

LONDON, 25 FEBRUARY — 9 MARCH 1972 / No. 19 / 10p

impact

international fortnightly

Jerusalem—"as in the days of the
Second Temple"

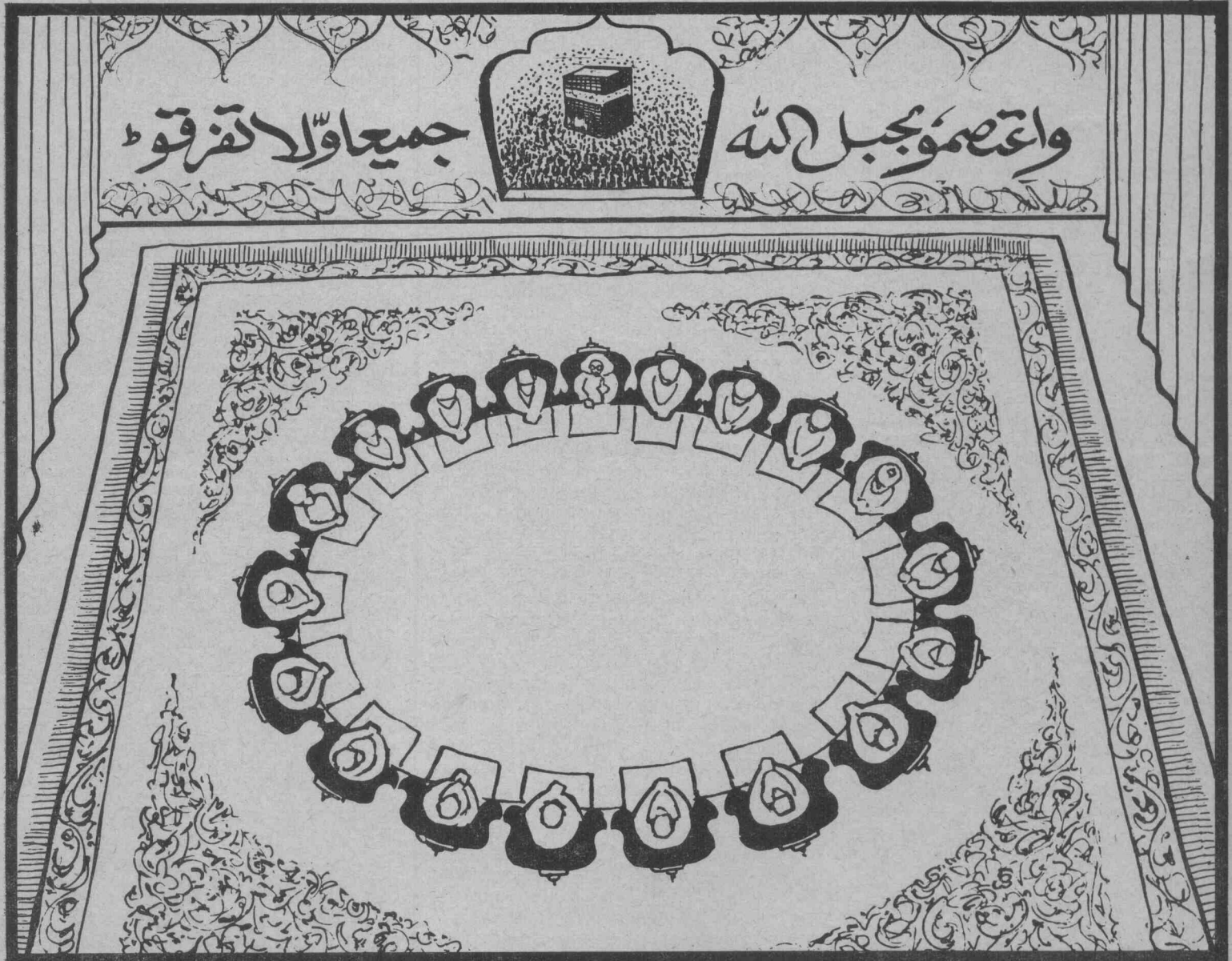
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AGENDA — MUSLIM UNITY

Muslim Unity — you can take the horse to the water

Muslims in their long and chequered history have passed through various phases and vicissitudes but the present century promises to be unique and eventful in more ways than one. At the dawn of the century except for an ailing and truncated Ottoman empire and two or three non-entity states, the whole Muslim world lay colonised by one or the other European power. The process of decline and colonisation had more or less been completed before the close of the nine-teenth century but the mopping up continued through the first quarter of this century. It was during this period that the Italians annexed Libya, Russia subjugated the whole lot of the Turkestan Amirates and the Allies cut the Ottomans to the size of the Turkish peninsula. The breakup of the Ottomans, an objective long cherished by the European powers, was achieved, however, not through the military superiority of the Allies but because of the internecine nationalistic strifes between the Turks and the Arabs.

The sudden "recovery" of this down and out Muslim world soon after the Second World War is another element of uniqueness. Pakistan became independent in 1947 and within a brief span of one decade, the whole region from Indonesia to Morocco and down to West Africa achieved freedom. In an age of dividing and segregative nationalism, Pakistan's emergence as a non-nationalist Muslim state was also unique and certainly out of tune with the spirit of the age. Nevertheless, it did release the vast and suppressed zeal for Muslim unity. Pakistan soon became sponsor and venue of several international Islamic conferences. While so welcome to the masses, the idea did not endear itself equally to the Muslim leadership.

