

impact

INTERNATIONAL FORTNIGHTLY

Turkey—the crisis of reforms
A theoretical Conference on Soviet
Marxism
Road to post-Titoism
M.E.—reality and unreality of Socialism
Conflict in the Phillipines
Reflections of an outcaste Indian
The new arrivals on the campus
Books World opinion News Brief



Another U.N. Resolution on Jerusalem

On 25 September, the Security Council adopted another resolution confirming "in clearest possible terms that all legislative and administrative actions taken by Israel to change the status of the city of Jerusalem, including expropriation of land and properties, transfer of the occupied section are totally invalid and cannot change that status".

It urgently called upon Israel "to take no further steps in the occupied section of Jerusalem which may purport to change the status of the city, or which would prejudice the rights of the inhabitants and the interests of the international community or a just and lasting peace", and asked U Thant to consult the President of the Security Council and use "such instrumentalities as he may choose,

including a representative or a mission, to report to the Security Council as appropriate and in any event within 60 days on the implementation of this resolution".

The Israeli reaction to this resolution has not been unexpected. As soon as the resolution was adopted Mr. Yosef Tekoah, Israel's UN ambassador said that "like previous resolutions on Jerusalem, this resolution (too) will join a long series of formulae adopted as a result of the well-known parliamentary aspects of the Security-Council (and would) remain ink on paper". He said: "they would not change our policy or affect the continuation of activities which we feel necessary . . ."

Survey

JERUSALEM • TURKEY • OMAN

Another U.N. Resolution on Jerusalem

(from page one)

Mr. Abba Eban found himself puzzled at the UN decision. He did not know "why the Security Council should be discussing one of the few cities in the world where there is peace . . ." (If that claim about 'peace' really meant anything, one would expect President Nixon, who is such a keen status quo watcher, to save at least on Phantoms if not on the tottering Dollar.)

Next day, the Israeli Cabinet decided that its policy on Jerusalem will remain "as it is" and that it would not enter into discussion with any political quarter whatsoever".

At the UN, after the adoption of the resolution, the American ambassador "went on to explain that he did not really expect Israel to carry out the measures it implied". This only emphasises the manifest—the duplicity and complicity of the US policy-makers in the creation and perpetuation of the whole Middle East muddle. Such are the bizarre realities of politics that while the Israeli Cabinet and spokesmen were expressing rejection of the resolution and disappointment over the US attitude, Arye Mikel was telling the Israeli Home Service that the Americans had "retreated in a number of articles" in "the text previously agreed upon between the United States and the Israel . . . The original text mentioned the need for a final peace settlement on the basis of Security Council resolution No. 242. In the resolution which was adopted, the reference to resolution No. 242 was omitted. Instead the resolution speaks about a just and lasting peace". This shift from the definite and the determinable to the vague and wishful is as significant as the deliberate failure to put the article *the* before "territories occupied in the recent conflict" in the English text of the earlier resolution No. 242 of 22 November, 1967. But the more serious thing to come out is the self-admitted fact of US-Israeli collusion in drafting the resolution which from the very start was meant to be defied.

Mr. Toukan, the Jordanian ambassador was heard to warn that "if Israel defied the resolution this would challenge the very basis of the United Nations and the present political world order". One may say that this very basis of the United Nations and the nature of the present political order, needs to be looked into, carefully and seriously. There is certainly more to it than the ink or the paper.

Oman: growing troubles

To have any understanding of the political situation in the Sultanate of Oman today and to make any guesses at its future, one must have some knowledge to begin with of its recent past.

Oman has been a British sphere of influence since 1876 but lost its initial importance when the India sea route declined. The British made no inroads into the country and interfered little in its affairs up to the time of the middle fifties when the previous Sultan, Said bin Taimur, already only able to exercise power over the coastal strip, was forced by a revolt involving the Imam of Oman and centering on the Buraimi oasis. The Sultan called for British aid, and with British troops defeated the so-called religiously inspired revolution and drove out the Imam. From that time up to the present, the British trained and officered armed forces have consolidated the Sultan's rule over the whole country.

Next came the greatest event in the recent history of Oman—the discovery of oil. And it must be remembered that Oman only started receiving revenue from oil in 1967. Up to that time the autocratic rule of Sultan Said had suited British needs quite well. His policy was to maintain the status quo and his method of doing so was to sustain a blanket of ignorance. Up to 1970 there were two schools and two hospitals in the country. The hospitals were and are still run by American missionaries and contain wall plaques with Arabic translations of the Bible. No person was allowed outside his house after sunset unless he carried a lighted lantern and passports were issued only in very unusual circumstances. Paradoxically, the Sultan educated his son in England. On his return to Muscat, after passing out from Sandhurst, the son made some suggestions for reforms and was promptly placed under house arrest where he remained, it appears, until the British engineered 'coup' of June 1970.

With the discovery of oil the traditional methods of the old Sultan no longer suited British requirements and he was replaced with the British-trained 'progressive' son, the present Sultan Qaboos. Now there was money and it had to be shared out for the benefit of the Omani people, not to mention the benefit of the half dozen European contractors who have the lion's share. Another consideration was the fact that a more 'democratic' and 'progressive' administration was needed to avoid too much interference and infiltration from the leftist People's Republic of South Yemen, already very active in the Western province of Dhofar.

However, despite all the efforts, the present situation is far from stable. Inside

there is much bad blood between the Sultan and his uncle Tarik bin Taimur, the Prime Minister. It is not yet clear who would come out on top. Another paradox is that oil revenues have served only to increase poverty. In the first place, those Omanis who are actually employed in oil and development are relatively few but they, together with the not inconsiderable number of foreigners in the country have, through their demand and extra purchasing power, forced up the general cost of living. Secondly, they have created a new affluent class only too obvious for all to see.

The obvious consequences were not long in following. In recent weeks there have been a series of labour disputes culminating in two days of rioting in Muscat. This was sparked off by a company which is employing all foreign labour including labourers from India. The dissatisfaction gave rise to a considerable amount of criticism of the Government including some aimed at the foreigners actually employed in government offices. It appears to be only a matter of time before similar disturbances recur and each wage increase only serves to increase the differential between the haves and the have-nots, making the whole situation ripe for traditional revolutionary action.

