtually since after independence and apparently Makarios' intransigence on the Turkish Cypriots' rights, has done no good to the Archbishop himself.

Muslims in the Philippines: uncertain future

President Marcos has asked the Muslims resisting official as well as private land-grabbers in Mindanao to return all their arms or else face the full force of his Martial Law. Whether Marcos succeeds or not in cleaning the Philippines political life, is one question, but now that the army is involved in politics, stability and democracy too have become an open question. What future Filipino Muslims face in this state of turmoil and uncertainty? Would they be able to carve out the independent state of Bangsa Moro, many of them have been clamouring for? This too is uncertain but in any case their predicament is really grave; they are not equipped for any positive and well-thought out role.

In a country where things are decided either by grease or gun, Muslims do not have any place in the army, civil service and judiciary. Only two Muslims were ever admitted to the Philippine Military Academy. They were, however, retired when they reached the rank of a Colonel. Since the founding of the Republic only one Muslim has reached the rank of General, but he too was retired two years short of the 30-year service requirement for retirement. In the judiciary, no one has yet reached the appellate court. Only two Muslims have ever been appointed to the Court of First Instance Judge. With the loss of their lands, they have also suffered loss in their political strength in Manila and have become non-identity in the Philippines.

Filipinas Foundation in a study released last year confirmed the Muslim charges of sustained neglect in every sphere of life. In education, only 2% of Muslim boys reach the High School level. The percentage of school dropouts in Muslim areas is the highest in the country.

The causes of highest dropout rate in Muslim areas, the report pointed out, were poverty, sickness, poor transportation, inadequate school facilities and ineffective teaching.

The islands of Mindanao (now divided into 13 provinces), Sulu and Palawan are rich in fisheries, forest and mineral resources. Mindanao island is rich in iron ore, coal, limestone, manganese, chromite, copper, silver, nickel and cobalt; these are valued at £1.5 billion. The area is the main surplus region in the country. And 'like the American West, Mindanao is being 'won' with bloodshed that seems likely to end only after the original inhabitants are thoroughly crushed and forced to live on reservations'.

In 1521, when the Spanish came to the Philippines, Manila was ruled by a muslim Sultan Rajah Suleman. Though most of the country was lost during the four centuries of Spanish rule, Muslims were able to hold out Mindanao and Sulu islands. Even the Americans who replaced the Spanish as the country's new colonial masters in 1898, never succeeded in completely pacifying these areas. Americans found the best way to rule the area was through local Sultans and Chiefs.

After the post-war independence in 1946 there was a great demand for timber and other mineral sources to reconstruct war-affected economies of Japan and other countries. Christians from the Northern islands poured into Mindanao. While the land was in actual possession of Muslims, the new arrivals who had the backing of the central government were given legal titles by the Manila authorities. Armed with titles the settlers, with the help of the police, were able to dislodge the actual owners. This resulted in bloody fights but with government support and with better guns in their possession, the Settlers were able to win city after city and province after province. With their majority reduced to minority, the Muslims also lost their influence in the local and national governments. Ten years ago, Cotabato city (capital of Cotabato, a Muslim majority province) was 70 per cent Muslim, now it is 70 per cent Christian and has an elected Christian Governor.

Some of the Muslim leaders were hopeful that the Constitution on the anvil would guarantee their religious, economic, political and civil rights. Muslim members of the Constitution Convention (rewriting the Constitution of the country), had been lobbying for a federal parliamentary system with maximum autonomy to the Federating units as against the unitary form of government that exists today. Some support from other members of the Convention was forthcoming. But now with Martial Law imposed, the future of the convention itself hangs in balance.

Rabbi Elmer Berger, President, "American Jewish Alternative to Zionism" examines the post-Munich "orgy of the American press, television and political pundits—including the President and his leading Challenger", and sums up: "there is no enemy of the good as powerful as man's indifference to evil".

Curtain-line in the Munich Drama

There is no need to recapitulate the details of the tragic events in Munich. Nor is it necessary to do more than add our "Amen." to the universal deploring of violence. Sensitive men and women are weary of the platitudinous pieties. Too many know the cynicism and the reluctance of those in the seats of power to come to grips with the volcanic, elemental forces which leave the victims of one violence without any apparent recourse but another violence. The repetitious incantations of our communications seers—and even worse of our political "leaders"—do little more than inflame already existent passions or "turn off" those who know the real sources of the sickness. Munich, the near-hysterical bombing in Vietnam, the slaughters in Bangladesh numb the souls of the strongest men and enervate their resolution to contribute what they can to the achievement of a better world. These barbarisms of our "advanced" age act as "downers", producing lassitude, rather than stimulation for heroic and constructive action. The straining efforts of each newscaster, editorial writer and politician to find more purple purpose to condemn "terror" in general without any effort at all to explain what it is that drives particular men to such extremes, are self-defeating. They generate hysteria rather than critical understanding. They intensify irrational hatred rather than expanding constructive comprehension.

The recent orgy of the American press, television and political pundits—including the President of the United States and his leading challenger—is a classic example of such irresponsibility; of the dangers of serving sensationalism rather than sense; of pontificating the obvious rather than honing the scalpel of critical examination. Practically everything about Munich was discussed, re-discussed and then discussed again—except the basic facts. The penetrating, eclectic minds which electronically captivate Americans nightly with insights into our world were more concerned with how many German or Israeli or Arab angels had danced on the head of that pin-point in history than with the continuity of the drama which thrust this particular pinpoint into the consciousness of the world. Suspicions were raised about German intentions. Mr. McGovern slathered an unfounded indictment of Lebanon and Egypt. Mr. Nixon—donning his most somber "law and order" mantle—branded the perpetrators as "outlaws". He offered not the slightest suggestion of any remorse that the United States, in his and previous administrations, has been the principal supporter of a State of Israel which stands in arrogant defiance of virtually every international recommendation for a settlement of the problem of Palestine. The net result added to the already prevalent American prejudice that "Arabs" are disembodied creatures, congenitally committed to violence; and the Israelis, in the same, prejudicial syndrome, are always the unfortunate, peace-keeping victims of their own passion for good sportsmanship, justice and decency.

The tragedy of all this torrent of words, is that cheapstering the catastrophe at Munich has not really enlightened the world one syllable about the profound forces which, for 50 years, have pitted Zionist against Arab in the Middle East. And this makes the tragedy senseless, in the most literal meaning of the word.

But it was all, somehow, too late. Our charismatic journalists—particularly those of the electronic variety—are too consumed with ratings and the sensitivities of advertisers. Or perhaps, for all their "know-it-all" manner, they are just incapable. Perhaps if more were spent on studious research than is spent on market research the American people would have better news. The pop-eyed stridency with which the "Arabs" involved at Munich were castigated and the dew-eyed references to the Israeli athletes confirmed most of the worst suspicions about the bias of the American press where Middle East problems are concerned. It was all faintly reminiscent of 1967. Then—as in September of 1972—only after the stage was set for the traditional Zionist Israel scenario, the second thoughts came along, reminding the American people that "the other side" also has a case. But by then the "top of the news" is something else and Americans are again consumed with their normal anxieties over who will win the major league baseball pennants, the opening of the football season or the most recent caterwauling of McGovern saying this about Nixon and Nixon saying that about McGovern.

Once the pattern of public opinion was set, the sequel to Munich, both militarily and diplomatically, was predictable. On September 8 the Israelis retaliated "massively", as *The Christian Science Monitor* noted editorially. (September 12). Both *The Wall Street Journal* (p.1) and the *Monitor*, (p.3), on September 11, reported casualties in the Israeli bombing raids may have been as high as 200—mostly civilian "refugees". On September 9 the Syrians replied with some apparently ineffective bombing in the Golan Heights and lost three planes for their efforts. The military action was accompanied with, or followed immediately by, Israeli declarations of "continuous war" until the guerrillas were completely destroyed. (*The New York Times*, September 11, p.12; *The Christian Science Monitor*, September 11, p.2; *The New York Times*, September 13, p.3).

The United Nations Security Council met on September 10, in this atmosphere of sustained public hysteria and escalating fighting. The United States insisted upon including in any resolution the "cause" of Israeli retaliation. But it could reach back into memory no farther than Munich. It is unsportsmanlike to recall Deir Yassin, Kibya, Es-Samu. It is out of bounds to remember Israel's continuing defiance of all United Nations resolutions calling for the Palestinians to have a choice between repatriation and compensation. It is unfair to remind anyone that Israel has "annexed" Jerusalem, contrary to every consensus of world opinion. It is verbatim to illuminate the fact that the 400,000 Arabs of pre-June 1967 Israel are non-"Jewish people" citizens of this democratic state, enjoying second class status.

Playing the game with these rules, acting as both participant and umpire, the United States vetoed a resolution which called simply for "the parties concerned to cease immediately all military operations and exercise the greatest restraint in the interests of international peace and security."

Ambassador Bush's argument expanded the war, rather than trying to narrow it. The Americans' perception of cause and effect with respect to the guerrilla activity stands in striking contrast to the myopic inventory of history he permitted himself in justifying Israeli retaliation.

But the American selection of mentionable "facts" served its purpose, which may hardly have been the purpose of the Security Council to establish responsibility and to enact "just" recommendations as a contribution to peace.

Again, according to *The New York Times*:

"In his statement to the Council, Mr. Bush dropped diplomatic niceties and spoke bluntly, to the obvious relish of the packed public gallery."

And when Mr. Bush cast the American veto "there was an outburst of applause from the crowded public gallery in the Security Council chamber."

The applause and the fact that American policy was a carbon copy of Israeli policy, as outlined by Abba Eban was, undoubtedly purely accidental. Said Mr. Eban, in Jerusalem, but apparently loud enough for Mr. Bush to hear the message in New York.

"The immediate problem in the Middle East is not the quest for a peace settlement but control of the commandos. Israel, he declared, is prepared to strike against commandos operating from neighbouring countries if their governments are unable or unwilling to eliminate them."

No one cheered Lebanon's President Franjeh, perhaps because almost everyone was exhausted after wading through ten pages of the *Times* to find the following appeal for understanding and balance: In a different approach, reflecting the viewpoint of moderate Arabs, Mr. Franjeh said: "Before considering a curb on violence undertaken by a group of people in a continuous state of despair and provocation, we should tackle the causes of this despair and put an end to provocation."

There are approximately 300,000 Palestinians in this small country of two million people and 85,000 of them are in refugee camps supported by the United Nations.

Finally, on September 12, the *Times* published (p.8) a pathetic epitaph to the whole travesty as it had developed to that date. It was a report of a will left by one of the "terrorists". It apologized in advance for the distress the writer knew would result from the affair planned for Munich. It brings back no lives nor does it reverse the tragedy. But in a small, tremulous way it does restore to "the Arab" that human dimension of which the week-long cheap-stering and huckstering had all but robbed him:

"We are neither killers nor bandits. We are persecuted people who have no land and no homeland."

All this may be largely "the other side" of the story; and, to the extent it is, it may be labelled "partisan". But that is only because in their vulgar scrambling for lurid headlines and their "gang-busters" technique in handling "news", the czars who control the information fed to the American people so ignored any mention of this "side". Had they substituted some respectable amount of this kind of balance for their super-abundance of purple adjectives and sentimentalities, this belated correlation of this "side" would be superfluous; or, in any event, appear less "partisan". But who, after all, is the President of Lebanon compared to Dayan or Eban? And what are several million uprooted Arabs compared to the classical paranoia of "the Jewish people" and the dirge of their eternal "persecution".

In any event, the self-righteous members of America's Fourth Estate and the vote-hungry politicians may have a good deal to answer for as the sequel to Munich unfolds:

(1) Perhaps the most serious casualty will be the premature death of the Egyptian effort to disengage the Middle East crisis from super-power "cold war" manoeuvres. A substantial part of this Report is devoted to an analysis of Sadat's eviction of the Soviets. It is now considered unlikely the Egyptian president will follow that dramatic action by coming to the United Nations, as he had planned. And the Egyptian peace,

offensive, scheduled to have begun in Western Europe in mid-September, now appears dead.