Discouraged by pettiness and lack of positive response and above all its own growing internal political dissensions, Pakistan's interest visibly cooled away. A stage came when one of its Prime Ministers scoffed at the idea and said that zero plus zero plus zero was zero.

As if as a counter-balance to this phenomenon of post-War II emergence of the Muslim world came the creation of the 'State of Israel' in the Muslim heartland. This creation and continuation of Israel represented an unique consensus of the Super-Powers, America and Russia, a fact whose significance does not seem to be well-realized.

The implantation of Israel was the first indicator of the sub-sovereign nature of the Muslim world and the continuing debility of its social base. Although very

clearly an imposition, the establishment of Israel was made possible only because of internal Arab factors. Israel has since been able to expand and occupy Sinai, Gaza, the whole of the West Bank and the holy city of Jerusalem, but nothing has yet happened to alleviate even by the slightest degree the state of disarray and disunity in the Muslim world. As far as the Middle East is concerned, it is now up to Israel to decide how far its frontiers should go. The Arabs revolted against the Turks and now the Arabs themselves face a revolt from the Palestinians who have started disclaiming that they were Arabs at all.

Of the most recent and catastrophic example of Muslim disunity is the breakup of Pakistan; again made possible by the outside factor of Indo-Russian aggression but essentially a regression of internal dissensions.

In terms of area, population and resources the Muslim world sums up as a big, vast, and a rich world but in real terms a non-entity. There can be nothing more pathetic than this state of non-being, but there does exist something more pathetic and it is the persistent refusal of the Muslim world to learn from her humiliating experiences.

The experience of the Islamic Secretariat since its formation in 1970 in reaction to the arson in the Aqsa Mosque has been far from encouraging. That endemic problem of ego and indifference is still very much there. There are "troubles, obstructions, difficulties . . . Each one wants to be on the top, each one wants to be the leader". (Tunku Abdul Rahman's interview with *Impact*, 12-25 November 1971). Compare this with their obsequious attitude towards United Nations or other International bodies. How can an organisation function without staff and budget and without many of the participating states even bothering to reply to letters? That this has been possible and the Foreign Ministers are after all going to meet in Jeddah from 29 February is a miracle of its own sort and a tribute to the stewardship and determination of Tunku Abdul Rahman, its Secretary General who has refused to accept defeat. However you can take the horse to the water but you cannot make him drink. It would, therefore, be for the participating governments to turn the forum into something real and effective or else let history take its own callous but logical course. The remaining three decades of this century shall decide whether the Muslim world is going to be really free or even this semblance of freedom shall wither away.

Survey • SECOND TEMPLE

Jerusalem — as in the days of the Second Temple

Four small holes bored in the Western Wall of the Haram ash-Sharif area in Jerusalem to support scaffolding for an 800 year-old Muslim house last week gave rise to widespread and furious protest among Jews. Hundreds of worshippers, some of them weeping, attended prayers led by the Sephardi Chief Rabbi of Israel. There were heated debates in the Knesset protesting against "the degradation of the sanctum" and a special "commission of clarification" has been set up by Mrs. Golda Meir after seven separate motions for debate were tabled.

The holes were bored in a section known as the Small Wall and Jewish worshippers and tourists have been unaware of its existence. This makes it the more obvious that the furore over the matter have been motivated by other than religious consideration. The object is the demolition of all the houses along the whole of the western wall which accommodate several hundred Arab families. Religious circles supported by the Ministry of Religious Affairs have been pressing for the demolition of these houses to "expose fully Judaism's most sacred shrine."

The present blindness and possessiveness of the Jews have come a long way from the time when they were granted access to the Wailing Place which in Jewish history is of comparatively recent provenance. The Jews have had no right of ownership to the area though since the 1830's they were making escalating demands on it. As late as November 1911 an Administrative Council noted that the Jewish community "began lately and contrary to custom to bring chairs to sit on during the visits". The Council asked for the development to stop "lest the Jews claim in future ownership of the place". And in December 1930 a League of Nations Commission concluded in its findings that "the western wall was an exclusively Muslim waqf property and part of a Muslim holy place, al-Haram ash-Sharif area".

The escalating demands of the Jews and their possessiveness raise the question of their suitability to safeguard and ensure the preservation of the holy places of other communities, both Muslim and Christian. They show no concern for the great damage they are causing by the continuing excavations in the Haram ash-Sharif area. It is reported that the mosque of the Ottoman school close to the Western Wall is becoming severely cracked and there are fears that this would provide a pretext to destroy the mosque. In 1969 excavations resulted in the cracking of the Fakhriyyah (a Muslim institution) and the Israeli authorities pulled down the whole building allegedly to protect the passers-by. A new street around the southern wall was built and this has penetrated into the consecrated Islamic Cemeteries of Yusufiyah and Bab-ur-Rahmah. There have been little protest about these gross happenings while there are discussions among the Jews to have the stone chips from the four holes in the Small Wall hallowed in some special ways.

On January 4, 1972, Christian leaders in Jordan issued a statement expressing alarm at the changes which the Israeli authorities were making to destroy the character and the sanctity of Jerusalem. But their protest might not have any effect as vigorous pressure is mounted to have Jewish exclusive aims fulfilled. As the Minister of Religious Affairs said: "the wish to restore the site as in the days of the Second Temple was natural and the Government would have to consider it". It does not matter that thousands of Arabs would be deprived of their homes and even of their livelihood in the process.