The question as always is whether the Army or left wing groups would finally gain control. It seems likely that some periods of troubled living lie ahead for the Omanis before either group is ready or powerful enough to try. But this too may be the beginning of more trouble, if the experience of other Arab countries is anything to go by. An interesting footnote to all this is the fact that representatives of the Imam of Oman exiled in Saudi Arabia and the Sultan have been having talks presumably with a view to patching up an agreement.

Turkey: the crisis of reforms

Early last month the Turkish National Assembly passed the bill for constitutional amendment giving the government more powers to control the universities, trade union, youth organisations, cultural associations, press, radio, television and other communication media. The object is to enable the government curb what it calls left and right-wing extremism. The leftists, it is alleged, aim at establishing a Marxist-Leninist or a Maoist state, while the other group wants the country to go back to a 'theocracy' based on the laws of the Qur'an and Sunnah as laid down 1400 years ago. But Prof. Nihat Erim, who resigned last March from Mr. Ismet Ino-

Survey

● SOVIET MARXISM

nu's Republican People's Party to accept President Cevdet Sunay's nomination to head an army-supervised cabinet, is determined to stick to his commission and not to let the Turkish state go back in either direction, preserve Ataturk's reforms and help Turkey stay modern and westernised.

Turkey's 11 provinces have since been placed under Martial Law, more than 400 persons have either been detained or put on trial and a number of newspapers and journals are either suspended or banned. All this is a continuing process. While these measures, it would seem, have to a great degree curbed street violence and the mobocracy of the earlier months, the basic problem of state discipline and political instability appears to have deepened.

Things came to a head recently when the Turkish National Assembly after agreeing to extend the Martial Law for another two months refused to grant the government authority to rule by issuing 'orders in council'. An immediate cabinet crisis was averted because Premier Erim very realistically refused to take this as a vote of no-confidence. To resign at this stage, he said, would amount to putting myself "in a position of contradiction in the public eye because I would be declaring that the Senate and the National Assembly were refusing to implement the reform".

Five days later, the Chiefs of the Army, Navy and the Air Force took the unusual step of issuing a press statement warning against "delays, wasting time and avoiding reforms along Ataturk's path". This has served to cow down the Justice Party majority (244 in a house of 450) in the National Assembly but only for the time being. During the discussion of the extension of Martial Law by the Assembly, the Party Chief, Mr. Demirel said: "It is still early. The time is not ripe for criticising the 12 March memorandum".

What happens when the time ripens, is very much an open question but what the military commanders in Turkey seem to have taken upon themselves has put them in a very exceptional and unenviable position. The defence forces of a country may and should have a rôle in aiding the civil power in dealing with anarchy and lawlessness but their primary job is to defend the national frontiers. They are recruited and paid to guard the nation—its territories and its values—and not to rule it. Once they allow themselves to acquire a taste for and lien in politics, they become exposed to the same tensions and conflicting influences which inflict the political parties today. It is often necessary and not always risky for a political party to go through debates and divisions but once an army comes to that, that's the end of the matter.

Soviet Marxism: a theoretical conference

A meeting of leading Soviet establishment intellectuals held in Moscow late last month discussed in detail, the state of the debate in modern Marxism with reference to the specific policies—both political and economic—of the Soviet regime. Mikhail (or Mekayeel) Suslov, Petr Demichev and Boris Ponomorev led the discussion. They are the leading Party theoreticians and a careful study of their views is necessary for appreciation of the current Soviet position on major theoretical problems of contemporary Marxism.

Suslov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and member of the Polit Bureau inaugurated the Conference. He spoke at length about the theoretical implication of developments in inter-state relations within the Soviet Bloc. "It is important," he said, to show objectively, the logical nature of a political and economic reproachment of socialist countries." Suslov stressed the identity of interests and experiences of the constituents of the Socialist system. He attacked the policies of Communist China. "The anti-Leninist and anti-Soviet line represents—a great danger to the cause of socialism", he said. He emphasised the necessity for sympathetic and like-minded party leadership in the Socialist countries. He said: "Leadership by a Marxist-Leninist party is absolutely essential for the successful solution of all problems of Communist construction." He pointed out that "the bourgeoisie is resorting to ideological subversion and is trying to exploit different revisionist vacillations . . . Since anti-imperialist struggle involves the broad non-proletarian masses, their political instability and ideological immaturity make themselves felt. All this gives rise to differing trends hostile to Marxism-Leninism such as adventurist "Leftism" and advocacy of spontaneity, pseudo-revolutionary zeal (etc) . . . Right-wing and 'Left'-wing opportunists draw together more and more often on the positions of anti-Sovietism, anti-Communism, Nationalism and the struggle against real socialism". He advocated greater economic integration as a means of bringing the different socialist countries and regimes together.

Demichev outlined the major economic issues that confront the Soviet state. He emphasised the necessity "for the solution of social problems that arise, for strengthening the process of socialist economic integration and for using the advantages of the international division of labour. In order to achieve these aims it was necessary consistently and steadily to extend and improve the system of training and re-training executives. Despite the objective

need for voluntary . . . democratic centralism . . . more flexible and effective forms of public administration were (required) for further development of socialist democracy and the strengthening of the Soviet state".

The establishment intellectuals have at this Conference shied away from addressing themselves directly to the basic dilemma of modern Marxism. The history of Soviet Russia, since the October revolution—as indeed the history of Communist China and the East European countries—seems to confirm that socialist societies tend to become almost indistinguishable from their Capitalist 'mixed' counterparts. The political aspect of this problem of convergence is embodied in the growth of a dominant National Interest in socialist states. It is this National Interest which determines the ideological stand of the socialist states. It is only honest to acknowledge that the proliferation of ideological heresies is a direct result of the increasing divergence in the national interest of the different socialist states. The Soviet Union would like to impose its own version of the Marxist orthodoxy on the other Communist states primarily in order to maintain its own hegemony and prevent a multi-polarisation of power.

On the economic front, the developed socialist states find it impossible to maintain the pattern of production and planning that has been eulogized by Marx . . . The problem of 'convergence' manifests itself in the increasing concern with effective demand. In order to produce for a Consumer's market the rationale of resource allocation has to be altered. Hence profits and market price supplant direct controls and accounting prices as the socialist economy matures.