(2) Despite the earliest Israeli attacks on Lebanon, Israel's "continuous war" against the guerrillas is likely to focus on Syria. Israel covets Lebanese territory up to and including the Litani river. And Lebanon's military capabilities are minimal. But Lebanon is the centre of American financial interests in the Middle East, as it is the depository for much of the surplus wealth of the oil producing states. The political clamor of any sustained military reprisals against Lebanon, therefore, may be more than the U.S./Israeli axis wishes to endure—at the moment.

But in attacks on Syria, Israel can still revive the image of running America's "cold war" errands into the Arab world. Ambassador Bush was particularly blatant in his condemnation of Syria at the September 10 Security Council meeting. Syria has recently strengthened its relationships with the Soviet Union; and it may be the increasing Israeli attacks on Syria, using the Palestinians as pretexts, are intended to put Soviet intentions to the very test which Sadat hoped to avoid by evicting Soviet personnel from Egypt. Whether, or not, the Soviets will respond and whether, or not, the Syrians will invite them to do so, is unanswerable now. But the danger of big-power confrontation, which Sadat minimized, again hangs in the balance.

(3) The American veto at the Security Council—in an election year—amounts to a blank check for the Israelis to pursue their "continuous war" with impunity for at least the next several weeks. It will be a surprising departure from traditional Israeli strategy in an American election year if they do not kite the check and cash it.

(4) The American tactic of expanding the war by condemning all who give assistance to the guerrillas can only solidify the Arab front, both in its attitude toward the Palestinian crisis and in hostility to the United States. The major suppliers of funds to the Palestinians are Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Libya. At least Kuwait and Saudi Arabia have enjoyed good relations with the United States. The Saudi Arabs have often tried—sometimes at some peril to the present regime—to exercise moderation and to serve as intermediaries in the conflict. The American broadside therefore, is either counterproductive or inexcusably cynical. No Arab government can survive and take the kind of definitive, repressive action against the Palestinians for which the American pontification seems to call. And if the American design for annihilation of the guerrillas is to be executed by Israel's "proxy" army conducting the declared "continuous war", the end will be the next, full-scale war in the Middle East. Hussein's experience in 1970 and 1971 does not invalidate this prediction. He is already marked as an American puppet. One of the principal reasons he has survived these earlier massacres is because "the Arabs" know that to destroy him—under existing power-balances in the area—would simply invite further Israeli take-overs.

(5) And finally, there may be havoc, more innocent blood and regimes toppled—but the Palestinians will not go away. They will not go away now anymore than they surrendered to the devastation they suffered in Jordan in 1970. In fact, since 1970 the violence of their reaction has increased and the fronts on which they practise it have been extended. The "Black September" group is itself a grim reminder to all the Arabs and the world that from the crucible of 1970 there emerged harder, more intransigent, more desperate guerrillas. Right or wrong, the exploits of this group stir an Arab world which knows that if the president of the United States calls these "outlaws", no power has done more to put these people outside the "law" than the United States. For no power is as responsible as the United States for Israel's persistent defiance of the "law" as it has been inscribed in every international agreement ever written on the Palestinian problem.

On September 9, *The Christian Science Monitor's* John Cooley, writing from the Arab world, added the following discouraging note to the list of likely costs of the Munich tragedy and the insensitive reaction to it of the communications media of "the west":

"Among the Palestinians, there is threat of conflict with host governments, especially Lebanon. The new, desperate and determined 'international list' wing of the guerrilla movement which Black September represents, devoted to terror and destruction of Israeli and pro-Israel elements everywhere, is gaining ascendancy over the older traditional guerrilla leaders."

What erupted in Munich were the long-recognised injustices, the historic evasions, the political huckstering which have plagued the Palestine problem for 50 years. "Jewish" votes, the reduction of the Arabs—particularly the Palestinians—to "non-people", the Zionist disdain for real peace until its territorial appetites are gratified and the indifference and apathy of an American public which has never been told of its national interests in the Arab world, let alone tutored in the basic moralities of Palestine were all actors on the state in Munich. They were all there. Those who were—minute by minute—reviewing the drama for American television audiences or newspaper readers just did not see them; or did not recognize them when they saw them; or did not want to see them; or thought it imprudent to mention them if they did see them.

A profound sense of further tragedy and heart-breaking sorrow accompanies the moral and intellectual compulsion to say that unless these historic evils in the Palestine problem are rooted out, the curtain-line for the Munich drama must be, "The end is not yet". Politics-as-usual is not justice. There is no enemy of the good as powerful as man's indifference to evil. Man's humanity is indivisible. Zionism is the anti-thesis of democracy. Until the American people realize these truths and require their "leaders" to help in the application of them to the Palestine problem we can say of Munich that on September 5, 1972 the sombre bell tolled for a small group of Israeli athletes and a smaller group of desperate, deprived Palestinians. But—in truth—the bell had tolled for us all.

(From Prologue to Report 16)

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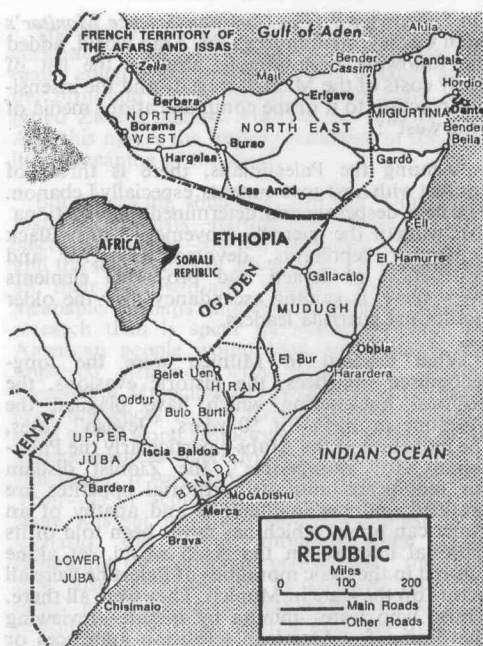
Somalia three years after October Revolution

A. W. HAMID

When Somalis speak of the "glorious October revolution" they do not have in mind the historic events of the year 1917 when Lenin and his well-knit band of Bolsheviks outmanoeuvred the other groupings in the struggle for power that went on as the corrupt Tzarist rule crumbled to its disgraceful end. But even though the Somalis have strong ties with the Soviet Union, the October revolution to Somalis means that day on 21 October 1969 when the armed forces took over the administration of the country less than 24 hours after the funeral of President Abdi Rashid Ali Shermarke who was assassinated by one of his own police force.

It is customary now to speak of the years from Somali independence on 1 July 1960 to the time of the military take-over as a period of corrupt civilian government. As the *Financial Times* (18 Nov. 1971) noted: "In the decade of African independence, few countries in the continent had such an unenviable record of stagnation. The sparsely populated colony started independent life in 1960 poorly endowed with natural resources, but the civilian governments did little to pull the country out of its poverty. Successive budgets were "balanced" only by Italian subsidy. Foreign exchange reserves tumbled, foreign aid was misused and corruption became almost part of the national culture."

Of course the record of neglect had its roots in the era of Italian and British colonialism. The colonialists were concerned more with the strategic importance of the Horn of Africa by which Somalia is generally known in the West) but they met with protracted resistance from the Somalis beginning with Sheikh Mohamed Abdulla Hassan who was known by his British enemies as the Mad Mullah of Somaliland. It is ironic that Sheikh Mohamed who fought for the inde-



pendence of the Somalis should now lie buried in Somali populated land now occupied by the Ethiopians, for only part of the Somali populated land was included in the independent Somalia. There are three other parts which remain outside: French Somaliland or Djibouti which is being held for the strategic and political interests of western powers in the Middle East and Indian Ocean areas and the economic interests of Ethiopia. Ethiopia's 70% import and export trade is carried on through Djibouti which has a direct railway link with Addis Ababa. Then there is Western Somalia occupied by Ethiopia and called its "Ogadin" province. And thirdly in the South West lies the province which was handed over by Britain to Kenya out of a desire to safeguard the white settlers in Kenya. The Somalis in this region subsequently took up arms and attempted secession from Kenya. Somaliland is a classic example of how an area possessing a natural unity was divided up to serve the interest of the imperial powers. Now any claim by Somalia to its other parts is frowned upon and condemned as Somali irredentism.

The problems which this fragmentization of Somaliland pose must be of concern to any government of Somalia since the majority of Somalis are nomadic people to whom the artificial boundaries mean virtually nothing. The new government of Somalia, styled the Somalia Democratic Republic, is very much concerned with these problems but are attempting to solve them in a new way and indeed to give the country a radically new direction. This government consists of a 20-strong Supreme Revolutionary Council presided over by General Mohammed Siad Barre or Challe (Comrade) Siad Barre as he is now styled. The "Comrade" title comes from Siad Barre's passionate attachment to "scientific socialism" which is meant to achieve dynamic social and

Basic Statistics*

Area	262,000 sq. miles
Population	4.5 million approx.

Budget figures (1970)

Revenue	307.9 million sh
Expenditure	327.9 million sh
Deficit	20 million sh

(£1 sterling = 17.14 Somali shillings)

Main produce—livestock and bananas.

Sugar cane, cotton, ground nuts, frankincense and myrrh are among other agricultural products.

Education: student numbers (1969-70)

Elementary	26,000
Intermediate	14,000
Secondary	5,000

*From *Somalia Today*, Somali Ministry of Information, 1970

economic change in the country.

President Siad Barre maintains that there is only one socialism—scientific socialism—and this has to be promoted throughout the country. In a directive to all government organs recently he said: "Scientific socialism must not be misled by ideas of false socialism, such as African socialism, Somali or Islamic socialism, but must be implemented in accordance with the principles of the true universal scientific socialism." Regional governors are proceeding to Moscow to be instructed in scientific socialism and consuls are appointed in every region among workers, students and women to implement its principles.

In a country which is 100% Muslim there have naturally been fears and allegations expressed that the new regime and the new ideology "are misrepresenting and distorting the Qur'an." General Siad is aware of this and urges the masses to be vigilant and safeguard the revolution from non-patriotic people and from imperialist and reactionary elements". Sometimes it is explained that religion is a matter for the individual and socialism is for the economic and social progress of the country. But last August in an address to regional Governors, police commanders and heads of National Security Service, General Siad tried to show that he who practised socialism was a righteous man and that religion was seeking similar objectives as socialism—the dignity of a human being and his life, the raising of his social standards, his education and his personal status. Socialism, one Somali explained, is not followed as a dogma, but only what is suitable is taken.

Whatever the explanation of the relationship between the new ideology and the existing modes of thought and behaviour, the government is placing a very high priority on programmes of national guidance and political orientation. The

march towards socialism is accompanied by the shrill and insistent sound of propaganda. The leftward looking policies of the SRC have brought its rewards—from both Russia and China. The Russians have helped to build up and equip the armed forces (although this process was begun under Shermarke) and have also supplied technical assistance and help with strengthening the civil service. There are several trade agreements as well which include Russian purchase of Somali bananas. The Chinese have helped by the building of major roads and some of their other projects are in the key area of water development.

This is not to suggest that Somalia is tied hand and feet to the Russians and the Chinese. It continues to receive the cooperation of Middle Eastern, West German, Italian and other concerns in the development of its trade and industry. It has received help from the United Nations in the important sector of livestock which is one of Somalis's biggest exports. But over and above this the emphasis of the new government is on the principle of Self Help. Crash programmes have been organised in this country where there is very little stable employment. Schools, mosques, sports-grounds, hospitals, irrigation schemes and agricultural projects are tackled by groups of men in the spirit of self reliance. But the road to complete self reliance is still far away. For example more than $\frac{3}{4}$ of the total investment envisaged in the 1971-3 development plan was expected to come from overseas. These sort of figures show that the self-help programmes only scratch the surface of development in this one of the poorest countries in Africa. Somali's literate population is less than 1 per cent. Infant mortality rate in the first three years is over 30 per cent. And in a country which is predominantly agricultural (but only $\frac{1}{8}$ of the land is cultivable) its food imports are surprisingly high.