Survey

CYPRUS ● PAKISTAN AND BANGLADESH ● AUSTRALIAN AID TO INDONESIA

Cyprus — hotting up of the cold fronts

The build-up of crisis in Cyprus in the past few weeks have been brought about by several new factors. The problem has become so complicated with the various parties involved and the big powers too that an easy solution seems more and more remote. We may be able to see the complexity of the problem by having a brief look at the parties and interests involved.

The United States:

- is friendly to the Greek military junta and has got from it the concession to have naval facilities in Piraeus near Athens;
- is interested in the preservation of American and NATO presence in the Mediterranean especially the eastern Mediterranean which is a basin of great strategic importance;
- is very much worried about Makarios turning to Communist bloc countries for help.

The Soviet Union:

- is protesting strongly against American plans to establish naval bases in Greek territory in direct proximity to the frontiers of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and is worried about what it calls the 'security' of the Warsaw Pact countries;
- accuses the Greek government of conspiring with the NATO against the Cyprus government and is very critical of its alleged backing for General Grivas who is now in Cyprus;
- regards American action as a serious threat to the independence of the Republic of Cyprus and its territorial integrity saying that it has always supported the independence and sovereign rights of every State, large or small. Speaks of the "cruel blackmail of Cyprus by NATO generals;"
- notes the satisfaction of the Tel Aviv circles on the signing of the agreement between the USA and Greece.

Greece:

- has become at loggerheads with the Makarios' government;
- feels that it has special responsibilities for the security of Cyprus both from the national and international level;
- is alarmed at the importation of a considerable quantity of arms by Makarios from Czechoslovakia, a Warsaw Pact country, and fears that the use of these arms would lead to fratricide and destruction in the island;
- requested Makarios to hand over the arms to the custody of the National Guard and later to the UN Peace Force on the island;
- is calling for a government of national unity in Cyprus which would include all the nationalist parties of Greek-Cypriot Hellenism and which should come from the initiative of political and church leaders;
- feels that General Grivas, now 74, has a right to be in Cyprus and a right to intervene in the Cyprus national cause;
- has officers in Cyprus who helped in the training of National Guard reserve officers.

Turkey:

- like Britain, the United States, the UN and Greece, is concerned about Makarios' importation of arms for his own paramilitary groups;
- places faith in the importance and value of NATO and is now very close to the position of the USA and the government of Greece;
- asserts that all measures will be taken to protect the life and property of the Turkish Cypriot community in the event of any disturbances on the island.

Makarios:

- fears an imposed settlement from Greece;
- has distrust of the loyalty of the National Guard

and so has formed a new special 'praetorian' guard for whom the arms from Czechoslovakia are intended;

- wants to preserve his dominance in the island and is in conflict with the *enosis* policy or union with Greece which is the main aim of General Grivas, formerly head of the EOKA terrorist organisation;
- is now calling for a calmer tone, the banning of anti-Greece demonstrations etc., to improve relations with the Greek government;
- has the strong support of President Sadat of Egypt and was described by General Numeiry of the Sudan as "beloved brother".

Turkish Cypriots:

- fear that the arms imported by Makarios would be used, not between Greek factions, but against the Turks at the first opportunity;
- feel further threatened as half of the Turkish battalion is relieved according to a biennial rotation;
- because of discriminatory treatment in a Cyprus dominated by Greeks, wishes by and large for a virtually autonomous Turkish authority.

Pakistan and Bangladesh

In the previous issue (*Impact* 11-24 February, "Pakistan-Hallestine Doctrine in reverse") we emphasised upon Pakistan's foreign policy planners the need for a clearly defined and a logical policy towards Bangladesh, and asked whether they saw it as another Israel or wanted to follow the erstwhile US policy of 'not seeing' China or regarded it as an estranged but still to be loved brother. It, however, seems that even after a lapse of more than two months, Islamabad has been unable to come out with anything specific except the same familiar appeal for patience, understanding and time.

And so continues the non-policy without anyone seriously weighing up its immediate as well as long term consequences. In a way, one appreciated President Bhutto's personal hesitancy and difficulty in this regard. It has become a matter of common belief in Pakistan that but for Mr. Bhutto's unmitigated desire for power and unwillingness to accord the East Pakistani leadership its rightful place in the national polity, the country would not have split. Being aware, rather over-aware of this, he finds himself locked in a funny tangle. He has been speaking privately of his decision to recognise Bangladesh and waiting either for a 'formal' withdrawal of the Indian army or a meeting of the Bangladesh Assembly to convene and declare its independence before he announces acceptance of the *de facto*. The official position is that being under Indian military occupation, "the so-called Bangladesh" does not fulfil the requirements for recognition and recognition now would be tantamount to condoning the Indian aggression.

One cannot but agree that that was the legal position but the question now is how to restore that legality? Obviously there is no international court of justice or an appropriate forum which would adjudicate on the issue and force India and Russia to vacate and make recompense for their aggression. The alternate course is military and/or diplomatic; the consequences of a military solution are too fresh to be restated and it is Pakistan's diplomatic riposte that is the subject matter of this note.

It seems that in this regard the bureaucracy in Pakistan has been rather over diplomatic. As a result, Bangladesh has been pushed more and more into the laps of the Indian and the Soviet

block. It is equally ironic that in a state which could now claim to be the second largest Muslim State, there is no Muslim country which has either a say or even a presence. Inside the country, all those Bengalis, who despite their own unhappy experience do not regard themselves as having broken irrevocably from Pakistan, have been made less and less effective thus allowing the extremists and the elements planted by India to entrench and consolidate themselves. So when the Indian army withdraws and the Bangladesh Assembly meets, Indian control of Bangladesh affairs would be more real, yet less visible.