It is perhaps unfortunate that the Soviet establishment intellectuals have tried to 'explain away' these facts. On the other hand the Maoist and Trotskyist view that convergence is the product of the 'revisionist' policies of the Kremlin rulers is also not substantiated by events. Convergence characterises not merely the USSR economy. It is also a central feature of the Bulgarian, Yugoslavian, Albanian and North Korean states. Even People's China is now explicitly pursuing its National Interest in reverting to the Stalinist policy of 'Socialism in one country' by seeking a settlement with the USA.

It would be a happy day when Socialist intellectuals take up this question honestly and sincerely. Socialism and Capitalism have long since merged into a single malleable system of political, economic and social inter-relationships both within and among socialist and capitalist states. Considering the philosophical affinity of Utilitarianism and Dialectical Materialism, it is hardly surprising that this should beso.

YUGOSLAVIA

Road to post-Titoism

K. B. NAZIR

Tito is to Soviet Communism what Luther was to Roman Catholicism. He is the founder of Red Protestantism, whose laboratory has been Yugoslavia for the last two decades. Tito and the Yugoslav leadership do realise, however, that they are living through the twilight of Titoism. For the last one year they have been consciously grappling with the problems of transition to post-Titoism. It was on 21 September 1970 that a plan to perpetuate Titoist Communism was announced. On the first anniversary of the new plan it might be worthwhile to review these developments in the context of Yugoslavia's experiments with Communist Protestantism.

Yugoslavia is a federation of six socialist republics, including two autonomous provinces in Serbia. Situated on the Adriatic coast of the Balkan peninsula, it occupies a strategic position on the political map of Western Europe. It has contiguous borders with three West European (Italy, Austria and Greece) and four East European (Albania, Bulgaria, Rumania and Hungary) countries. Its six republics house five nationalities, four languages, three religions and over a dozen national minorities. Despite quick industrialisation in some regions the country remains predominantly agricultural. Although the rate of economic growth has been significant (around 5 per cent over the last decade) the degree of economic contentment is low.

After four years of Nazi occupation and civil war Yugoslavia attained independence in 1945. Josip Broz Tito was at the vanguard of the popular struggle and was voted to power in 1945. Although Tito was a firm Communist internalist and a loyal Stalinist in 1945, his was the only socialist regime in East Europe which did not owe its existence to Russian troops. His confidence in himself and his people brought him into conflict with Stalin within three years of his rise to power. Tito had his own ideas about power-grouping in the Balkans but Stalin was not prepared to observe in silence the emergence of another 'centre' in the Communist World. In June 1948 the first confrontation within the Communist bloc took place. Tito refused to follow Russian orders and Yugoslavia was expelled from the *Cominform* with disgrace. This was followed by an all-round propaganda war against Tito and an economic blockade against Yugoslavia. But Tito refused to bow to this pressure. He was too firmly established within to be dislodged easily by pressure from without. For one year he remained on the defensive and his foreign policy continued to be

pro-Russian. However, from the womb of that tension-packed silence was born Titoist Protestantism. It began to take shape from 1950 onwards, and so began the era of Communist polycentrism.

Yugoslavia was the first Communist State to refuse to subordinate its politico-economic existence to Moscow. Others to follow this course (in their own way, on their own terms) were Hungary (1965), Albania (1961), China (1962), Rumania (1964) and Czechoslovakia (1968). But all heretics did not have the same fate. While Albania, China and Rumania continue in their heresy, Hungary and Czechoslovakia have been subdued.

Tito's protestantism which began as a challenge to political authority and leadership gradually grew to have an ideological basis of its own. Its main features could be summed up as follows:

(a) It was wedded to Communism but not necessarily to the Soviet brand. It was asserted that Communism could be achieved only through self-management, a catchword signifying the direct participation of the working class in all forms of decision making at the factory level. Workers' Councils were formed and made to share factory operation. This has been described as a socio-economic process through which "State Socialist ownership over means of production (the lower form of socialist ownership) becomes social ownership over the means of production (the higher form of social ownership)". Extension of this principle to the entire economy and polity, it is claimed, paves the way for the withering away of the State and the "transforming of the Government by the political party of the working classes into the government of the working class itself". This system was inaugurated in July 1950 and has been extended and strengthened ever since.

(b) Self-management in the political field has led to the injection of greater doses of democracy, personal liberty and self-expression. Although the overall sway of the police state is there, a gradual political liberalisation has taken place. The Press has also become relatively more free. Public criticism of the Government, its institutions and policies is much more visible. Elections to Republican and Federal assemblies and Chambers are more free and since 1967 the principle of more than one candidate has also been introduced. The system cannot be called democratic from Western standards, but it is not as arbitrary and authoritarian as is the case in other Communist countries.

(c) Non-alignment in foreign policy and co-operation with the East as well as the West is another fundamental tenet of red

protestantism. Yugoslavia has tried to maintain its independence of Moscow and Washington alike and has played an important rôle in making non-alignment the political creed of the Third World. Although the concept of non-alignment has suffered severe set-backs because of Nkrumah and Sukarno's departure from the scene as well as the recent Indian and Egyptian treaties with Russia, non-alignment did play a part in transferring international relations from a phase of bi-polarity to multi-polarity.

(d) Market Socialism which is midway between highly centralized economic planning and predominantly free market economy is another feature of Titoist Communism. Yugoslavia has tried to establish a decentralized economy with indicative planning, worker participation and partial freedom of enterprise. Even foreign capital has been encouraged on certain conditions. Despite the co-existence of an effective private sector the planned socialized sector remained the pace-setter of the economy.

(e) Tito has gradually abandoned help to Communists in Greece and Italy and tried to shift emphasis from internationalism to nationalism. In the same way as protestantism was the harbinger of nationalism in Europe, Titoism opened the door for nationalism within the Socialist camp. The philosophy of separate roads to socialism was developed. It was claimed that every nation could have its unique growth-path to Communism. This is a claim which is forcefully disputed by Russia and the internationalists.

Yugoslavia provides a unique case-study in the articulation of the inner dynamics of red protestantism. An initial political revolt spelled out its economic, ideological and structural dimensions. Tradition gave way to innovation. The system began to change from within. Changes demanded new constitutional arrangements which paved the way for further changes. One fed the other and led to the unfolding of an entirely new scenario.