Somali authorities insist that they are not as poor as is made out and anyway it is not a shameful thing to be poor. The country's agriculture and livestock potential is great and it does not have many of the problems that bedevil other societies. There is however one problem which has received the vigilant attention of the socialist government of Challe Siad—the problem of "tribalism".

But on closer examination Somalia does not have a "tribal" problem. The country is quite homogeneous. All Somalis have the same religion, speak the same language and have a common tradition whereas in other parts of Africa where one speaks of tribalism one presupposes distinct groups speaking different dialects and having different religious customs etc. Somali "tribalism" is really a sort of clannishness where in the predominantly nomadic society people group together for protection, social security and even for survival in what can be—in times of

droughts—a very harsh environment. But there are often clashes between the so-called tribes over such matters as grazing disputes.

Now the government has taken what a Somali official describes as "the great and courageous step" of abolishing tribalism. The "tribal" structure is to be replaced by organisations of workers, women, and students who are represented by consuls. "Attempting to revive tribalism" is now an offence which is punishable by imprisonment and a stiff fine. Last August for example a 50-year old man was jailed for two years with hard labour and fined 800 shillings for this offence.

Another problem affecting Somali identity is the Somali language—an ancient Hamitic language rich in poetry and proverb—which so far has not been written down. Today all Somalis speak Somali but most are fluent in one of three official languages—Arabic, Italian and English. The writing of the language is bound up with fundamental political and social questions, and a decision on the script that is to be used is expected to come during the independence celebrations during this month. Some advocate that the language should be written in the specially devised Osmanian script which was widely used as a kind of code before independence and whose supporters call it "the distinctive symbol of the Somali nation." Another possible choice is the Arabic script which, its advocates naturally argue, would preserve the Somali link with their faith. Others contend that the Latin script should be adopted since this would help Somalis learn major world languages and significantly check "Arab influence". It is generally expected that the decision would be made in favour of the Latin script in which case the Somalis would come accustomed to something like his: "Howeiyonhantiwadagga aqoonta ku dhisan waa aayatiinka Soomaaliya"—i.e. Scientific socialism (lit. work and shared wealth based on knowledge) is the future of Somalia.

The decision on the script is seen to have bearing on Somali's international relations. It is maintained that Somalia has been considered part of the Arab world to which it does not really belong and this has excluded it from the rest of Africa and even of East African affairs and moreover Somalia was lost to the outside world. Now all of this is rapidly changing under the government of General Siad. The latest example of Somalia's new role could be seen in Siad's successful conciliation attempt between Uganda and Tanzania.

Recently Somalia played host to the East and Central African Summit and this underlined Somalia's growing interest in Pan African issues. The now famous Mogadishu Declaration on South Africa is one of the most radical resolutions to be passed by a summit meeting. President

Siad has paid official visits to many countries including the Soviet Union and China. His tour of Arab states—Syria, Iraq, Egypt and Saudi Arabia—was seen as a confirmation of Somalia's cultural unity with the Arab world and the concerned line it has taken in the Middle East situation. Somalia was the country which sponsored the resolution in the U.N. Security Council calling for strong condemnation of Israeli aggression against member states following the Munich incident. The resolution was vetoed by the United States. While Somalia is perturbed about American and western influence in the area, it still has strong ties with the west. It is for example one of the 18 members of the Yaounde group of African states which is associated with the European Economic Community. Besides all this the travels of the energetic Foreign Minister Omar Galib who has recently been on a visit to Cuba and South America underlines the determination of Somalis "to play our role in Africa and the world as a non-aligned nation."

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? INQUEST ON PAKISTAN

The government of Pakistan on 24 December 1971 appointed a Commission under the chairmanship of the Supreme Court Chief Justice Hamoodur Rahman to "inquire into the circumstances leading to the military debacle in East Pakistan and the cease fire in the West". The Commission's report, submitted early last August, runs into 932 pages and contains evidence of 213 witnesses—about 20 politicians, a number of generals, the two former presidents and Mr. Bhutto. Though the Commission itself has worked out its "recommendations for the purpose of publication if the government so desires", the report remains as yet unpublished.

IMPACT publishes here an abridged text of Malik Ghulam Jilani's deposition before the Hamoodur Rahman Commission on 4 February 1972. Jilani then told the Commission: "I shall not be bound by any oath of secrecy . . . the subject matter of your inquiry, is a momentous event of surpassing public import and I reserve the right to make at least my own part in the inquiry known to the public at large".

Malik Ghulam Jilani, now Secretary of the Istiqlal Party, is a former Awami Leaguer and his view of the events, deals with a controversial, yet an important aspect of the Pakistan tragedy.

My Lord, much of what I am going to place before you in this deposition, I have already said publicly as well as privately. I take the view—and hope with all my heart that this will be shared by the Commission—that the surrender of the Pakistan Army and other events listed in the official terms of reference of the Commission, were not isolated events governed by the immediate circumstances surrounding them. They were the culmination of a process which had been set into motion very soon after the establishment of this country.

The surrender of the Army in East Pakistan was described in the official press release issued at the time as "an arrangement" entered into by the Eastern Command with the Commander of the Indian forces in the area. I make bold to submit that the terms of reference framed by more or less similar intelligent men for this august Commission are charged with similar euphemism and have tried to make light of the onerous nature of the responsibility with which the Commission is charged. I believe, however, that the Commission itself is not misled by the narrow margin of suggestivity contained in its terms of reference.

The events into which this Commission is now required to enquire have already been largely falsified under the signatures of no other person than the man who appointed the Commission—self-styled President, formerly Chairman, Bhutto himself. I refer, of course, to his much publicised pamphlet, *The Great Tragedy*. The author of *The Great Tragedy*, perpetrated the tragedy, now presides over the aftermath of the tragedy and,

I am sure, expects this Commission to absolve him from his guilt or else to have its report and its findings buried for ever in some unknown dungeon.

I was trying to compare the two contending sides in East Pakistan on the day of surrender and pointing to the fact that India came into East Pakistan with its national conscience fully awake. For a whole year almost, newspapers and periodicals devoted their space exhaustively to the discussion of the events in Pakistan and prospects of a war. Books were written and published; seminars were organised. That was the democratic method of going to war. That was also the successful method. Britain went through the same process of democratic self-persuasion when it fought Hitler under the inspired leadership of Sir Winston Churchill. If free public discussion had been allowed, in our country, I maintain that there would have been no war, nor any surrender and East Pakistan would not have turned into Bangladesh. Pakistan's greatest weakness in the war was that it did not represent a constitutional authority in East Pakistan. Our entire plea of secession and rebellion was absurd and idiotic since the federation from which secession could take place had never been formally, legally, democratically constituted as stipulated in the Independence Act. We were mocking the Independence Act and the whole idea of Pakistan with our successive Martial Laws and our persistent refusal to submit to any process of law in any respect. To this extent, what has been generally described in this country as a military debacle, was in fact primarily a moral and a political debacle.

To expect that an Army which had got acclimatised to the killing of innocent people at will and at random and to rape and loot and rampage at large for all of nine or ten months and accepted this not only as the norm of life but also as the principal purpose of its operations, could give battle when confronted by a well-organised, well-equipped force based on the adjacent territory of India from where it could depend on receiving unlimited supplies and reinforcements, is to profess utter ignorance of the art of fighting. I entirely repudiate the theory that the local commanders and troops, headed by Gen. Niazi were reluctant to surrender and willing to fight but were forced to lay down arms by Islamabad. I am convinced that the will to fight had already gone out of the Pakistan Army as a result of perpetual debauchery and crime which do eventually sap morale and also a result of the excruciating effort they had to put in for a prolonged period against the Awami League guerrillas. What is more—and this has now been confirmed by official spokesmen of State Department in Washington—I know that the surrender offer was first made by General Niazi himself through the US Consulate in Dacca and, as has now transpired, delayed in Washington pending confirmation from Islamabad. I also know it for a fact that General Niazi took a trip to Islamabad in the first week of December to apprise the high command of the true military position, and to seek their approval for his own strategy which would make Chittagong instead of Dacca the main base and centre of operations for the Pakistan forces, extending these forces to just as big an area as they could possibly command and secure dispensing with Dacca if necessary. My information is that this strategy was rejected by the Commander-in-Chief not on the advice of other generals but because it was overruled by Chairman Bhutto, who while holding no official position in the government was the political brains trust of the regime and considered the abandoning of Dacca politically inadmissible.

The source of this information I am refraining from naming as I have no way of making sure that they will have the courage to speak the truth before the Commission as they did, informally, before me.

I do insist on making the observation, however, that Mr. Bhutto's public avowal that he was as ignorant of the true state of affairs on the front as the rest of the public is not only untrue but also unbecoming piece of naiveté. It is inconceivable that a man who was successively running important errands for the Government and keeping in close touch with the highest councils could have

been kept in the dark about the facts of the situation. In addition to the Peking trip in November as the President's representative and the subsequent appointment as Vice-Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, I have also had reasons to believe that he was holding an official brief when he went to Europe earlier in November and before that when he travelled to Teheran and summoned his party High Command in Kabul which he later refrained from visiting on the spurious excuse that there "was no elected government in Kabul". Mystery has surrounded these trips and publicly stated reasons for them hardly account for the journeys undertaken at a time when foreign travel was being discouraged by the Government because of paucity of foreign exchange and other reasons.

I suggest that Mr. Bhutto was sent to Iran and later to Europe for the twin purposes of arranging for funds and using them for the purchase of smuggled arms out of the discarded and obsolete lots available in the Middle East, Rome and Geneva. It was with these obsolete and inefficient weapons that the Yahya regime, in its state of permanent inebriation and with the implicit co-operation of Mr. Bhutto, expected to fight India and keep the people of East Pakistan under subjugation.

Contrary to the publicly stated position that President Yahya Khan was obliged to resort to military action in East Pakistan because of the outbreak of lawlessness on the part of so-called secessionists, I know that the decision to resort to brute force to the exclusion of understanding and negotiation was reached much in advance, while the President was still in Islamabad planning and preparing the lay-out of the military operation.

While the General Staff, including the present Commander-in-Chief were busy laying down the military blue-print of the action, Mr. Bhutto was in command of the political side. He pitted himself against the calling into session of the National Assembly and went out of his way to describe it as "a slaughter house" and to threaten physical injury for any Member who dared to attend the Assembly when, after much dilly-dallying March 3 was at last fixed as the date for the Assembly session. The very use of physical threats against elected Members of the Assembly, which went unnoticed despite express provisions in Martial Law orders which could easily be invoked to restrain him, and of the word "slaughter-house" has an ominous ring when viewed in the context of developments which followed later. The two together point to the state of mind and the thoughts that filled the concerned minds during the month of February and March 1971.

Mr. Bhutto's assignment—and I use the word deliberately—evidently was to prepare the minds of the people for the man-slaughter that was to follow in the wake of the promised Assembly session. I have personal information that Mr. Bhutto, with the active collusion of General Umar, was still collecting his party's "election fund" two months after the election and the money was being passed on to Mr. Masihur Rehman² and through him to Maulana Bhashani and others of similar persuasions to be used for fomenting communal and Bihari-Bengali trouble in East Pakistan so as to provide a pretext for the intended military action. The riots which did actually break out on March 1 and 3 at Dacca and Chittagong respectively were the handiwork of these agents provocateurs employed jointly by the military and civil Intelligence Departments and Mr. Bhutto's henchmen. The official enquiry demanded by Sheikh Mujibur Rehman into these incidents was over-taken by a tornado of catastrophic developments before it could get started. Stabbing cases, often on elected Members of the Assemblies were frequently reported during this same period and once an assailant armed with a bag knife was caught in the house of Sheikh Mujibur Rehman. Nothing has been publicly disclosed about what happened to this and where he had come from; but I am informed that he was deputed by no other person than Mr. Masihur Rahman; who has a history and a reputation for this kind of thing and as before, he was taking his instructions from Mr. Bhutto.