Another off-shoot of this state of artificial belligerency vis-à-vis Bangladesh is the problem of diplomats, civil servants, soldiers and military officers who hail from the areas now under Bangladesh. While a number of them may now have a genuine feeling toward Bangladesh, they cannot express it. At the same time, the Pakistani authorities do not find themselves in a position to repose their full trust in them. This in turn produced a real disaffection. Some of the recent diplomatic defections were more a consequence of this state of distrust than any opportunism or betrayal.

There is, however, one aspect of the situation which could call for a cautionary approach and that is the state of authority and control in Bangladesh. It seems well true that, despite heavy Indian, Soviet and British padding, Sheikh Mujib's Government is not in control of the situation and in this respect it is not without significance that neither the Awami League Council nor the Assembly have been able to meet and function. The Mukti Bahini is heavily infiltrated with Indian and Naxalite elements and the political vacuum is drawing in such elements who owe no loyalty to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bangladesh. Sheikh Mujib has yet to prove his qualities as a statesman. On sum, the situation, therefore, is full of so many unknowns and imponderables that one shudders to spell the prognosis. But whatever may or may not happen, it is clear that Pakistan's interest vis-à-vis Bangladesh is not the same as that of India, Russia, China or even of USA. None of them would have any qualms if the area became another Vietnam or another Palestine. On the contrary such eventuality may in fact be contrived as an opportunity to test new weaponry and bleed their respective enemies as a safety fuse for "world peace".

Certainly this is not Pakistan's national interest. President Bhutto had told a press conference in Lahore on 13 January that the people of East Pakistan were "our own brothers" and "we will do everything for them". It is in the sincere implementation of these words that a long term resolution of this tragic split can be found.

Indonesia — the potential and the actual

President Suharto of Indonesia during his recent visit to Australia thanked her for the assistance she gave during the struggle of independence and looked forward to a developing economic partnership between the two countries. Australia on her part pledged to continue to give high priority to Indonesia in its aid programmes.

One is not aware of any help that Australia rendered to Indonesia during the Independence struggle. In this age of aid (economic, military, political, propagandist) even historical facts could be bent a little to please and flatter the aid giving countries.

Indonesia, forming a 3,000 mile arc consisting of 4,000 islands stretching from the Straits of Malacca to Australia, has a population of over

Survey

MINER'S STRIKE ● 'KITH & KIN' IN RHODESIA ● NEW YEAR

125 millions. Since Suharto took over the country from the flamboyant and sensuous Soekarno, the economy has shown apparent improvement but at a price. The country is being mortgaged to the avaricious Americans and the Japanese. Like many developing countries, in its craze for development, Indonesia has taken the road to ruin by going in indiscriminately for foreign 'aid'.

Now Australia with a population of only 13 million also wants its influence felt in Djakarta. The Dutch, the former colonial power, is not acceptable to Indonesia and as far as America is concerned it had never had it so good. But the natural successor to protect the interests of the erstwhile colonial powers, particularly those of European lineage falls to the lot of Australia.

Indonesia has all the human and the physical resources potential to be a power in its own right but it depended obviously on the quality and capability of its national leadership.

Miners' Strike: new elements

The Miners' Strike in Britain has had and is going to have very far reaching effects not only in Britain but abroad. There are many lessons to be learnt from it as well.

So far as the settlement of the dispute is concerned, one new element has been emphasised in a way which was not done before. Before there were always such questions as earnings related to productivity, wages or salaries according to the type of industry or the class of service. With the Tory government there has been the attempt to have a controlled incomes policy with any wage increase not exceeding the artificial ceiling of 8 per cent. The new element in this situation is simply the justness of claims being recognised.

The flag wavers were extremely indignant that one section of the working community should, by resorting to strike action, "hold up the country to ransom". But the widespread support and sympathy for the miners despite the inconvenience and the hardships have been very noticeable. No one who believes in social justice could fail to agree that a person with a family earning of £15 a week could hardly live reasonably in 1972 Britain. Especially when he works for a nationalised industry with the chairman and directors earning thousands of pounds, such a person could not reasonably be expected to concern himself with the problem of national interest when he is confronted with the immediate reality of supporting a family. Conceding the miners' claim has been a positive step in the realisation of a just society. Would this ideal also involved the reduction of other people's mammoth salaries?

One other interesting change in the social habits of the British nation which the miners' strike has produced is that, with no electricity and therefore no television, many families actually found themselves talking to each other. There have been observations that "the box" creates an impersonal atmosphere in the home and is a bar to warmth and communication. Maybe the strike has had the good effect of making people really see what is central to life and what is merely contingent.

The strike has caused many to think about energy needs in the future. More thought would now be given to having a dual fuel system: oil and coal or gas and coal. Projections up to 1980 estimate that the consumption of coal would be reduced from the present 42 per cent to 35 per cent. As the contribution of North Sea gas and oil increases, that of imported oil would decrease from a present 47 per cent to 23 per cent in 1980. These estimates were made before the miners' strike and its reasonable to suppose that the trends would be speeded up.

If you do not listen, we will let Smith do whatever he likes

The recent events in Rhodesia, namely the activities of the Pearce Commission on the acceptability test and the resulting riots and demonstrations have underlined a few points. The violence against the terms of the settlement completely destroyed the impression which the Smith Regime gave to the world that Rhodesia had the happiest Africans in the entire continent of Africa.