Yugoslavia's first constitution was framed in 1946. It was a faithful copy of the Stalinist Constitution of Soviet Russia enforced in 1936. Changes that took place in 1948-52 demanded a new constitution and it was enforced in 1953. It had the rudiments of Titoist Protestantism, but was steeped in an authoritarian mould. The shadow of Stalinism could not be so easily shaken off. A decade of new experiments necessitated new changes. The new system had now taken a definite shape and this was cast into the new constitution of 1963. This constitution was amended in April 1967 and December 1968. Now, in

Books

Towards Understanding the Qur'an ?

John Penrice, 1971

A DICTIONARY AND GLOSSARY OF THE KORAN

pp 167, Curzon Press, London, £3.75

This is a handy and useful work for English-knowing students of the Qur'an. It was first published in 1873. The present edition seems to be a photographic reproduction, effected for the publisher in Hungary, but this is not mentioned. The author seems to have been a missionary, as also the new editor, which goes to mar the objectivity of the work. We shall illustrate that presently.

There is a pompous Arabic name also given in the title of the present index, *silk al-bayân fi manâqib al-Qur'an* (thread of the exposé regarding the excellent qualities of the Qur'an), but there is no question of the *manâqib* or excellent qualities of the Qur'an being presented therein.

The new editor, Prof R. B. Serjeant, unnecessarily offends Muslims by saying (pV) that the *Qur'an* represents "authentic utterances of the Arabian Prophet." He does know that Muhammad is not the author, but transmitter of this work, which according to him, was revealed to him. The editor did not require to admit the Islamic view about the Qur'an but there is no need to present one's personal view as an authentic fact.

The author also seems to derive a sort of pleasure in being stingy. In the introduction (p.VII) he would say, "It has been the privilege of the Kor'an rather to impose its own laws upon grammar than to accept them from other sources." From which source? Everyone knows that the Qur'an is the first book ever written in the Arabic language; that Arabic grammars were produced about two centuries later. Grammarians base themselves on the usage; usage never bases itself on the prescriptions of the grammarians. The grammar of the Qur'an conforms to the usage of the language in Mecca and Madina; if some of the rules of that period have fallen into disuse it does not imply that the Qur'an is at times grammatically wrong. Languages change daily; the English of five hundred years ago is incomprehensible to-day. It is a miracle of the Arabic language that at least during the last 1400 years, it has changed neither in grammar nor in vocabulary, nor even in spelling and pronunciation (leaving apart the dialects). There is no denying the fact that one or two rules of the grammar of the time of the Qur'an are

no more in common use, still the language of the Qur'an of 1400 years ago is exactly the same as the one that is used today.

Again, on p 38, under the word *hamd*, explaining the sense of the name *Ahmad*, he would say. By a perversion of the Gospel, the Mussulman Doctors teach that the Comforter promised under the name of paraclytos was the periclytos or Renowned Mohammad". Does one possess the Aramaic original of the saying of Jesus Christ? There are several such remarks.

The book is a dictionary of the Qur'anic Arabic into English. The author has classified most of the words used in the Qur'an in an alphabetical order. Two defects strike the reader at once:

There are practically no references as to the verse(s) in which a word is used. They are given sometimes, but are seldom complete.

There are no cross references to synonymous or allied words.

Like any other language, Arabic too has words which have more than one meaning. The meaning given by the author are correct only in that the Arabic dictionaries too would give that sense, but in the case of those words which have several acceptations, the author's choice is not always a happy one. For instance (p 73) *musannada*, "propped up." Yet in the context, it means "clad in sanad"—a dress consisting of a long shirt and a waist, which was the elegant dress of the then Arab elite, or (p 125) *kursi*, "throne." The Qur'an uses the word '*arsh*' for the Divine throne, and *kursi* is explained by such a great authority as Tabari as the foot-rest ("the very foot-rest of the throne of God is far bigger than the heavens and the earth").

Many words are missing also. For instance '*urub*' (of 56/37) a certain quality of the Hooris.

Were one to exhaust all the examples of each word used in the Qur'an one will detect that a word does not always carry the same meaning in each place. This is not a difficult work, and any young Muslim may undertake it for the benefit and gratitude of the students of the Qur'an.

In spite of its short-comings, the book is useful.

(A. M. NURUDDIN)

Documenting the birth of a movement

Matiur Rahman, 1970

FROM CONSULTATION TO CONFRONTATION: A study of the Muslim League in British Indian Politics, 1906-1912.

pp XV+313 Luzac, London, £5.00

Dr. Matiur Rahman's book *From Consultation to Confrontation* is a survey of the embryonic stages of development of the All-India Muslim League which, during the course of its latter history, emerged as a great political party championing Muslim political rights in the Indian sub-continent and, finally achieved the creation of the Islamic state of Pakistan, in 1947. The monograph seeks to trace "the circumstances leading to the formation of the League, examines the evolution of the League's constitution and policy, analyses its reaction to British policy and evaluates the League's contribution in British-Indian politics between 1906 and 1912."

The book is a worthy addition to the growing literature on the history of the freedom movement in the Sub-continent. Dr. Rahman, a Pakistani scholar, is one of the representatives of a new generation of historians whose strong nationalistic sentiment inspires him to write the story of the national political party with a scholarly zeal. He records the activities of the League with great sympathy and pleads the cause of the Muslims of British India convincingly. We shall cite a characteristic example of his argument in defence of the League. In refuting such allegations as the Muslim League was "the favourite (and) pampered child of British imperialism" Dr. Rahman offers the following argument:

"It has been suggested that the Muslim League was started 'under the inspiration of the British Government and leadership of one of its chief supporters, the Aga Khan.' We have already noted how the Aga Khan had opposed the formation of the League and thus the hollowness of the second part of the allegation has already been exposed. The first part of the allegation is equally untenable and has never been substantiated. It was either politically motivated or made on the analogy of the (British Indian) Government's inspiration towards the formation of the Indian National Congress. But unlike the Congress, which had been fortunate in having its father and godfather respectively in the persons of A. O. Hume and Lord Dufferin, the League was started at the initiative of and by the Muslim leaders themselves" (p 40).

BOOKS NOTED IN IMPACT
CAN BE ORDERED THROUGH
NEWSMEDIA BOOK SERVICE.