Mr. Bhutto has denied that he advised Yahya Khan to undertake military action in East Pakistan. He is nevertheless on record, publicly, to have heaved a sigh of relief on his return from Dacca, saying, about this same military action: Thank God, Pakistan is saved. All that I need to add is that before he left Dacca on 26 March, Mr. Bhutto had been taken round sight-seeing in an Army Jeep to witness the destruction that had been wrought the previous night. The significance of this lies in the fact that when Mr. Bhutto thanked God for what had been accomplished in East Pakistan during his presence there, he knew very well what he was talking about.

When I insist on putting Mr. Bhutto in the centre of this diabolical drama, I beseech your honour, in the name of honour, not to be misled by the notion that I want to implicate him because he has put me under detention. On the contrary, I am under detention precisely because I had known Mr. Bhutto much too intimately and judged him far too accurately to make any mistake about him or to miss his ethereal presence in the midst of matters from which he pretended to be absent. Moreover, there has not been a regime in Pakistan, ever since I started taking interest in public affairs, which has not unreasonably persecuted me. Yahya Khan put me under house arrest only last year; Ayub Khan had put me in jail years ago and even manipulated an attempt on my life. So that is not the point.

The end is yet to come; and this Commission, in my humble opinion will have served no purpose if it fails to pinpoint the guilt where it belongs and to take cognizance of the all important fact that the conspiracy which brought about the fall of East Pakistan and the rise of Bangladesh has not yet run its full, fateful course and the prima donna of this drama has only reached her climatic part. More mischief is yet to come from the President's House of Pakistan which has been under the illegal occupation of men who are made of the same stuff as Count de Sade's footmen.

You will recall, my Lord, that the elections in Pakistan were followed by a series of incidents all of which aimed at intensifying anti Indian feelings. Within one week of the election it was reported with glaring headlines in all Pakistan newspapers—and the reports continued rubbing in the issue for well over a week about a certain Pakistani enclave in West Bengal having been attacked by Indian soldiers and policemen and hundreds of Pakistanis kidnapped or killed. Then there was the episode in which not the Hockey Federation or anybody directly connected with it, nor any sportsman but Bhutto came out publicly with a peculiarly unsportsmanly stand about the proposed visit of an Indian hockey team to Pakistan to play a match with Pakistan's hockey boys. It is not normal for politicians, destined within one year to become Presidents, to bother about such matters. But Mr. Bhutto has never been a normal man. He considers himself a genius and feels flattered if somebody accepts him as an evil genius. He made the matter not merely a political issue but an issue of international politics. This was followed by the very famous hijacking incident.

If you will excuse a somewhat sudden diversion, my Lord, I should refer to the burning of the CID/Intelligence Bureau files and wholesale transfer of the officers and staff of this department as one of the first acts ordered by the Bhutto Government immediately after the spurious oath of office administered by one President to another. This was done, it had to be done, to deprive Pakistan of substantial portions of its history, to deprive this Commission of the unquestionable evidence contained in the destroyed records (some of which may still be preserved elsewhere) and these related not merely to the activities of Mr. Bhutto but also to the crucial hijacking incident which was acclaimed with the most frivolous enthusiasm by Mr. Bhutto in the first stage and then denounced as a conspiracy by India.

Nothing much is heard any more about the two boys who were supposed to be the heroes. But monitoring reports of Radio Pakistan, which I do not know if they have been destroyed since or retained or transferred to a safer archive, carried extracts from a broadcast of Radio

Srinagar which gave their life history considerably earlier than the relevant court of enquiry determined that the mischief was not of the boys' but of India. This Srinagar story located them, or at least one of them as hailing formerly from the lower, apprentice ranks of Indian Intelligence who later transferred his professional loyalties to Pakistan, was given advanced training in the arts of espionage by the Pakistan Intelligence and then let loose upon the Punjab/Punjab border between India and Pakistan. Radio Srinagar even said that the boy had been spotted by Indian Intelligence and his much-too frequent journeys between Amritsar-Ferozepur and Srinagar had been noted. A report was made to the Central office of Indian Intelligence which referred it to the Government of Kashmir where late Chief Minister G. M. Sadiq decided to quash the enquiry and said nothing further doing.

This same boy was made a hero in the famous, city of Lahore and Mr. Bhutto arranged for a procession to be taken out for him and his co-President Yahya Khan entertained at Government cost in a posh hotel until the findings of justice Nurul Arifin confirmed the Srinagar Radio report broadcast much earlier, after which he has disappeared.

I have no personal knowledge of the contact obtaining between Mr. Bhutto and this mysterious young man prior to the hijacking nor after the Arifin report. But why I mention this incident is to show that Mr. Bhutto and his men in higher places were determined to take every opportunity of picking up trouble with India and exciting and aggravating the animosity between the two countries.

That was the game. And now I come to that part of the story which I have entirely personal knowledge, from my own personal experience.

So things had their course. Came 1968. Ayub Khan fell ill and ill with an ailment from which he is said to be one of three solitary cases in medical history to survive. But he survived when everybody had assumed that he was not going to survive. Ambitions ran rampant, almost amuck. Yahya Khan saw his opportunity, or was shown it by General Rani.³ Bhutto was by then in disgrace.

By the barest chance, I happened to meet Rani at Hotel Intercontinental Karachi, where I usually stayed when I was in Karachi. It was June, 1968. A friend of mine, an industrialist was in some kind of trouble and wanted police assistance. Believing in his own mind that I could put in a word for him to somebody or the other who might be helpful, he approached me and invited me to a meal. To my surprise, the meal was arranged in another room at the Intercontinental itself. When I went in, I found, in addition to the host who was my friend two other guests, one of them being this woman who has since become so well-known as General Rani. The other was Ali Yahya, the son of the Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army. I had not known either the son or the father till then. But both he and the Lady flattered me with unexpected and undue attentions.

The next day—or may be, on my trip to Karachi within the next few days, early in the morning, there was a soft tap on my door. I opened and found Rani and Ali Yahya standing there. Rani explained that the boy had been very much impressed by my conversation and wanted to make friends with me. Like a gentleman, I welcomed him. Ali made it a point to call on me whenever I was in Karachi and often accompanied me to the races.

By and by, he contrived to steer the conversation toward politics. He asked for my speeches in the National Assembly and took them home to read. He started making more and more direct reference to his father and talking about his (the father's) interest in me and in my speeches. He ended up by delivering an invitation from the Commander-in-Chief to my humble self to see him in Rawalpindi. I went. We talked. General Yahya talked a lot about Ayub and his mad ambitions and his mad scheme to nominate his son, Gohar Ayub, as the next despot of Pakistan. He assured me in the course of the conversation that: "I swear by the bravery of Hazrat Abbas that if I come by this position I would not stick to it more than sixty

days at the outset; I would hasten to pass on the power to the people to whom it belonged."

Having been bitten more than once, I was more than twice shy. I remained non-committal. Yahya Khan even brought out the book of my speeches which I had lent to Ali and praised them a lot. He at last opened up and asked for my co-operation in dislodging Ayub Khan. I still remained non-committal.

Ali went on seeing me at Karachi and conveying his father's felicitous regards for me. Shortly afterwards, on one occasion, it so happened that Bhutto was sitting with me when Ali came. They struck a quick friendship and soon Ali dropped me out. During this same period, I had often noticed that there were copious telephone calls for Bhutto from a certain "General" in Rawalpindi. At his own house, his servant would come rushing up; at my hotel the hotel-bearer would come rushing up; notifying the call from "the General Sahib", whereupon Mr. Bhutto would at once take his leave and keep busy on the telephone for long stretches of time. Once or twice I even tried to caution Bhutto about it, telling him that he should watch his steps and not fall into a trap, as he was already in disgrace and Ayub was capable of being very vindictive. Bhutto, however, was very confident.

Meanwhile things were warming up in politics, I concentrated my efforts on steering the "movement" that had sprung up into democratic channels, whereas Bhutto insisted that Yahya was the man to get things done. I talked to all important leaders of the DAC, including Daulatana, Chaudhri Mohammad Ali, Maulana Maudoodi and others and also issued a press statement warning the people against the impending Martial Law and appealing to the leaders to make the Round Table Conference a success. Bhutto, on the other hand, was pulling in the other direction and succeeded in sabotaging the Round Table Conference, opting, instead, in favour of Martial Law under Yahya Khan.

I distinctly remember long conversations with Bhutto in the course of which he tried to persuade me in favour of Yahya and Martial Law and I to dissuade him from it. My own forensic skill, I confess, is very limited. Bhutto stuck to his guns and to his Generals, including General Rani.

Being in possession of this whole background, I realise the deep-seated relationship between the outgoing President and the man whom he himself ushered in to take his place. I know it for a fact that Mr. Bhutto's posture of opposition to Yahya Khan was a fake and a facade to hide their inner collusion. That remains the secret of Mr. Bhutto's reluctance to call the National Assembly even now when he is assured of a clear majority in it. He does not believe in the democratic process. He has been and wishes to remain both the master and the servant of his Generals for he believes that these few, happy-go-lucky chaps are easier to handle and more dependable than a whole mass of people.

The "conspiracy" which people talk about in respect of the surrender of East Pakistan was, in my view, a conspiracy on behalf of these men of limited horizon and unlimited ambition directed against democracy, against the rule of law and against all good things of life. The positive purpose of this enquiry will not be served unless the commission can pin-point the real nature of this conspiracy, its aims and purposes and point a way for the people of the remainder of Pakistan to defeat this conspiracy.

The sorrow to my mind, does not relate to the "loss" of East Pakistan. There seems no reason why we should grieve over something in which the majority of the Pakistanis have really found their joy, their freedom, the happiness of their future generations. My own sorrow, my Lord lies in the realisation that this joy and this freedom could not be shared as a joint enterprise between Pakistanis of the Western Wing and those of the Eastern Wing.

Notes: 1. Lt.-Gen. Gul Hasan, since retired and appointed Ambassador to Austria. 2. Former East Pakistan MP belonging to Maulana Bhashani's N.A.P.; now detained in Bangladesh as a "collaborator". 3. Gen. Rani, (Mrs. Aqleen Akhtar Rani), wife of a police official, so named because of her relations with Yaya. 4. The Assembly subsequently met on 14 April 1972.

Books

How much aid for the Third World?

Wieviel Geld für die Dritte? (in German) by Gert Von Paczensky, *Deutsche Welt-hungerhilfe*, Bonn, 127 pages, Unpriced.

Gert von Paczensky has come out once more in support of the poor world. Like his earlier book "Die Weissen kommen" (*IMPACT*, No. 14 10-23 Dec. 1971) which provoked so much criticism from amongst the defenders of the colonial contribution (see Ansprenger's review in *Der Spiegel*, No. 31, 1970), the new book "Wieviel Geld für die Dritte Welt" (How much aid for the Third World?) isn't also likely to escape controversy. Although the main conclusions of the book are already known to the representatives of the *Linken Kritik* (Jaleé, Hayter, Magdoff, Paech and Schuhler), this is, however, the first time that a thorough and a deeper anatomy of the aid balance-sheet has been attempted. As is clear from the following table, Gert von Paczensky has proved

beyond doubt his thesis that the richer world despite all the propaganda about aid, extracts more, than it puts into the Third World.

Still worse are the side effects of aid. Quoting Prof. Jacoby (Stockholm), the author writes: 'Aid doesn't promote the long overdue fundamental changes in social and economic systems prevailing in the poor countries. It also does not support the productive forces; it, in fact, strengthens control of the privileged groups over the national resources.' The other negative side of aid is the over-emphasis it places on the role of capital. (This way it neglects the surplus resources available in these countries, e.g., manpower). The international economic integration doesn't also bring much advantage for the Third World. Products, such as sugar, textiles and leather manufactures which can be cheaply produced in the developing countries can not find their outlet in adequate quantity into the industrial countries. This is mainly due to high tariffs imposed on these goods by the industrial countries.