Secondly, the settlement can now be shown to be a sell out. From the fact that the Smith Regime want it so badly as go to the extent of killing and injuring many in their efforts to ensure that the Africans do not rob them of their victory. The Africans on the other hand were merely acting against the many provocations by the Regime since U.D.I. but the sudden and abrupt end to the riots and demonstrations show clearly the type of pressure Smith's police are putting on the Africans. Not only have they killed more than 15 but wounded and arrested many more. Of course they arrested the Todds for good measure and somehow this brought about a greater uproar in the British Parliament than the 15 deaths.

The Rhodesian whites want the settlement to come through and to prevent the Africans from creating any obstacles they have already begun their own wave of intimidation upon the request of Smith himself. Being the biggest land owners and controllers of industry, the employers of thousands of Africans and so controllers of their livelihood, it is not difficult for them to carry out intimidation.

Perhaps the most agonising thing to the African is the hypocritical attitude of the British Government. Sir Alec continuously maintains responsibility for the Rhodesian Africans yet at the same time adds that if the Africans reject the terms (which he claims to be the best in the present circumstances) then they can go back to the 1969 constitution and to a more rigid system of apartheid. In other words, we will let Smith do what he likes with you if you don't listen to us.

If this is not enough Britain has been vetoing the UN Security Council resolutions which ask the British Government not to enforce the proposed Rhodesian settlement with the illegal rebel regime. This, together with Sir Alec's words so far gives one ample room to suspect that Lord Pearce is to come back with a Yes, and whether the Africans like it or not the 'Kith and Kin' come first.

All this goes to show one important fact; the Rhodesian Africans are completely on their own in the struggle. No black, white or super power cares for their well-being. The sacrifice will have to come from them alone if they are to gain freedom from oppression.

New Year — looking back and looking forward

The beginning of the Islamic New Year with the month of Muharram was said to mark the inauguration of human era on this planet. This was the arrival of the first man, the first messenger and Vice/gerent of God, Adam. Beyond that simple fact, if it signified anything, it signified the true nature of man's mission: autonomy and answerability. The end of the year thus called for introspection rather than any celebration but Muslims did neither. Introspection required courage and realism and as regards celebration, there was

hardly anything either to ring out or to ring in.

The Muslims would have found it easy to forget about it all but something that happened 1332 years ago in the very month of Muharram, made it rather difficult to do so; this was the *Shahadah* of Hussayn (may God be pleased with him).

Hussayn, the most beloved grandson of the blessed Prophet, did not sacrifice his own life as well as of the several members of his family for the sake of any personal aspirations to power.

Yazid's nomination as a caliph marked a significant deviation from the principles of polity given by Islam. Islamic polity ordained a society based on rule of Law, equality of the human person, and freedom of conscience. The state came into being through a free and freely exercised *ba'yah* (vote); its affairs ran through consultation. True sovereignty belonged to God and the state authority was but a trust, in the exercise of which it was accountable firstly before the Ummah and finally before God.

Yazid's coming to power denoted a clear negation of these principles, and today if the concept of Islamic polity is still fresh and alive, it is no less due to that supreme sacrifice. The message of the Islamic New Year has since become a challenge to the the dichotomy and contradictions within the Muslim Society. It is in this context that it needs to look back, because only then it can ever hope to look forward.

This issue of *Impact* has been delayed due to power-cuts caused by the recent Miners' strike in Britain. Our apologies!

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Palestine Revolution — interference, differences and contradictions

An interview with Khalid Al Hasan

After the bloody encounters between the Palestinian Resistance Movement and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan in the past two years, an apparent stillness has descended over the movement which has often been referred to as the stillness or peace of the grave. Where does the Resistance Movement now stand? Some of the answers are provided in the following account by Khalid al Hasan, a spokesman of the movement. It comes from answers to questions put to him by M. Salahuddin and A. M. Mahmoud, editors of *Al Medina*, the Jeddah daily. The interview sought to answer questions like: whose responsibility are the mistakes and problems of the Resistance Movement? What is behind the bloody struggle and the differences among the Palestinian organisations? What really is the personality of the Palestinian Revolution?

“The problem is the Palestinian people . . .”

It appears that to one “collection” of the Arab peoples, the problem is not one of the Land of Palestine, for none of them think of liberating Palestine. The problem is the Palestinian people who are a cause of trouble to the Arabs. I used to say always that when we ask for assistance from our Arab brothers we do not do it just for the sake of getting food and clothings. We ask for aid in the form of money and arms, and in order to fight.

We have tasted the flavour of honour and respect and have come to know their meaning through carrying arms and not through anybody’s help. Now there comes an Arab force which wants to liquidate the Palestinian Commando work. If the Arab nation stands by our side then we are truly its sons, but if it does not whether in a positive or a negative manner, then we shall stand ourselves alone. After that no one should blame us if we act in our sole discretion.

“We as Palestinians have actually lived under the Arab yoke for twenty years”

We have not been hit by the Jordanian Army but by the existing totality of the Arab World. We should understand this well. We as Palestinians actually have lived under the Arab yoke (under the Arab shoe, according to the Arabic idiom) for twenty years. I have said this everywhere, even in the Arab League Meetings. Indeed, we lived for twenty years under the heels of the Arab shoe, and after that we were able

to trigger off our first bullet in the year 1965, and transform the Palestinian people. The Arab refugees were devoid of any pride or dignity. They did not rebel against the Arab people who did injustice to them or against those who treated them with humiliation. We have transformed these people. All we desire now is to be treated by the Arab nation like they treat the “foreigners”. We do not want to be treated as a “citizen” is treated in his own country, but rather as a Frenchman, Englishman, American, Turk or an Indian. Regretfully, we are treated in the Arab World like “slaves”. We have lived through this period of time, then we turned into rebellious fighters because of conditions that were not largely of our making. The defeat in June 1967 was not of our making. The Karameh Battle was not of our making. It was the making of the enemy and he failed in it, while God granted us victory. It sprang from the combined Arab factors, I say “combined” in order not to do injustice to anyone, for there are those who are 100 per cent against us and would like to butcher us, while there are those who do not want us to be butchered but keep silent and there are those who neither want you to be butchered nor keep silent about your murder, but take a negative stand.