News & Media Ltd.,
33 Stroud Green Road,
London N4 3EF

Elaborating the argument further, the author demonstrates that on the contrary, the British press and the Imperial Civil Service viewed the formation of the League with disfavour. The British Colonial Government in India, despite the declared loyalty of League leaders, was always suspicious of the motives of the Muslim politicians. On the other hand, the leaders of the Indian National Congress never ceased from trying to stifle the Muslim League. The Muslim League in the early stages of its history had to work against heavy odds. Dr. Rahman discusses the early history of the Muslim League with such panoramic vividness as is lacking in any known researchwork on the subject published in the last few decades. The descriptive analysis in this monograph constitutes a very good ground work on which further researches on the subsequent history of the Muslim politics in colonial India should thrive.

The nature of the sources used by the author permits him to approach the subject with authority. His sources are very largely archival records, journalistic reports and occasional publications of Indian political parties and organisations. Although a good many of these documents have also been used by earlier researchers, such as S. R. Wasti (*Lord Minto and the Indian Nationalist movement, 1905-1910*) and Mollah (*The Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam, 1905-1911*) and S. Z. H. Zaidi (*The partition of Bengal and its annulment—a survey of the schemes of territorial redistribution of Bengal, 1902-1911*), nevertheless the interpretation of these and other sources provides a considerable degree of originality.

Dr. Rahman testifies that the All-India Muslim League, since its foundation in 1906, appeared as a 'bourgeois' political organisation having, in its positions of leadership, persons from the titled aristocrats and feudal lords, business magnates, lawyers and journalists—a complexion which it continued to retain throughout most of its history. There is also a good account in the book on the rôles of great Muslim personalities, viz., Nawab Salimullah, Abdullah-al-Mamun Suhrawardy, the Aga Khan, Syed Ameer Ali and some others in determining the course of Muslim politics in British India.

The monograph, originally a doctoral dissertation, has been published almost in its original form which explains the bias towards substantiation and documentation as against style. A glossary of technical terms for the understanding of non-specialist readers could also have added to the value of this informative monograph. Nevertheless, the book is a well-researched and adequately documented study that will be welcomed by all those who are interested in the assessment of the resurgent nationalistic forces at the twilight of the British colonial rule in India.

(M. A. JABBAR BEGG)

A History of the Crusades by Sir Steven Runciman, *Pelican*, 75p. each.

In two volumes; the first deals with the First Crusade and the second one is about the kingdom of Jerusalem. Both the style and the subject show that even to this day the spirit of the crusades is very much alive.

The Medieval Jewish Mind by Chaim Pearl, *Valentine Mitchell*, £2.80.

An account of the thought of the medieval Jewish philosopher, Rabbi Issac Arama who was born in Northern Spain in 1420 and sought to expound a rational basis for the Jewish religion. Interesting as a study of the medieval Jewish mind and shows the great impact of Greek and Arabic ideas on Jewish dogma.

Our Man in Damascus by Ellie Ben-Hanan, *Robert Hale*, £1.70

Story of the Israeli spy, Elie Cohen who arrived in Syria in 1962 from Argentina, took a house near the Syrian army headquarters. He was now Kamal Amin Thabet, a patriotic Syrian businessman engaged in export trade. He gained the acquaintance of the Syrian President, Gen. Amin Al-Hafiz which considerably increased his influence and popularity in the higher circles of Damascus society, including some top military officers who, from time to time, invited him to visit the Syrian defences. He was at one time asked to broadcast a special programme for the Syrian emigrants abroad from the Syrian radio. The information gleaned from these personal and social contacts was faithfully and regularly passed on to his superiors in Tel Aviv. This went on for three years until he was detected and hurriedly executed.

A Rumour of Angels: Modern Society and the Rediscovery of the Supernatural by Peter L. Berger, *Pelican*, 25p.

It is a strong denunciation of modern atheism and a reaffirmation of the existence of God "who is not the world and who was not made by man, who is outside and not within ourselves, who is not a sign of human things but of whom human things are signs, who is symbolised and not a symbol... this God totally other and yet accessible in human experience, in whom the faith will see the foundation of order, justice and compassion in the world". The author, an American sociologist of repute, refutes the arguments of the agnostics and atheists.

Anti-Christ in Seventeenth Century England by Christopher Hill, *OUP*, £1.50.

Studies the development of the Christian concept of Anti-Christ as prevalent in the 17th century England and the various religio-political influences which moulded it. The common belief then was that the appearance of Anti-Christ or the Beast—the commander of the evil forces—signified the approach of the Second Coming, and was a prelude to the Day of Judgement. The view underwent changes through time. In the Middle Ages it was believed that Anti-Christ would be a Jew. In the immediate post-reformation days the English identified Anti-Christ as being the Pope; later the puritans used the concept to condemn their religious rivals and vice versa.

Church and State in Modern Ireland by J. H. Whyte, *Gill & Macmillan*, pp 478, £4.25.

Looks at the contemporary Irish scene from a religious stance and the dominance of the Catholic church which even now continues to exercise significant control over education and a wide range of such welfare services, e.g. hospitals, orphanages, Borstals etc. which are commonly regarded as state affairs. More recently, however, it appears to be gradually losing hold and there are now voices which openly question its authority.

Ireland's English Question: by Patrick O'Farrell, *Batsford*, pp 336, £3.50.

Professor O'Farrell, an Australian, shows the intimate and close relationship between religion

and politics in Eire; contends that the roots of Anglo-Irish tensions lie in religious differences. It is from here that "a mutual tutelage in violence" has developed between the two countries.

● Abram Rubinstein of the *Oriental Languages Institute in Moscow* has compiled a small 1000 words **Russian-Modern Hebrew Dictionary**. A larger dictionary of 25000 words is to be published next year by the Encyclopaedia Publishing House, Moscow.

A Muslim Students' Guide to Britain is to be published by *FOSIS* on 1 November. The Guide covers topics ranging from food to accommodation, vacation work and travel, and up-to-date addresses of mosques, Islamic societies, Pakistan welfare associations etc. There are sections on social and legal aspects of Muslim life in Britain. Price 25p (postage extra)

● **Merdeka**, the official organ of the United Malay National Organisation is to resume publication.

● An incorrect and out-dated translation of the Qur'an republished by *Garnier*, a French publishing firm includes an imaginary picture of the Prophet Muhammed. The book has been subject of Muslim protest in France.