The book is full of praise for the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation and pleads in a skilful way for the further strengthening of the multilateral aid. In the view of the author, multilateral aid is more effective than bilateral aid. In his own words: "The international organisations, seen from the view-point of the tax payer, ensure better use of the aid funds." How far this argument is valid, Paczensky, however, doesn't come forward with any convincing argument. Those who are well aware of the emergence of the 'Green Revolution' which was brought about by the creative and energetic work of Dr. Norman E. Borlaug and that didn't cost more than \$20 million know it well that the contribution of the FAO (an organisation devoted mainly to raising food production in the Third World), in comparison, hasn't been all too satisfactory.

Paczensky has also dealt with the issue of food deliveries by the richer countries via the World Food Programme of the United Nations. Here again the multilateral aid has been pushed in the foreground. Though it is true that food deliveries do help the hungry people to satisfy their immediate needs (the author also admits this), but the question arises: how far they can be termed as development aid? The reviewer knows two countries, viz., India and Pakistan, which instead of food deliveries would have been more effectively helped, if they had been provided with the necessary quantity of fertilizer and pesticides and still better perhaps with plants to produce these and boost production in their own agricultural sector. But the delivery of food for

purposes of fighting hunger is not the only criterion in 'aid' giving. Both the farming community and the chemical industry in the Western world are more keen to sell their surplus foodgrains or agricultural chemicals instead of really helping the deficit countries to step up food production within their national boundaries. (see further: *Agra-Europe*, No. 29, 1970).

The book is extremely useful, particularly for those who are either engaged in aid or are keen to know more about the quantity and the quality aspect of the whole business of 'aid' giving. Von Paczensky deserves to be complimented for the hard work he has put in collecting and documenting the rather patchy state of information and data on aid.

Dr. M. A. Hussein Mullick

THE AID BALANCE: 1956-70

(In billions DM)

INFLOWS

- I. Total flow of financial resources from DAC countries to Developing countries 494*

1. Official development assistance (Excluding assistance given by the United States for security reasons or funds provided by the erstwhile Colonial powers to their former colonies or mandate territories) - 253

2. Private credits, export credits, and investment 241

OUTFLOWS

- II. Direct and Indirect Payments made or losses incurred by the Poor Countries 813

DIRECT

1. Payment of Interest on official and private credits 81
2. Profit transfers 250

INDIRECT

3. Losses arising from total deliveries (also food deliveries) 90
4. Capital flight 252
5. Unfavourable terms of trade 140

NET AID (-) 319

* Excluding aid given for humanitarian purposes (40-50 billion DM), and funds made available for development to European countries.

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Briefing

Microbes and Morals, The Strange Story of Venereal Disease, by Theodor Rosebury, Secker and Warburg, £3.10

Studies spread of VD in the West. The author describes the present situation as a very dismal one. Since the Middle 1950s the VD has been steadily increasing. The young doctors seeking a career in the field are told that the prospects are very bright—a sad commentary on the prevalent situation. Underlining the causes of a greatly increased attendance at VD clinics in Britain, the author points out the present anxiety, sense of insecurity, relaxed moral standards and permissiveness, that have created a society where premarital and extra-marital sexual relations have become commonplace: "Freedom for women has come to mean, in part, freedom for the premarital sexual experimentation". With the present state of moral deterioration of the West, the hopes of bringing VD under control still remain an illusion.

The Soviet Political Mind: Stalinism and Post-Stalinism Change, by Robert C. Tucker, Allen and Unwin, £3.50

Prof. Tucker argues that Soviet policies during Stalin regime were fashioned by Stalin's paranoid personality more than any other single factor. It was this paranoid personality that dominated the Soviet scene and decided the form and character of the Stalinist era. The great Moscow trials of 1930 demonstrated the classic features of a paranoid character as defined by psychological writers like Kraepelin. As such the Soviet ideology proved the most effective instrument for Stalin's paranoid character, a glove that fitted Stalin's iron hand. Does Stalin's personal rule represent just a passing aberration from Leninist principles or was it a "national sickness" rooted in Communism? "Lenin's power rested on his authority in the Party" and "Stalin's authority rested on power over the Party". Lenin deplored Stalin's suspicious and boorish personality, but as the author points out the militant organisation which Lenin set up was well calculated to bring to power just such a person. Such personalities and paranoid characters tend to come to the top in national movement regimes and in the fighting organisations which bring them to power. Conspiratorial groups with a conspiratorial world-view.

August 1914, by Alexander Solzhenitsyn, Translated by Michael Glenny, Bodley Head, £3.00.

The first of a series of novels in which the Nobel Prize winning Russian author analyses the causes and significance of the 1917 revolution. The first volume centres on the destruction of an entire Russian army by the Germans at the battle of Tannenberg where they captured 90,000 Russian soldiers. The moral: How thousands lost their lives to no purpose, armies marched aimlessly back and forth, and all communication between armies and headquarters broke down completely. "Plan! There was something so un-Russian about the word". The Russian general Samsonov is described in these words: "Beneath the immobile exterior lay the rot of inner anxiety". At another place: "... his look (was) not one of martial command but of compassion and sorrow ... he had wanted only to do good, yet what he had achieved was an unmitigated evil". So he commits suicide! It is in the ordinary Russian soldiers, however, that Solzhenitsyn finds the real heroes, the symbols of "the rigorous, inexhaustible spiritual strength of Russia ..."

Class Structure and Economic Growth: India and Pakistan since the Moghuls, by Angus Maddison, George Allen and Unwin \$7.38

Discusses the socio-economic problems of the Pak-Indian sub-continent. While India suffers

from the "mistaken social pattern" and still labours under its imperial past, the Nehrus of today being only the new forms of the Moghul Emperors and the English Imperialist, Pakistan (is shown to have) equally failed despite its "single-minded pursuit of growth"; this led to the "actual deterioration of the well-being of the population". The author points out what he calls as "functional inequality" created by the policies of the central government—especially under Yahya Khan revolving round the "irrational expenditure in favour of the development in the West" at the expense of the East.

Growth and Inequality in Pakistan, edited by Keith Griffin and Azizur Rahman Khan, Macmillan, US \$12.92

Given to describing the domination of West Pakistan over the former province of East Pakistan.

A Memoir of the Paris Peace Conference, 1919, by Sir James Neadham-Morley, Edited by Agnes Neadham-Morley, Russell Bryant and Anna Cienciala, Methuen, £4.60

Just released by the Foreign Office, the book makes an interesting study of the Anglo-French mind at the time of Versailles. Both the British and the French found it difficult to control their indignation over Woodrow Wilson's intervention—the man who now had the greatest say at the conference table but was "too proud to fight" the battle for a "world safe for democracy", a man too "drunk with the exuberance of his own verbosity" to deliberate with a cool mind. One thing which proved fatal for this Peace Treaty was Woodrow Wilson's failure to convince the Senate and its consequential rejection of the League of Nations.

Memoirs: 1950 - 1963, by George F. Kennan, Atlantic-Little Brown, \$12.50

Reputed as an authority on Soviet affairs in the American State Department, George F. Kennan in these memoirs (Vol: 2) provides us with an inside view of the working of American diplomacy with reference to the Kremlin and its allies. Very true when he says that the "official Washington is inclined to view ... its own internal relationships as much more important than whatever is happening in the rest of the world". Kennan had been seriously concerned about the "terrible danger of letting national policy be determined by military considerations alone".

Flaubert in Egypt, Translated and edited by Francis Staegmuller, Bodley Head, £2.95

A selection of the French orientalist, Gustave Flaubert's diary on Egypt which he kept during his tour of the Near East with his friend Maxime Du Camp. To increase the interest and usefulness of the selection the editor has added portions from Maxime Du Camp's travels written years later with short informative notes. The selection stresses an important aspect of Flaubert in his life. His experiences with the Prostitutes in particular stand out clearly and grotesquely. How deeply emotional he was can also be judged by his passionate letters to his mother.

The Semblance of Peace (The political settlement after the second world war), by Sir John Wheeler-Bennett and Anthony Nicholas, Macmillan, £12.00

Looks at the international alliances and groupings before and after the second world war, the pre-cursors of the present-day power blocs. Both approach and conclusions are traditional and in the true western tradition. "Russia's foreign policy, as disclosed during the war and practiced thereafter, was a re-embodiment of those imperial ambitions which in the glory of the Tsarist expansionist period had led to the Crimean War, the Russo-Turkish war, the colonization of the

Transcaucasian territories and of Manchuria, the penetration of the Balkans and the Middle East, and the threat to Britain's life-line to India. To this old-fashioned imperialist policy was added the further threat of the proliferation of Communism in Europe to the detriment of what the communists themselves term "Bourgeois democracy". "It was in recognition of the threat inherent in this policy that, with supreme reluctance, the Western Powers were constrained to accept the Soviet challenge and to make a brave and essential response of free men against aggression".

Listing

Man, State, and Society in the Contemporary Middle East edited by Jacob M. Landu, *Pall Mall*, £4.50 (Another book of readings on the Middle East, notional and selective.)

The Face of Defeat by David Pryce-Jones, *Weidenfeld and Nicholson* £2.95 (Of the Palestinian refugees and guerillas.)

Bangladesh: A Struggle for Nationhood, *Vikas*, New Delhi Rs. 20 (A collection of Articles by six Indian scholars of international studies.)

Anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe by Powel Lendvai, *Macdonald*, £3.50 (About a problem which apparently became more acute since the Communist take-over in the area.)

Year One of the Russian Revolution, Translated and edited by Peter Sedgwick, *Allen Lane: The Penguin Press*, £3.95

Origins of the Chinese Revolution, 1915-1949 by Lucien Bianco translated by Muriel Bell, *Stanford OUP*, £3.50

The Foreign Relation of the People's Republic of China, edited by Winberg Chai, *Putnams*, New York, \$7.95

Air Power: A Concise History by Robin Higham, *Macdonald*, £5.25 (Summarises some main aerial wars, discusses operational doctrines and strategic inferences.)

Rebellion in the University by Seymour Martin Lipset, *Routledge and Kegan Paul*, £2.75 (On the US student activism)

International Interest Rate War by Eric Chalmers, *Macmillan* £4.95

The Economics of Socialism by J. Wilczynski *George Allen and Unwin* £1.60 (revised edition)

The Common Market and Immigration by Runnymede Industrial Unit. Free. (Briefing paper on the free movement of labour within EEC; including an analysis of which Commonwealth citizens residents in Britain are likely to be defined as UK nationals under the terms of the EEC Treaty of Accession.)

The Migration of Workers (in the United Kingdom and the European Community) by W. R. Bohning, *OUP*, £3.00. (Historical development, the present state and future plans of the EEC in regards to the movement of labour force.)

Calamity of Linguistic and Cultural Chauvinism Basis of a New Social Order by Abul Hasan Ali Nadavi, *Acad. Islamic Res. and Publs.* Lucknow, India, Rs. 0.75 each. (Two pamphlets; the former discusses the linguistic and parochial schism within the Muslim Society caused mainly due to an inadequate comprehension of Islam; the social quality of life in a truly Muslim society is the subject of the second pamphlet.)

Jawahir-i-Risalat (Urdu), Edited by Iftikhar Ahmad Balkhi, *Idara-i-Matboo'at-e-Talaba*, Karachi, Rs. 3 (Short collection of Hadith for students and Muslim youth.)

Reference

A Dictionary of Misunderstood, Misused, Mispronounced Words, Edited by Laurence Urdang, *Nelson*, £2.95

A Supplement to the Oxford English Dictionary, Volume 1: A-G, Edited by R. W. Burchfield, *OUP*, £15 (Supplement to OED listing over 17,000 new words—about 30,000 different meanings—that are now English.)