“We remember the saying of the Prophet and forget the Quranic verse”

When we hear someone saying that Moslems are not allowed to fight each other, we say to him “But if one of them transgresses beyond bounds against the other, then fight ye (all) against the one that transgresses until it complies with the command of God”. We forget this Quranic

verse and remember only the saying of the Prophet that when two Moslems fight against each other, both the killer and the killed will go to Hell. We remember the saying of the Prophet and forget the Quranic verse. The fact is that we care to remember only one of them. Regretfully, this is the reality of our situation.

“Arab contradictions have spread among the Palestinians too”

These things like fightings, kidnappings, assassinations and so forth do not reflect upon the differences among the Commandos, but focus the spread of Arab differences as well as the infiltration of the Arab intelligence service within the Palestinian realms. Every national intelligence service has either set up a Commando group of its own or controls one, or had its men planted inside the Commando Organisation. They wanted either to sabotage the Commandos from within or to keep them under their thumbs and dictate their policy. Our tragedy in the Arab World lies in the fact that each system or party believes that it is the most suitable one and that others are good for nothing; while it is the best, the rest are traitors or agents. It is a kind of “monopolization of the Right”, which in fact reflected on degeneration. You should add to this a spirit of defeatism which is against going into any confrontation and stands for self-protection. In many cases, this too is sought to be achieved with the assistance of others and not through one’s own strength.

There was also a fear that the Commando Movement might become strong and be able to stand on its own feet, and decide what it wants, freely and according

Crisis of the Palestinian Revolution . . .

to its own will and move away from Arab trusteeship.

In order to fill the realm of the Commando Movement with contradictory elements, and submerge the true Movement within this mass, the Arab parties, government and the intelligence services have formed groups under the name of the Palestinian Commando Movement. Arab contradictions have thus spread among the Palestinians too. The clashes which you hear about are clashes between Arab contradictions and not the Commandos. For example, in Fatah there have, so far, been no internal clashes. Then there are organizations or groups whose leaders are not Palestinians. I object to this even in Fatah. There are military commanders who are not Palestinian. An organization which is formed and is financed not by the Arab masses but by another Party or Government, is subject also to the dictates of the parent body.

It is regrettable that the "collection" which represents the Commando Movement, is artificial and not natural. But how to eliminate this artificiality? We cannot get rid of an organization formed by a state. An organization needs money, men and arms, so when a state forms an organization like this and makes publicity for it in its press, how will it be possible to dissolve it? It is not like a truly voluntary organization which collapses with the collapse of its aims or ideas. Prior to the year 1965, there were more than 30 genuine Palestinian organizations. Not all of them exist now. They all joined Fatah which was the more powerful and the more mature of them all.

"A degree of genuine Arab interference"

As far as Fatah is concerned, there is absolutely no Arab interference in its ranks. By Arab interference I mean Arab contradictions. But there is in Fatah a degree of genuine Arab interference. By this I mean those non-Palestinians who fight in its ranks and who believe in its aims.

The ideas of Fatah no doubt represent the interest of the Arab nation, after all, in whose favour will it be when Isreal dies out in the long run? Not in our favour. The standard of living of the majority of the Palestinians people is higher than any other Arab people. There are fifty-six thousand university graduates among the

Palestinians. This is according to the known statistics. There are others who are not included in these statistics. We have the highest educational standard among the Arab people. We are spread everywhere and in general we have a better standard of living than others. The question, however, is not of earning your bread or enjoying your life but that of the honour of a nation, its Holy Places and heritage.

Our aim is Palestinian but our logic is Arabic. We do not look at this subject on the grounds of one's nationality but his attitude to fighting. If you believe in the liberation of Palestine, then you are one of us regardless of your citizenship or creed or belief. There are some who fight in the ranks of Fatah under the belief that they are striving for the cause of God; there are some who fight out of patriotism and some who fight for the recovery of their honour and rights as human beings, and there are others who fight due to nationalism. As to the mutual vituperations and accusation even of treason, these do not take place on any big scale.

Give me the name of one Arab regime which does not oppress those who live under it, particularly the people of Palestine. In some Arab countries things have been so bad that a Palestinian who did not declare his affiliation with a certain line of thinking he could not get a job and earn his living. If such is the case, then the Palestinian refugees cannot be blamed. We should not also imagine that all the people of Palestine are at an equal revolutionary level or belong to the class of the true Caliphs like Ali Ibn Abi Talib or Omar Ibn Al Khattab. Even during the time of the blessed Prophet, side by side with the true believers there were the hypocrites, and liars, and then there were those who were to be reconciled.

"Man is a gregarious being who grows up in his own particular environment and becomes part of it."