IMPACT international fortnightly

AN INDEPENDENT JOURNAL OF
MUSLIM AFFAIRS

(Published 2nd & 4th Friday of the month)

	Inland and Surface Mail	Airmail
One Year	£3.50	US \$12.00
6 Months	£1.75	US \$ 6.00
Students (Annual)	£2.50	US \$ 9.00

Single Copy (By Post)

Surface Mail: UK & Overseas 13 p.
By Air: Middle East 22p, Americas/Asia/
Africa 25p, Far East 35p.

Please enter my subscription for

1 year six months

Payment enclosed £ Stg/US \$.....

**ALL CHEQUES MADE PAYABLE TO
NEWS & MEDIA LTD.**

33 STROUD GREEN ROAD,
LONDON N4 3EF

Name
(Block Letters)

Address

.....

.....

Field of Work/Study.....

Distributors in Pakistan

Paradise Subscription Agency,
Fatimah Jinnah Road Karachi-4
Air Mail Rs. 60 Surface Rs. 28.50

World Opinion

IMPRESSIVE BUT 'VERY UN-GREEK'

Shah is trying to anchor his usurping dynasty to the remotest past by turning Persepolis into a back-cloth for the celebrations of a somewhat problematic anniversary—two thousand five hundred years since the death of Cyrus. The cutting of new processional roads, the building of a hotel of monumental ugliness, the plans for a tented village... to house the crowned heads and other State visitors to the celebrations: all this and a few Potemkin villages thrown in as a gesture towards development economics and social reform—all this one feels would have appealed to the great kings who lie buried here. It is impressive, monumental and at the same time a little unreal. Very immoderate, very un-Greek.

For the Jews, the Greeks like the Romans were oppressors... But the Persians were liberators; it was Cyrus who after conquering Babylon let the Jewish people go back to their own country—back to Jerusalem and the rebuilding of the Temple. And now that Jerusalem is Jewish again—all this is very meaningful.

And not Cyrus only, for Purim can now be celebrated in undivided Jerusalem, and Purim is Esther and her uncle Mordecai; and Esther was married to Ahasuerus who may have been Xerxes, or perhaps Xerxes' father, and so another of the Shah's ancestors by adoption...

It is a further topic for reflection that Iran and Israel are the only two countries which in one form or another existed then and exist today. They are also in their different ways the two dynamic and thrusting countries of the area—Tehran is only a bigger Tel-Aviv... it has a spread of income levels which would seem exaggerated not just by Israeli standards but by those of almost any advanced country...

It cannot only be the oil... It must be something else; the native intelligence of the race, and the driving ambition of government which means the Shah and his circle. It is very reminiscent of Kemal in Turkey, and that is a bad omen when one sees how much of Turkey's secular revolution from above has run into traditionalist sands. In Iran, too, one has the sense that all the medieval fanaticisms of Islam are only just found the corner. (Why doesn't Women's Lib take an interest in Iran; why should only men go to the cinema?)...

Both Iran and Israel break many rules, though not the same ones. There is also the almost equally curious fact of their own style of peaceful co-existence. Both are non-Arab islands in an Arab sea... Iran is a moslem country even though its brand of Islam is different from that of most Arabs. It can, therefore, only co-operate with Israel... in ways which do not imply political recognition, and which involve the

Israelis in accepting Iranian denunciations of their policies at the United Nations and elsewhere.

(An element of childishness enters into non-recognition. Israeli diplomats carry visiting cards without their official rank, as well as the normal kind. The Israeli Embassy has not even a brass-nameplate—only a street number. But one is told that any taxi-driver will know where to find it without the need to give an address.)

(Max Beloff in *Encounter*, London, September 1971)

NATO, NOT EXACTLY

Akrotiri (British base in Cyprus) is not exactly part of NATO, as its PROs never tire of explaining. Britain operates it partly for itself and partly for Cento, which includes Turkey, Iran, and, half heartedly, Pakistan. It keeps open the British routes to the Far East and extends the flank of NATO. Thanks to CENTO British planes can fly from the Mediterranean to Singapore passing only over allied territory. The C-in-C at Akrotiri also commands a squadron of Canberras in Malta and two staging posts in Oman.

As other places fold, Cyprus becomes more important, or at least better equipped... Will Cyprus ever fold? It is hard to imagine it... the PROs get irritated when people call it a NATO base. ("There is no NATO declared equipment or force on the island"); or when anyone dwells on Akrotiri's role in enhancing the nuclear capacity of CENTO member-countries, as a Defence White Paper once suggested. The reference has quietly disappeared from more recent White Papers.

Perhaps the best guarantee for Akrotiri is that there is no such thing as a Cypriot. There are only Greeks and Turks, neither of whom will concede the island to the other.

(Walter Schwarz, *The Guardian*, London, 11 September 1971)

FEMALE LABOUR: CERTAIN CONTRADICTIONS

No one denies the enormous strides that have been taken by the USSR in raising the role of women in society.

Indeed, with equal pay a long established principle and women in key positions throughout the economy, the USSR has done more than any other country to give the principle of equality real meaning.

But, still, there are problems... The use of female labour entails certain contradictions.

Birthrate, divorce, child neglect, the organisation of the family's

leisure, the atmosphere at home and the health of the rising generation are all, in one or another degree, linked with the mother's problem of combining her job with her chores at home.

Every manager knows only too well that female staff are unreliable, owing to family problems: either it is the place of work which is too far away from the house, or there is nobody to look after the children, or the shift hours are unsuitable, since they upset the home routine, or a child has just been born or a son is getting married.

(Prof. Mikhail Sonin, *Soviet Weekly*, London, 25 September 1971)

THE PRESENT MOOD OF EUROPE

The reluctance of the European nations to take over any major part of the heavy U.S. burden in NATO is part and parcel of the present mood of Europe... the talk in Europe is of peace and so is the action. Words of reconciliation flow across the line of separation accompanied by accelerating trade, technological exchange, and travel. Indeed, Communist workers from the East form a part of this flow as they move on contract into labour-short Western Europe even as European private enterprise operates in Eastern Europe.

The detente has been gaining momentum in Europe for several years. Even the Czechoslovakian intervention in 1968 slowed it only momentarily. Now it is extending rapidly from the cultural and economic realms into the political...

This situation highlights the need in my judgement, to face up to the anachronism of the current consignment of U.S. military forces in Europe... it seems to me highly necessary that there be a substantial and graduated reduction in U.S. forces in Europe. Indeed, what value in any negotiations is the debilitating waste of our financial resources? To follow the line of reasoning that suggests we should keep U.S. forces in order to increase our bargaining power with the Soviet Union is to argue that if the present forces were doubled in size our bargaining power would be doubled.