The Middle East and North Africa 1972-73, *Europa*, £8.00

The Oxford English-Arabic Dictionary of Current Usage, *OUP*, £12

Science dissenters, et cetera

ZIA SARDAR

Science, it is commonly thought, is only concerned with facts and truth. But it also has its establishment and a belief system; there are power seekers and career men. And if someone dares to challenge the establishment, he is simply ignored; or even shut up. Thus if Professor Herbert Dingle (*Science at the Crossroads*, Martin Bryan & O'Keeffe) dares to claim and 'prove' that the famous theory of relativity, one of the foundation stones of the modern science, is false, it is surprising that most scientists just do not want to know?

Individuals who are challenging the very basis of the modern science are slowly, but surely, on the increase. A new addition to those, like Professor Dingle, who are disillusioned with science is Hans J. Morgenthau, an eminent American man of politics and international affairs. His book (*Science: Servant or Master?* New American Library) consists of three essays, two of relatively recent origin and the other much older. The longest essay is based on unpublished manuscript of pre-war vintage which outlines the author's realization of the Fall of Science. One of the other essays makes a beautiful dissection of Herman Kahn's Doublethink about the Unthinkable; the author shows how Kahn consistently slanted assumptions and conclusions in the direction of complacency, so as to make the nuclear holocaust comparable only to a bad hurricane. The other essay analyses the manners in which contemporary scientists have become a tool of military power—an essential source now of political strength and the prime mover of imperialism and repression.

The contribution of the scientific community to military efforts is a controversial issue: pointing at the Vietnam war, many scientists and engineers have recently aired accusations against their co-workers. Techniques such as defoliation, night vision systems, seismic and acoustic detectors linked to a computer network in Thailand, as well as laser guided bombs have been the bitter fruits of recent military research. At the recent Vienna summer school on the history of physics attended by some of the world's celebrated scientists, the disgust some scientists have developed against the continuous quest for better methods to kill were expressed in the following statement: "The latest tactics of the American war have been made possible by the systematic application of scientific discoveries for military purposes The application of science in the modern society have been at the centre of our debates and we cannot overlook the professional participation of scientists in the waging of a war against the people of Vietnam. Other discussions have convinced us that it is no longer possible to separate our attitude on these issues from

our professional activities. This is why we express, as *scientists and in the publications and institutions of science*, our condemnation of those colleagues, who have willingly involved themselves in the waging of this war; we ask that these issues should be honestly faced within the scientific community wherever it meets." It were opinions such as these which lead to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's decision to divest itself of its controversial Instrumentation Laboratory. Dorothy Nelkin has just done a case-study of this (*The University and Military Research—Moral Politics at M.I.T.*, Cornell University Press). The book traces over a year of student agitation against weapons-related research, from the first strike on March 4, 1969 to the final day of decision May 20, 1970. *The University and Military Research*, based on original documents, unpublished reports and papers, press statements etc., makes absorbing study. The last chapter on 'University and the Ethics of Responsibility' comes very much against military research in higher education establishments.

Since the coming into fashion of ecology, some three to four years ago, we have faced a huge efflux of literature on the dangers facing the mother earth. Phrases like 'exponential growth', 'technology feeds on itself', 'global trends', 'zero population growth', 'unlimited resources' and 'runaway acceleration' have come into every day speech with remarkable speed. Alvin Toffler's (*Future Shock*, Bodley Head), written in the best tradition of eco-books, has played a major part in spreading the environmentalist message. Result of five years intensive study, and fifty pages of bibliography to show for it, *Future Shock* topped the American best seller list for months. Its declared aim is to describe "the shattering stress and disorientation that we induce in people by subjecting them to too much change in too short a time." Toffler sets out first to scare his readers out of their wits by supposedly pointing at the direction the science is heading ("unless wielded with extreme care . . . the gift of weather control can prove men's undoing"—"man will be able, within a reasonable short period, to redesign not merely individual human bodies but the entire human race"—"the runaway acceleration that is subjecting multitudes to the threat of future shock") and then, suggesting 'Strategies for Survival' which make the remedy look even more formidable than the malady. Like so many of its successors, *Future Shock* is crammed with empty prescriptions such as "we need to initiate . . . a continuing plebiscite on the future." Important though the environmental problems are, the belief that they are almost certain to remain unsolved is a modern

version of the old belief that the future is less familiar than the present.

The contemporary society has much more on its plate than just the environmental crisis. A team in the Department of Social Anthropology and Sociology at the Manchester University has brought together (*The Problems of Modern Society*, edited by Peter Warsley, Penguin), a collection of readings examining the whole range of ways in which society generates problems that are subsequently experienced by individuals. *The Problems of Modern Society* consists of eleven parts and includes amongst others, Amrine on population, Cook on cities, Baumer on industrial relations, Jennings on Housing, Gouldner on bureaucracy, Trotsky on revolution, Laing on the family, Goodner on schooling, Matza on deviancy, Whyte on slum sex, Geis on white-collar crime, Kenneth Zola on culture and symptoms, Goffman on Asylums, Malcolm-X on Black Nationalism, Hanner on Soul, Martin on secularization, Berger on religion, Kahn on nuclear war, Hall on hippies, Ehrlich on ecology and Chomsky on intellectuals.

Whatever impression the doomsday and 'problem' books may give, science is not all destruction and disaster: it has its humorous side too. Adrian Hope's light hearted guide to peculiar patents (*Why didn't I think of it first?* David & Charles) demonstrates science at its silliest extreme. After passing through the familiar perpetual motion machines and gold from sea water we meet a whole parade of crank ingenuity: a snore alarm, a sponge bracelet for 'intercepting the Moisture running down the hands and wrist when eating Crayfish', a system for rolling snowballs down pipelines from the mountains to irrigate desert land, a chocolate spoon for giving medicine to children, winged golf balls, a toilet seat with rollers to prevent friends from standing on it, two-fly trousers which can be worn back to front to equalise bagging at the knees, and so on. All patent numbers are given, so one can look them up oneself.

Finally, how many of us recognise the person whose adventure we have been talking about. Who is a scientist? Is he a different, perhaps a more superior person than the man in the street? Mitchell Wilson's *Passion to know* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson) makes some interesting comments on scientists and what motivates them. Wilson went on a world tour, and most scientists he interviewed showed a powerful motivation to know and to respond to an intellectual challenge; but they do not differ greatly from other people. Scientists, says Wilson, are ordinary men with a little intellect.

Economic Outlook

IMPACT REPORT

AFRICA

Tunisia signed an agreement with Spain to encourage exchange and joint production of films, documentaries etc.

Maltese Companies operating in Tripoli have been granted freedom from paying Maltese taxes. Libyans will have the facility of training in Malta. Polservice of Poland has won an international competition for the design and construction of more than 2,600 Km of roads in Libya at a cost of 6.2m Zloty; work starts end of November.

The European Common Market Council of Ministers approved the Community's new preferential trade agreement with Egypt. Egypt's cotton crop this year will total about 10.5m kantars, as compared to 10.2m last year. China is to give Egypt a £35m interest free loan for development programme.

The World Bank has given the Sudan a 50-year, interest free loan of £2.8 m. Arab League has given a token aid of \$24,000 to help resettlement in Southern Sudan.

A Petroleum Training Institute to provide training and research facilities in oil technology has been set up in Nigeria. A new monetary unit "Sily" (equal to 0.036 gm of gold) has been introduced in Guinea; replaces the old franc.

Romanian trade with Africa has doubled over the last few years. Romania trades with 30 African countries and has agreements with 18 of them concluded; main importers: Algeria, Egypt, Kenya, Libya, Nigeria, Sudan and Zaire.

WEST ASIA

Turkey cancelled the manufacturing permit of the Singer Sewing Machine Company and barred it from repatriating profits; the Company had refused the State Planning Office demand to merge the manufacturing and marketing units.

Jordan's export to Saudi Arabia rose to 562,000 Dinars during the first quarter of 1972. Saudi exports to Jordan during the same period rose from 841,000 to 1,405,000 Dinars.

Iraq is the first non-Communist country to apply for observer status with Comecon, the Soviet trade and economic group. When Iraq starts exporting sulphur in November India will take 12,000 tons a month. By the end of 1972 sulphur export to China will also start.

Over the next 5 years the Industrial Credit Bank of Iran plans to raise \$250m on the world capital market. The ICB's outstanding loan presently amounts to \$700m.

Commonwealth ministers meet in November to discuss future relationship with the European Economic Community. The Commonwealth countries have all been offered associate status like that enjoyed by the French-speaking members of the Yaounde Convention.

Iran Air has placed a preliminary order for two concorde air-liners with an option for a third aircraft. An American Company reported a major oil strike in Abu Musa Island in the Gulf. The island is jointly held by Iran and Sharjah. A British Firm is to build the world's largest super tanker facility in Dubai; costing £48m it would have two dry docks each capable of taking 500,000-ton tankers.

According to a preliminary survey Saudi

Arabia has approximately 6,000 plants and workshops employing an average of more than 10 workers, 300 of these have a capital investment of SR 300m or above. An official estimate for the growth of industry during the year is 20%.

SOUTH AND SOUTH-EAST ASIA

With an expected production of 4.3m bales of cotton Pakistan will have an exportable surplus of 1.7m bales. The possibilities of developing new port facilities at Pipri creek are being examined. A paper mill costing approximately Rs. 150m (£5m) is being planned to be set up in Hyderabad district. Baluchistan government have prepared a programme for the mineral development of the province.

India's sixth 5-year plan is expected to provide an increase in investment in the core sector, agriculture and essential consumer goods industries and a growth target of 5.5 per cent. The Russian assisted (Rouble 285m) Steel Mill at Bokaro, the biggest in India inaugurated on 3 October. Conceived as a 4m ton unit, in the first phase it will produce 1.7m tons ingot steel and 0.88m tons of pig iron. A 77 Km railway connecting Jammu (in Kashmir) with the rest of India opened on 2 October. India is to co-operate in establishing 25 joint ventures in Malaysia viz. cotton mill, steel industry, precision tools, sewing machines, cosmetics etc.

Bangladesh nationals can import microbuses, trucks, cargo coasters, inland oil tankers and a variety of similar equipment and spare parts from their own foreign exchange; imports are subject to reduced duties. Sheikh Mujib has asked the government agencies to take all measures necessary to achieve self-sufficiency in food. He ordered the army and navy to help prevent smuggling to India. The Industry Minister said as an effective step towards socialism they have nationalised 83% of national capital including heavy industries, jute mills and the jute exports business. Bangladesh expects to earn Tk 1,600m—1,750m from the jute goods exports during the current fiscal year. The Trading Corporation Chairman said the cloth recently imported from India was of inferior quality in relation to the price, but denied that there was any bungling involved. Bangladesh-India Joint River Commission decided to set up a co-ordinated flood control programme in Sylhet and Kachar districts. India is likely to export to Bangladesh coal worth Tk 40m during the current fiscal year. Three Pakistani ships impounded by India during December 1971 would be handed over to Bangladesh. Russia is to provide and install 500 Kw short wave and 1000 Kw medium wave transmitters in Bangladesh. She has also expressed readiness to resume aid for the Ghorasal power project.

Malaysia has signed a trade agreement with Russia first since 1967; she will export 1.1m tons of rubber and 12,000 tons of tin. Rubber production in West Malaysia in the first 8 months of the year was marginally higher at 807,114 tons (804,860 tons last year), but export dropped from 864,860 tons last year to 841,178 tons.

The Indonesian Cabinet has appealed to the people to economise on electric consumption. The State Secretary said he was unable to forecast how long this shortage would last; current power consumption in Indonesia is 650 mW. Indonesia's total oil refining capacity now amounts to 420,000 barrels a day.

● A Birmingham Chamber of Commerce and Industry delegation to visit Saudi Arabia, end of November. A Pakistan delegation visited Russia and Czechoslovakia to finalise technical and financial matters regarding power projects in Guddu and Lyallpur. Spain's Agriculture Minister Garcia-Baxter visited Morocco. Chinese Communications Minister visited Aden for bilateral agreements. Turkish Trade Minister Naim Talu visited Iraq.