People are different because of the cultural environment in which they are brought up. Man is not a machine. He cannot be switched on to start broadcasting or receiving any particular wave length. Man is a gregarious being who grows up in his own particular environment and becomes part of it. He either thinks or follows ideas. He may even have suffered so much that he becomes an escapist, or

even an opportunist. We are not a people who are separate from the Arab nation. We are part of you. As I talk to you, I do not feel that we are foreign to each other. However, if you have a certain line of thinking I cannot force you to change this, your thinking has emanated from your environment, your studies, your culture, your struggle.

We have spent twenty years under certain environmental conditions and we were not permitted to leave the countries where we lived in. Those who were in Iraq or Syria or Lebanon, for instance, were prohibited from leaving or travelling. A Palestinian who wanted to go to Gaza, for instance had first to obtain tens of permits and visas. A native of Gaza would go in or out of his home-town except by permit. I know some Palestinians who cannot enter Lebanon unless they secure a permit in advance, and had it not been for the fact that some of them are traders they would not have been granted any entry at all. Another example: My aunt died in Lebanon. My mother who resides in Damascus could not attend her funeral. For one whole week she could not get the permission simply because she had to obtain an advance permit from the Lebanese Public Security Bureau, and an exit permit from Syria. You need two weeks at least to get such approval, and this is, in case if you know people who would help you. The distance between Damascus and Beirut can be covered in two hours by car. And by the time my mother got there the funeral was over long time ago. This is the way we live. We cannot unite the Palestinians because the conditions under which they live are too hard to cope with. To this may be added the Arab Intelligence Services, who exploit our poverty by employing us to spy on each other . . . and other things.

Our situation is very much tied to the basic realities of the Arab World. Not to say that the Commando Movement itself did not commit any mistakes or that it does not need any internal reform. Since the Movement is made up of people and since it is in operation, it cannot but make mistakes. And as long as it is moving towards an objective which is distant it must keep on growing. This process of growth by itself needs a continuous reconsideration of its internal make-up and the attitude of those who constitute it. Thus the Movement is always in need of rectification. If we go back to the time of the blessed Prophet we notice that the Koran used to be revealed to treat or solve certain immediate and exceptional situations as well as the conditions subsequent to it. This went on until all the bases of legislations were completed.

.... interview with Khalid Al Hasan

That was the case with the blessed Prophet who was not an ordinary person like us, and who received revelations from God. So what can be our position when we are not prophets nor even a genius, but part of a nation which is in a state of cultural weightlessness.

"When you have clashed with your own brothers, your survival or non-survival becomes the basic issue."

When the intensity of the attack of our Arab brothers on our revolution surpasses that of the enemy, our efforts naturally are directed towards self-protection. The process of self-reform is thus relegated to the tenth place. For when you came to have clashes with your own brothers, your survival or non-survival becomes the basic issue. As a result the process of development is arrested.

Our present conditions are no worse than that of the Arab nation during the time of the Crusaders or the Tartars. It is not worse than the time preceding the Message of the blessed Prophet. The Prophet too had to suffer at the hands of those who were around him, and almost to the point of despair.

"... inspirations both from our own history and traditions as well as the history and tradition of others like the Vietnamese, the Russians, the Cubans ..."

We cannot say that the Information Wing of the Movement has been under control of the Marxists. This is not true. No doubt the publicity of certain component organizations has been Marxist-inspired and they do not deny it. However Fatah's Publicity Wing is not Marxist, it is national. Believing as it does that it is passing through a stage in national liberation, it has overtaken no specific or ideological characters. In its militant and national character, it received inspiration both from our own history and traditions, as well as the history and traditions of others like the Vietnamese, the Russians and the Cubans etc. But Fatah is not a

Marxist movement and we do not say this to you alone, we say it openly to the Soviet Union too. Our Information Wing is not strongly characterised by leftism and actually the strands that support the Palestinian people are neither Arabian nor Islamic.

On the other hand, since 1963 China's attitude has always been clear. Its attitude is even better than that of any Arab or Muslim country. Where are the Muslims? Where are the Arab? When we say that Fatah is non-ideological, we meant that we would avoid controversy on social forms. But, if you go to our bases you will find Islamic books besides another literature. You will also see that the fasting in Ramadan is observed more strictly than in the cities, and that those who *like* to perform their prayers are encouraged to do so. We do not impose, but we do encourage this. We are a movement without a special ideological entity. We are a nationalist movement. Our identity is nationalistic and Palestinian. That the organ of Fatah contains news on non-Muslim countries is true, because these countries stand on our side but it is wrong to say that our information media reflected any particular bias. The position is like this: that if you, my brother, do not give me what I need I shall take it from anyone who gives me. And when we publish news of those who help us, we do not necessarily acquire their personality. In fact that is a challenge to our brothers to rise to the occasion in helping the Movement.

It is also necessary for us to have as many friends as possible. The non-Arabs are, unfortunately, closer to us than the Arabs as regards the support and aids given to us. This is a mistake of the Arab nation. There is no one single Arab country which would help spare the Palestine Revolution indignity of begging, although all of them and even individually they were quite capable of doing this. Is it not our duty to thank China which came to tell me: Take what you want, whatever you want... Have arms free of charge and with no strings attached. Once we asked them for canned foods and clothing on trade terms, they supplied double the quantities requested and told us: This is a present. Is it not my duty to thank them?

We are willing to kiss the hands of our Arab brothers. What happens however, is that we cry for help... clothing, funds, arms and food, but we seldom find them. Moreover when an Arab gets angry, he stops his financial support, although he is supposed to spare us the humiliation of going knocking on other doors. (An *Impact/Replica* feature).