(Senator Majority leader Mike Mansfield on the Senate floor, 14 September 1971)

A RUSSIAN GLANCE AT ULSTER

With a country under military occupation and with the British Government and Army encouraging terrorism by the Orangemen, all negotiations would immediately boil down to British domineering. Moreover, with whom is it that Mr. Maudling proposes to negotiate? Many of the leaders of the Civil Rights movement are behind barbed wire of the concentration camps that the British Army have set up on the model of the Nazi camps. What sort of negotiations can there possibly be when the people with whom Maudling should negotiate are in the Long Kesh concen-

tration camp, where they are being made to run barefooted over broken glass and are tortured in other ways and hounded by police dogs?

In actual fact, the British Government's desire to negotiate a political settlement in Ulster is no greater than the American Government's desire to reach a peace settlement at the Paris talks on Vietnam. The British Government's only desire to gain time by talking about negotiations and to use that time for suppressing the Civil Rights movement in Ulster by force of arms.

(Anatoly Gan on *Radio Moscow*, 24 September, 1971)

THE SUBCONSCIOUS HATE COMPLEX

Our support to Mujibur Rahman is based, let us be candid enough on our sub-conscious hate complex of Pakistan. Platonically, we may plead all virtue but the harsh reality is that Pakistan was wrested from us and its basis—the two-nation theory—has never been palatable to us. If something ever happens which proves the unsoundness of that theory, it will be a matter of psychological satisfaction to us. That is, by and large, our national psyche and it is in that context that we have reacted to a happening which, we think may well disrupt Pakistan. Our national interest, however, demands that we diagnose issues less sentimentally and more soberly and sombrely. Bangla Desh may well disrupt West Bengal and that has already started happening before our eyes. West Bengal is slipping from our fold though Bangla Desh is still-born.

(R. P. Kapur, Chairman, Institute of Public Affairs, India, in *The Hindustan Standard*, Calcutta, 31 July 1971)

The Secretary General, Islamic Secretariat, Tunku Abdur Rahman said that his Secretariat does not get much financial and moral support from the Arab States.

Financial and moral support has only come, so far, from the Muslim countries in the Far East. The Arab States, he said, are preoccupied in preparing for war against Israel.

"Bajang" thinks these Arabs are not preoccupied about any war against Israel. In fact they are occupied in fighting amongst themselves. (Bajang in Utusan Melayu, Kuala Lumpur, 13 September 1971).

The Security Council has not heeded the cry of East Bengal, where there exists a truly urgent threat to peace, where a brutal army has turned eight million citizens into helpless refugees, and where tens of thousands have already died. But the Council is to meet this week to discuss the "problem" of Jerusalem, where all is peaceful, as it has been for the past four years.

(U.N. and Jerusalem, *The Jerusalem Post*, 15 September, 1971)

NEWS BRIEF

Bhutan. The Government has decided to discontinue the use of English words on the national crest.

Bulgaria. The first Congress of the Temperance Movement held in Sofia on 27 September outlined new measures to extend its activities among young people. Since the socialist revolution, the movement has received wide support and a new Bill against alcoholism is now being prepared.

Burma. The Constitution Commission for Burma has invited suggestions from individuals and groups for drafting a new constitution.

China. Tashkent Radio in a broadcast has alleged that in the Chinese province of Sinkiang over one million troops were stationed "to subdue the will of 5.5 million non-Chinese people". There was an open clash between the people and Army units in June and July 1964. It said that over 100,000 people were sent into concentration camps during the cultural revolution. □ The Yugoslav paper "Zycie Warszawy" has reported that on the basis of information received from Peking there were indications of some political changes in the Chinese leadership. It said that recently the role of Chou-en-Lai had "markedly increased" and a large statue of Mao in a Peking hotel reserved for foreigners had been removed.

Cuba. Under an agreement signed in Havana, the USSR will supply Cuba 500 sugar cane carts and will assist in setting up a sugar cane factory. The Soviet Union will also help in the construction of fertilizer works and improvement of communications.

Egypt. Cairo has criticized Israeli defiance of the Security Council resolution on Jerusalem which showed "the futility of adopting resolution to solve the Middle East crisis peacefully". □ Egypt has been reported to be considering buying arms for its Navy from Britain. □ President Sadat has ordered release of all political prisoners held without trial. These include about 138 members of the banned Muslim Brotherhood.

Ethiopia. Preliminary agreement has been reached with the Soviet Union regarding the establishment of regular communications within the two countries.

India. Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Indian Prime Minister, has blamed the Western powers for not putting adequate pressure on Pakistan for bringing about a political solution of the 'Bangla Desh' problem. □ Mother Theresa, founder of the "Missionaries of Charity" and winner of Pope's Peace Prize has alleged that a new wave of terror has been let loose in Bangla Desh and the influx of refugees which had stopped during the rainy season had begun all over again. □ The International Conference on Bangla Desh held in New Delhi has chosen London as the headquarters of the proposed "International Committee of Friends of Bangla Desh". □ A "Radio Peace and Progress" broadcast said that the "so-called British philanthropic missions" which pretended to help Pakistani refugees in India "systematically incite religious and communal strife among the Muslims and Hindus". They are openly striving

to make capital out of difficulties on the Hindustani sub-continent. □ India and Iraq have agreed to participate in joint ventures involving the setting-up of a refinery in India, steel plant, fertilizer project and a 400 Km railway in Iraq.

Indonesia. To mark the Armed Force Day, the Government has released 642, C-class Communist detainees. The total number of such detainees who have been released is now 1,053. □ Brig.-Gen. Acub Zainal, military commander of West Irian has strongly denied press reports that an uprising had broken out in the province. The situation, he said, was fully under control. □ The Minister of Interior has announced the distribution of additional seats in the People's Consultative Assembly (M.P.R.) as follows: Catholic Party 1; Indonesian Islamic Union Party (PSII) 3; the Muslim Scholars Party (NU) 20; The Muslim Party 8; Golkar 79; The Indonesian Christian Party (Parkindo) 2; The Indonesian Nationalist Party (PNI) 7; The Islamic Education Union (Perti) 1; The Murba Party and the Association of supporters of Indonesian Independence (Ipki) 1 each.