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Letters

A Contemporary Translation of the Qur'an

I was quite pleased to read the paper by Prof. T. B. Irving on "A Contemporary Translation of the Qur'an" (*Impact*, Vol 2: 8). Prof. Irving is a recognised authority on Spanish-Islamic history and he has published previously "Selections from the Noble Reading" in English.

However, I am unimpressed by the many "folksy," "contemporary," "plain," "American," etc., translations of the Bible which I have read over the years, and I wonder if all these translations in ordinary speech have led the common Bible reader to a greater reverence for the Word?

In the New Testament, one may be justified in making a contemporary translation, since it was written originally not in Classical Greek but in Common (Koine, the Greek of Alexander's soldiers) Greek. My Philosophy of translation is quite different. When I learned Hebrew and did some amateurish translations from the Torah, I gained a deep respect for the boundless vigor of Semitic idiom, which remains part of my love of Arabic today. I don't expect the Word of God to come across like the morning paper or the newest novel, otherwise I might give it no more consideration than these. Some parts of Prof. Irving's translation seem unduly quaint, not at all reflecting the awe and majesty one expects of God's Word (the construction of possessive Irving prefers).

For example, much is lost in Prof. Irving's translation of *Yaum ud-deen* as "Day for Repayment". *Deen* in Arabic is so comprehensive that both "religion" and "judgement" are aspects of this one word (as in Hebrew). I think he over-emphasizes the objective of assigning one basic meaning to each Arabic root; this misses the flavour and vigor of the various shades of meaning. Yusuf Ali rightly said that "Classical Arabic has a vocabulary in which the meaning of each root-word is so comprehensive that it is difficult to interpret it in a modern analytical language word for word, or by the use of the same word in all places where the original word occurs in the text . . . when a translator looks at it through the prism of a modern analytical language, he misses a great deal of its meaning by confining his attention to one particular colour." (quoted in *Al-Ittihad*, Dec. 1969, MASS, USA, p. 29).

Needless to say, Qur'an was revealed in the very best Arabic ever spoken or written, and an English translation should at least attempt to convey this fact through an exalted style. I don't think quality of expression has to be sacrificed in the interests of clarity.

Of the translations of the Qur'an, I have a preference (based on use and utility) for Yusuf Ali's, though, were it not so mutilated in form, I would choose Dawood's version for style and pithiness. The English translation of Maudoodi's "Tafhimul-Qur'an", Vols. 1 and 2, is exceptionally good. A translation of Qur'an should be energetic and awe-inspiring, not bland, because Qur'an is much, much more than the technical sum-total of its grammatical parts! Qur'an was not revealed in "contemporary" Arabic speech like the New Testament was inscribed in common Greek. Further, when reading the Divine Revelation, we should not expect God to speak as if He were just another "chum" or buddy, someone spinning irrelevant yarns by a cozy fireside.

All this is basically opinion and personal preference, and I do hope the finished product of Prof. Irving's translation is much finer than the sample. Similarly, I hope his translation helps American readers to get a better appreciation of Islam, or at least wets their appetite for more knowledge. I will continue to agitate for some scholarly, brotherly, professional co-operation on the part of Qur'anic scholars in providing the type of vibrant translation that is really needed in this part of the world.

S. S. MUFASSIR

Maryland, USA

Central London Mosque construction work begins April 1973

IMPACT Reporter

Work on the Central London Mosque is expected to start by the end of April 1973. The present building of the Islamic Cultural Centre will have to be vacated within the next few months for the demolition work. Plans are on way to make alternative arrangements for prayer during the construction of the mosque either in the form of a hutment at the present site or by renting suitable accommodation nearby.

The site of the mosque has been available for 28 years now and the foundation stone of the mosque was laid on 23 June 1954. The mosque is to be constructed in two phases the first of which will take 2½ years and will involve the construction of the actual building. The second phase, expected to last between one year and nine months, will comprise the inside decoration work. Muslim States whose ambassadors are members of the Mosque's Board of Trustees have promised to provide various decorative and furnishing material for the purpose. The completed mosque will be ready for use in about 3½ years provided there are no unforeseen delays.

The mosque is designed by Sir Fredrick Gibberd (designer also of Liverpool Cathedral) who won the London Central Mosque Competition held in October 1969. Of a controversial design, it has been described as an office blocks topped with an aluminium dome. The whole complex is U-shaped with a central congregation hall and two flanking wings housing libraries, committee rooms and other essential services. The building is approached through a draw-bridge above a pool. The site is surrounded on three sides by road and the front court contains a car park. The completed mosque, including the car park and the basement, will hold up to 4.5 thousand people and will stand as a prestigious centre of Islamic activities in Western Europe.

In the News

H. E. Shaikh Hussain Siraj, Director-General, Muslim World League Mecca visited London. Dr. I. H. Qureshi, celebrated Pakistan historian and educationist joined Sydney Sussex College, Cambridge as Smut's Fellow for one year.

Pakistan Association Leicestershire elected Dr. M. A. J. Shakir (President), M. Siddique (Chairman), M. Firoz Khan (Secretary), and 26 other office bearers and executive members.

Munawwar Hussain, a Bengali restaurant owner became the first Asian to be elected alderman of Bradford City Council. Nazir Ahmad, Glasgow Pakistan Society secretary nominated prospective Labour candidate for Glasgow Council.

new spectrum

Ramadan 19-2 Shawwal 1392

Canadian Muslims plan Community census

Council of Muslim Committees in Canada is planning a directory of Muslims in Canada. ● The Council also publishes a monthly magazine *Islam Canada* (Annual Subscription \$5) dealing with Islam and Muslim Community affairs. ● The Muslim Association of Hamilton, Ontario, is looking into the possibility of relocating its Islamic Centre to meet the growing needs of the local community. ● Ottawa Muslim Association has applied for permission for the construction of Ottawa Mosque. ● Islamic Centre of Quebec is undergoing renovation.

Washington proposes setting-up Islamic Boarding School

The Islamic Centre Washington is planning to set-up an Islamic Boarding School and establish an Islamic Research Institute in the US. The Centre already holds weekend classes for Muslim children. ● Recently, the Centre organised a ten-day seminar for local Imams. ● Professor Amir Jahanbani of New York University has started a series of lectures on 'Islamic Art and Literature' at the Centre. The next four lectures will be on November 11, 25, December 9 and 23. ● An Arabic programme designed for the community in Washington D.C., Maryland and Virginia has been started on radio station FM, WHFS 102.3, Washington Metro-Area. The programme is aired every Sunday 2.00—3.00 p.m. and contains news and features of special interest to the Muslim community of Washington Metro-Area.

America starts screening Arab visitors and residents

The State Department has instructed its Consulates to screen thoroughly all Arabs applying for a visa to the USA. Back home, the FBI is already engaged in screening all Arabs in the USA whether residents or American citizens.

Muslims persecuted in Bulgaria

The Mufti of Libya who recently visited Yugoslavia has drawn attention to the persecution and the plight of the Muslims in Bulgaria. They face suppression, discrimination and even cultural genocide. The Muslims are forced to adopt

Bulgarian names. No one would get a birth certificate without a Bulgarian name; some companies would even refuse to pay wages to such workers.

Reprisal against Arabs in Europe

Arabs Deported. Over one thousand Arabs have been deported from West Germany since the day of the Munich deaths. The expelled Arabs are alleged to support the activities of Arab terrorist groups. In addition, 1,441 Arab citizens seeking entry to West Germany have been refused admission. Protest by Arab Governments and Arab League has, as yet, had no effect.

● Some members of the banned GUPS (General Union of Palestinian Students) said they would stay underground until it was established they were not a security risk.

● 'Palestine' an Arab bookshop in the 20th district of Paris was destroyed by an explosive charge on 4 October. An organisation called 'Massada' claimed responsibility. 'Jewish terror will reply to anti-semitic terror' the organisation claimed, 'this is our first warning'.

● A Pakistani business executive visiting Copenhagen was attacked by a group of hooligans alleged to be pro-Israeli. The police said, they perhaps took him to be an Arab.

ROUND UP

FOSIS Winter Camp. The Federation of Students Islamic Societies in the UK and Eire will be holding its Ninth Annual Winter Gathering on December 22, 23 and 24 at the Hayes Conference Centre, Swanwick, Derbyshire. ● *The Muslim*, organ of FOSIS, will now be published six times a year instead of ten. The magazine will now come out in January, March, May, July, October and December. ● During October many constituents of FOSIS held Freshers' Receptions to welcome new Muslim students to the British Universities.

Balham Mosque Appeal. Balham Mosque Committee has launched an appeal for £12,000 to enable it to establish mosque at 10 Laitwood Road, London SW12. Donations to: A/C No. 10132985, Midland Bank Ltd; Upper Tooting Branch, 313 Balham High Road, London SW17.

Doctors Islamic Society of Great Britain is undertaking a medico-social survey of prohibition of pork.

Pakistan Defence Fund. A total of £426,000 was collected for the Pakistan Defence Fund. This sum, according to Pakistan Embassy, has been sent to Pakistan 'in accordance with Government's instructions.' The Fund has now been closed.

● Effective from 1 October Commonwealth Concession on Social, press and photo-telegrams to Pakistan have been withdrawn by the British Post Office.

● Pakistan Unity Circle organised a meeting on October 15 to commemorate the 21st death anniversary of Liaquat Ali Khan, Pakistan's first Prime Minister, and the man next to Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah in the struggle for Pakistan. Liaquat Ali Khan fell to an assassin's bullet on 16 October 1951. The murder conspiracy regarded as political is still untraced.

The Race Perspective

Rotterdam 'Colour-Filter' Suspended. The City Council of Rotterdam in Holland has suspended a new by-law which arose from race riots in August and was introduced to reduce the proportion of foreign inhabitants in all its districts to less than 5% of the total population before March 4, 1974. The suspension was result of the objections raised on 'Colour-filter' by the Dutch Government. The Council has also ordered more than 40 immigrant boarding houses to close because they did not comply with basic regulations for health and fire precautions.

Fear of Race Explosion in Industry. A Runnymede Trust booklet published last month estimates that by 1985 there will be three million coloured people in Britain and approximately 600,000 of them will be British born. Racial situation in industry may become explosive if coloured people begin to compete for better jobs and if racial discrimination in employment continues. They may eventually be forced to form separate unions, the book warns. ● A Trade Union committee is investigating complaints that Pakistanis employed in certain factories in Maidenhead have to pay a bribe of £10—£20 to obtain employment or promotion.

The Uganda Asians. The British Government denied having decided to grant entry permits to about 2—5 thousand stateless Uganda Asians. Against an earlier estimate of 50—80 thousand, the number of net arrivals is expected to be around 20,000. ● Jewish Welfare Board has 'donated' a full-time social worker to Uganda Resettlement Board. The Anglo-Jewish Association has condemned 'the racial discrimination shown by President Amin' and called its members to 'assist with their expertise and resources these victims of persecution.'

● In a 35% poll, Mr. Michael Crew obtained slightly less than 50% votes and won the seat to the Basildon New Town Council, he had earlier resigned in protest against housing the Uganda Asians in the town. Mr. Crew claimed it was a poll against the Government policy on Uganda Asians. The Home Secretary, Mr. Carr, however, commented it only reflected on the area's housing shortage.

● "How Black" is the title of a booklet published by the Wolverhampton Council for Community Relations. The young writers who contribute essays and short stories reveal a hopeful view on race relations.

Training Opportunities Scheme

from M. R. Bhatti

A recent pamphlet from the Department of Employment and the Central Office of Information entitled 'Training Opportunities Scheme' (PL527) is an essential reading for the unemployed and those who think they are in the wrong job. The pamphlet—which can be obtained from any Employment Exchange—outlines Government's latest training courses and the conditions of eligibility.

In order to be considered, one has to be 19 or over and one must have finished one's full-time education three years prior to taking this training course; ready to accept a new job in the occupation in which one is trained; and willing to give up one's present employment for the sake of taking a new training.

The training courses vary in duration from one month to one year and while on training one is entitled to a tax-free training allowance which takes account of one's dependents.