Israel. Israeli T.V. service in Arabic is to be extended by 30 minutes, in November. □ A Fund in aid of Bangla Desh refugees in India has been set up in Haifa by Dr. William Freedman, head of the Haifa University's English Department. Dr. Freedman said: "Israelis cannot stand idly by while holocaust is engulfing 8.5 million refugees." Several artists have already volunteered their services for a benefit affair tentatively scheduled for October 9, at Tel Aviv's Mana Auditorium. A fashion show and art auction are also planned.

Kenya. Prominent citizens and leaders of Kenya Muslims have lodged a strong protest with the BBC over its biased and invidious reporting of the recent troubles in East Pakistan.

Kuwait. The Kuwaiti Magazine 'Al-Yaqazah' has called upon Iraq, Algeria and the Palestine Revolution to form a strong and effective alliance for protecting the Palestine Revolution. Such an alliance, it said, was the only medicine which would help.

Malaya. Tunku Abdur Rahman, Secretary General of the Islamic Secretariat, is expected to seek mandate from the forthcoming Conference of the Muslim States to visit the Philippines and investigate the Muslim situation in Mindanao. □ The Malayan Islamic Welfare Association is to produce records on "How to perform Prayers."

Pakistan. President Yahya Khan announced a nine-member Committee for preparing a constitution for the country. The draft would be presented to the National Assembly for discussion and amendment. □ Mr. Bhutto, chairman of the People's Party, has demanded that the National Assembly be convened either in December or in January and called for a speedy restoration of democracy in the country. He expressed full faith in the President and said his party will continue the struggle for establishing a democratic order. □ The pro-Moscow National Awami Party has urged the release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. □ Radio Pakistan is starting a new service in Sylheti language for listeners in Europe and Britain. □ Polling will be held from 12 to 23 December for by-elections to the seats declared vacant in the National Assembly and the Provincial Assembly in East Pakistan.

United Kingdom. Total unemployment in the month of September rose by 24,687 to 883,553 or 3.9 per cent of the working population. There are now more than 5 people out of work for every available vacancy in Britain.

USA. The 9th Annual Convention of the Muslim Students' Association of the USA and Canada meeting in Green Lake, Wisconsin appealed to the Muslim people to close their ranks and return to the spirit of Islam. The Convention also expressed its support to the liberation struggles in Eriterea, Chad, Cyprus, Kashmir, Comoro

Islands, Palestine and Zanzibar. Dr. Ahmad Sakr was elected as President.

USSR. A decree passed by the Supreme Soviet imposes fines for infringement of currency regulations. Soviet citizens going out may take with them up to R.30 each, but currency and valuables being brought back must be declared.

PEOPLE

King Faisal arrived in Beirut on 27 September on his first state visit to Lebanon. ● **Premier Kosygin** is to pay a visit to Morocco later this month. ● **President Sadat** is expected to pay a state visit to the Soviet Union in the first half of October. ● **Queen Elizabeth** and the **Duke of Edinburgh** are to visit Malaysia and Singapore in February 1972. ● **Mrs Golda Meir** is expected to visit the USA later this year. ● **President Numayri** has accepted **President Yaha's** invitation to visit Pakistan. ● **Muhammad Guled**, the former Somali Vice-President, has been put on trial on charges of treason. ● **Sayf ad-Din Zu'abi**, the Arab Deputy speaker of the Israeli Parliament has resigned. He is to be replaced by **Mr. Elias Nakhle**, a Christian Arab. ● **Mufti Mehmet Dana** has retired and **Dr. Mustapha Rafat** has been appointed to replace him as Mufti of Cyprus. ● **Raphl Abernathy**, the leader of the US Civil Rights Movement, paid a visit to the USSR. ● The Libyan Radio has denied rumours alleging traffic accident involving **Col. Qadhafi**. ● **David Loshak**, *The Daily Telegraph* correspondent in India was barred from entering Pakistan. ● **Miss Annasoltan Nekhova** the young Turkemanian poet has been confined to a psychiatric hospital for indefinite period because she protested about conditions in the Turkmen Soviet Republic. ● **Haluk Arik** and **Ihsan Topaloglu**, Turkish ministers of Communication and Power, respectively, have resigned. ● **Vice-President Lt. General Saleh Mahdi Ammah** and Foreign Minister **Mr. Abdul Karim al-Sheikhly** have been relieved of their duties in the Iraqi cabinet. ● **Turab Khan**, an Indian Muslim citizen, acquitted by the Madhya Pradesh High Court on 4 May 1968, was released from prison in August this year when the acquittal order emerged from the files of the Home Department. ● **Mr. Adam Malik**, Foreign Minister of Indonesia, was elected President of the 26th session of the UN General Assembly. ● **Mr. W. Averill Harriman**, 79, US diplomat married **Pamela Hayward**, 51, widow of theatrical producer Leland Hayward. They met in London during the last war when Pamela was Mrs. Randolph Churchill. ● **Mustafa Kamal Tolba** the former Minister of Youth has been appointed to head the newly formed Academy of Scientific Research and Technology in Egypt. ● **Mullah Mustafa Barzani**, the Kurdish leader escaped an attempted assassination on 29 September. ● **Andre Malraux**, 69, French writer and a former friend of Lawrence of Arabia, has offered to fight on the side of the 'Bangla Desh' forces. ● **Beattie George Harrison**, has asked for waiving of the purchase tax on his next LP, profits of which are to go to 'Bangla Desh' and other causes.

VISITORS

Syed Ahmad Jamalulil former Malaysian diplomat and Public Relations Officer, UMNO. ● **Tun Abdur Razak**, Prime Minister of Malaysia. ● **Mian Anwar Ali**, Governor, Saudi Monetary Agency and **Mr. S. U. Durrani**, Governor, State Bank of Pakistan. ● **Muhammad Ali**, former world heavy-weight boxing champion.

DIED

Youssef Keita, President of the National Assembly of Mauritania, in a clinic in Las Palmas. ● **Miangul Sir Abdul Wadud**, 91, former ruler of now-defunct-Swat state on 1 October in Saidu Sharif, Pakistan ● **Dr. Syed Mahmud**, 82, Indian Muslim leader on 27 September in New Delhi.

RAMADAN MOON

Weather and other factors permitting, the Ramadan moon may be visible in Britain on 20th October.