One can also apply for a retraining course of

his choice, but the eligibility is finally decided by a joint committee comprising of officials from the Department of Employment and an appropriate authority usually from the organisation where one will be trained.

The training courses are offered in various occupations ranging from management to technical skills. The whole idea in offering such retraining facilities is to train people according to their potentials and the needs of the country and to prepare them for jobs with long term employment prospects.

news brief • news brief • news brief • news brief • news brief

AUSTRALIA. The Papua — New Guinea proposals for constitutional changes necessary for self-government, expected to come into effect by December 1973, provide final powers in defence and external affairs to Australia.

BANGLADESH. Saudi Arabia has allowed Bangladesh pilgrims to go for Haj. ● A 153-clause constitution presented to the Constituent Assembly provides for a democratic government responsible to a 300 member parliament elected on the basis of adult franchise. Nationalism, socialism, democracy and secularism are laid down as high ideals. Fundamental rights and rights to prosperity, sovereignty of Parliament and freedom of judiciary are guaranteed. ● On some Articles, 6 out of 34 members of the Drafting Committee have given their note of dissent. ● The Bangladesh Communist Party statement approves the draft constitution. ● Maulana Bhashani told a Dacca meeting that he had written to Mrs. Gandhi warning her of the danger in not stopping the smuggling. He announced calling a nation-wide strike against the Indo-Bangladesh Treaty of Peace and Friendship. He cautioned against imposing a Constitution under the instruction of Delhi and said they will not accept any constitution repugnant to the Qur'an, Sunnah and Shariat. ● Home Minister announced the arrest of over 41,000 collaborators' including about 275 police officials and a number of high civil officials. ● The NAP (Muzaffar group) observed October 8 as an anti-repression day—against smuggling, terrorism, anarchy, and political assassination. ● Dacca University teachers have asked for the repeal of the 1961 University Ordinance and restoration of the declarations of the newspapers cancelled recently. ●

CHINA. In Sining, the capital of Chinghai Province the class struggle is reported to be comparatively complex and acute. The 'class enemy' had carried out sabotage under the cloak of religion. ● China has again criticized Japan's defence policy as paving the way for the resurgence of militarism in view of Japan's Fourth 5-year Defence Programme. ● Pending an exchange of Ambassadors, the Tokyo Liaison Office of the China-Japan Memorandum Trade Office has been granted diplomatic privileges.

CUBA. Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago, Jamaica and Barbados announced decision to establish diplomatic relations with Cuba.

EGYPT. President Sadat told the People's Assembly that the time had come to make the USA pay for her support to Israel. He said Arab-Soviet friendship was important, relations with France were good, with Britain improving, and that he would strengthen and revitalise contacts with Tito, Mrs. Gandhi and China. ● President Sadat in an interview said that Russia has now become the world's strongest military power and more advanced in strategic weapons than the US. But the Americans are more capable of manoeuvre and bolder in making

decisions. He said, we need tracked vehicles, fighter-bombers, torpedo boats and electronic equipment. The 1967 war, he said, was because of Johnson's decision in 1965 to provide Israel with the most modern equipment and permitting the US army Jewish officers to serve the Israeli army. ● According to the Jewish Telegraph Agency, Czechoslovakia has offered to replace the Soviet arms no longer available to Egypt. ● The Egyptian War Minister paid a secret visit to Prague recently.

INDIA. The idol of Hindu god Lord Ganesh was installed in the Central Mosque of Raigarh in Central India with the "permission" of the mosque's Imam. ● A New Delhi spokesman said India was surprised by the delaying tactics of Pakistan particularly when the work of delineating the line of control in Jammu and Kashmir had almost been completed except an area of only a few square miles. ● Over 600 persons were arrested in Madras City for violating prohibitory orders. ● In Assam the army had to be called in to curb violent linguistic riots involving large scale arson, looting and stabbing which gripped the province in the second week of October. ● Indian forces have seized a large quantity of Pakistani and Chinese arms smuggled into India from Bangladesh.

INDONESIA. The Commander of N. Sumatra accused Communists of sabotaging the economy by setting fire to public buildings and sabotaging trains. ● A sea-bed border agreement dealing with the areas of Timor and Arafura Seas, not covered in the 1971 Canberra agreement, has been signed between Indonesia and Australia. Australian enterprises affected may continue their search for oil deposits in the Indonesian territories.

IRAQ. The Russian Mufti, Babakhanov, said that two missions of USSR Muslim students will specialize in Islamic studies at Iraqi institutions and Iraqi moulvis will visit Russia.

ISLAMIC SECRETARIAT. Malaysia, Pakistan and Sudan have ratified the Islamic Conference Charter. ● The Standing Finance committee approved the IC budget for 1973.

ISRAEL. The United Jewish Appeal announced that six new settlements would soon be established in the Golan Heights, in the Lower Jordan Valley and in North Sinai. Two of these would be assigned to immigrants from Russia. ● Jewish enterprises established in areas occupied in 1967 have been allowed the benefits given to first-class development areas in Israel. ● Two military training areas have been set up East of Jerusalem in the region of Ma'ale Adummim and Bayt Sahur and 70 square Km. area closed to the civilians.

IRAN. The Shah said in Moscow that they were opposed to the use of force in the M.E. and wanted the implementation of Security Council Resolution of November 1967. He also expressed hope for the solution of disputes between "our direct neighbour, Pakistan, and our closest

neighbour, India".

KUWAIT. Abdullah Rashid Farhan, Minister of Awqaf and Islamic Affairs has called on all Muslim governments to speed up efforts to implement the Islamic Bank Project.

● In preparation for the Kuwait meeting of the Arab Foreign and Defence Ministers on 15 November, the advisory body of the Arab Defence Council will meet in Kuwait on 12th.

MALAYSIA. In a meeting attended by Tun Mustafa, the Sabah CM, over 46,000 people announced acceptance of Islam. ● Malaysia, the only government, which organises the Qur'an recital competition in Ramadan for the first time extended an invitation to several African states to participate.

NIGERIA. Kaduna Radio-Television criticised Alhaji Audu Bako, the Kano State Military Governor who said that the power and leadership in every respect were the will of God and therefore anybody who attempts to challenge the present leadership is disobeying God and not man. ● For the effective coverage of the All-Africa Games, Nigeria has allocated over £600,000 for the purchase of additional broadcasting equipment. ● Arrangements for the World Black Arts Festival taking place in Lagos in 1974 are in process.

PAKISTAN. An Islamabad spokesman said that Pakistan had nothing to gain by delaying the delineation of the line of control. However, he regretted that India should link withdrawal of troops with the completion of delineation work when no such condition had been mentioned in the Simla accord or the Delhi agreement. ● China's Deputy FM Chao Kuan-hua recently visiting Islamabad is reported to have advised President Bhutto to avoid the need of China exercising another veto over the admission to the UN of Bangladesh. ● As a preliminary to the division of the assets and liabilities, President Bhutto is said to have indicated willingness to hand over 5 Boeing aircrafts, nine cargo ships and part of gold reserve to Bangladesh. ● Prof. Ghulam Azam, Jamaat-e-Islami leader told a student conference that Pakistan today had three types of hypocrites: in relation to Islam, to democracy and to socialism and the country would destroy itself if it tolerated them. ● The Council and Convention Muslim Leagues have been unified as Pakistan Muslim League and have set up a 30-member organizing committee. ● About 160 posts in Pakistan's central secretariat and Foreign Office are to be filled directly by the President's Secretariat instead of Federal Public Service Commission.

● President Bhutto held meetings with parliamentary party leaders on Pakistan's future constitution. **PALESTINE.** Yasir Arafat, PLO Chairman, praised the foreign progressives for demonstrating in support of the Palestinian armed struggle and against the persecution of Arab Community in West Germany. **PATANI** (South Thailand). Muslim

guerillas attacked a police station near the Thai-Malaysia border killing 3 and wounding 9 policemen.

SAUDI ARABIA. Deputy PM Prince Fahad laid the foundation stone of a factory to prepare the *Kiswa*—cloth drape for Ka'aba ● New dormitories to accommodate 30,000 hajis in transit at Jeddah airport to be completed shortly.

TURKEY. The Chief Rabbi of Turkey has asked President Sunay to restore the right to conduct Hebrew religion classes in the synagogues.

PEOPLE

Tutankhamun Gold Medal by Lord Mayor of London to President Sadat. Premier an-Numayri announced new cabinet on 9 October, includes: Muhammad al-Baqir Ahmad, Interior; Dr. Mansur Khalid Foreign Affairs; Ibrahim Mun'im Mansur, National Economy (New); Dr. Awn ash-Sharif, Religious Affairs; Dr. Muhammad Khayr Uthman, Education. Mrs. Behice Boran, 62, Leader of the outlawed Turkish Labour Party sentenced to 15 years in prison. Mohammad Yusuf Bach appointed Special Assistant (Information) to President Bhutto. The South peak of Mt. Kinabalu, 13,455 ft. in Sabah named after Chief Minister Tun Mustafa. Shaikh Mujib awarded Jolio Curie Medal by World Peace Council. India arrested T. N. Angami and A. Imlong, a former Chief Minister and Minister respectively of dissident Nagaland on charge of attempt on the life of H. Sema, the present CM. Apostolic Church of USA named Indian PM Mrs. Indira Gandhi, to receive International Apostolic Humanitarian Award for 1972. Lord Ballantrae new Chairman British Council from November, Nobel Prize in medicine, jointly to Prof. Rodney Porter of Oxford and Prof. Gerald Edelman of Rockefeller University, N.Y. Lord Hailsham, British Lord Chancellor, conferred honorary LL.D. by Delhi University. Sir John Betjeman, 66, appointed British Poet Laureate. Gary Sobers, gave up West Indian cricket captaincy health reasons. President Tsiranana of Malagasy resigned in favour of Gen. Gabriel Ramanantsoa who won the recent referendum. Inamullah Khan, Secretary General, World Muslim Congress recovering from a stroke after extensive tour of Africa.

VISITS

To MOSCOW: Shah and Queen of Iran, Egyptian PM Aziz Sidqi (also to Yugoslavia). Cherif Belkacem, Member Algeria's revolutionary Council. To PEKING: British Shadow Chancellor Healy; Lord Thompson of Fleet, A delegation of the US Newspaper Editors Association; Matteo Matteotti, Italian Trade Minister; Muhammad Ibrahim al-Ali, Commander of the Syrian Peoples' Militia. ● Prince Abdul Reza Pahlavi of Iran to Bucharest. Stanko Todorov, Bulgarian PM to Iran. U.S. Secretary of state Rogers, Dr. Fathi Uglu, Turkish NA Education Committee and Prince Sasda, Vice-Commander Ethiopian Navy (also Bahrain) to Jeddah. Princess Alexandra to Kabul. Lord Balmiel, British Defence Minister to Gulf and the Middle East. President Diori of Niger to Algeria. The Amir of Kuwait, to Tunisia. Pakistan journalists Mazhar Ali Khan and Najjullah to Delhi and Dacca. Harold Wilson, British Labour Party leader to Israel, end 1972 or early 1973, to stay sometime and learn Hebrew. P.M. Ian Smith of Rhodesia to Portugal.

DIPLOMATS

Ahmed Sheikh Issa Somalia's New Ambassador to Jordan. Sherif Abdul Hamid, Jordan's envoy to UN robbed of jewellery etc. Bangladesh Special Envoy, K. K. Panni, to Cameroon, Kenya, Ethiopia and Ghana, soliciting support for UN entry; also New York, London and Sri Lanka. Jan Vixseboxse, the Netherlands' 1st Ambassador to China.

DIED

Dr. Hashem Jawad, a former Iraqi F.M. and UN representative in Beirut murdered by a former employee on 11 October. Adel Zuaier, 38, a Palestinian employed in the Libyan Embassy at Rome, said to be the Chief of the local Palestinian Resistance assassinated by unknown gunmen. S. M. Sharif, 79 former Pakistan Supreme Court Judge in Lahore on 9 October.