More on the Resistance

Why Lufthansa Hijack

The "Organisation of the Victims of Zionist Occupation" which claimed responsibility for the hijacking of the Lufthansa jumbo jet said the hijacking was a move against "West German imperialists", the "new Nazis" in Israel and "reactionary Arab governments". It criticised Chancellor's Willy Brandt's visit to Israel later this year and the "exploitative suppression" of 15,000 Palestinians considered as migrant workers in West Germany. The hijacking was also a protest against West Germany financial and material support for Zionists alleged to be worth 11,287,000 dollars.

Jordan—the Springboard

"The fida'iyyin will return to Jordan which is the springboard of the Palestine Revolution", said Yasir Arafat in Libya early last month. He added that there was no more room for negotiations with "the agent regime in Jordan" and with the necessary means the Resistance would continue its march until victory, God-willing. He said he believed in the pan-arabisation of the battle and of fida'i action.

"Where the mind is without fear"

The thoughts of the Arab citizen regarding the Arab-Zionist struggle at this stage are confronted with the following slogans: the enemy's military strength, the enemy's military and technological progress, the unbounded US support for the enemy, the superior Zionist air force, the terrible Phantom planes, and the balance between the international powers, their struggles in the area and the atmosphere they create...

Why are these slogans being presented to the Arab citizen, especially in the states closest to the Zionist danger? Why does Arab policy harp on, repeat, exaggerate and philosophise over the dangers of war, of fighting, and of the desire for a military confrontation in such a way that the Arab citizen thinks this policy is encouraging the masses to disregard the waging of the battle of liberation under the pretext of the dangers and enormous losses from such a battle? Why these intimidations regarding the enemy's strength, air force, ferocity, and Phantoms? Why this serious campaign against the Arab mind and understanding?

We do not know whether it is planned that our Arab society should turn from a society of war, fighting and confrontation to a society whose members live in an extensive circle of fear and terror... A society meant to be dominated by fear and anxiety cannot be asked to achieve victory...

(From *Voice of Fatah*, 5 Feb. 1972)

The other front of the Indian War Incarceration of an Indian Muslim Editor

A. H. MAJID

Hung on the entrance gate of Tehar jail in New Delhi is a list of eminent leaders and freedom fighters of India who had the honour of being imprisoned by the British Raj. Mr. Yusuf Siddiqui mused over this as he was led into the jail on 8 December 1971. Did honour await him too or was he simply to be left with a taste of an unpleasant experience?

Editor of *Radiance Viewsweekly* and now in his seventies, Mr. Siddiqui was interned at the height of the Indo-Pakistan war along with a number of eminent men of the Muslim community. He was arrested under the Defence of India and the Maintenance of Internal Security Act on charges that ought to have been communicated to him within five days but were only furnished on the ninth day of the internment—a case of Law breaking the law.

And the Charges?

That “the English Weekly *Radiance* of which he is the editor has been strongly championing the cause of the Muslims, in its writings from time to time on the issues of the Aligarh Muslim University, Muslim Personal Law, status of Urdu and representation of Muslims in the Army and the Police”.

That “Yousuf Siddiqui said that the P.M. had all along had a soft corner for them (Muslims) and now that she had been returned with absolute majority, they should request her to keep in view the interests of the Muslim community and ensure that nothing was done to interfere in the Islamic way of the only Muslim institution in the country”.

That he was responsible for “vicious propaganda regarding communal disturbances” deriving from his writings on the Uniform Civil Code, Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles, Home Ministry reports on the number of riots in 1970 and two articles about Bangladesh.

What was the reaction of Mr. Siddiqui? He said: “Granting for argument’s sake that the charges were true, how did they jeopardise the Defence of India or threaten the internal security of the State. Mind you, the articles quoted were months and in some cases years old By any stretch of imagination, the grounds could not justify the action taken by the Delhi Administration against us”.

And so agreed the *Hindustan Times* too. It said (31 January 1972): “Some of the charges at least seem to have had little relevance to the defence of India or maintenance of internal security”. The paper was concerned too with the wider question of the criteria and procedure use in detain-

ing people in the event of an emergency: “The liberty enjoyed by society is not greater than the liberty enjoyed by the citizen. It is therefore necessary to protect inroads against the second in order to preserve the integrity of the first”.

What about the unpleasant experience of being in jail itself?

Mr. Siddiqui’s colleagues at *Radiance* were very much hurt by the treatment he received and of others who included Maulana Abul Lais, President Jamaat-e-Islami, Hind, its Secretary-General, Muhammad Yusuf, the Manager of *Radiance* Mr. Syed Hussain, Mr. Muhammad Muslim, editor of *Dawat* and its sub-editor Muhammad Salman. “What hurts us”, they wrote, “is petty-mindedness. By any standards—education, status, background—Muslim leaders deserved ‘B’ class, if not ‘A’ in jails. Most of them were all-India figures. In the beginning they were given ‘C’ class, as if they were ordinary criminals. Then, reason dawned on the authorities after about a week, and they were given a class somewhere near ‘B’ which in fact is not ‘B’. In jail parlance, reportedly, it is known as ‘B’ class under trial”.

Mr. Siddiqui himself was undoubtedly angry but looked upon his situation with a certain humour, however sardonic. “According to Prof. Rashid Ahmad Siddiqui, the great Urdu humourist, the greatness of a person was commensurate with the proximity of his commode to his bed. By that standard we were all quite great persons as we had out bath, latrine and bed all within a cell measuring about 11 by 7 feet The Superintendent of the Jail was a kindly person and after some days he discontinued locking us in in the day from 12 to 3. He was, perhaps, assured that we as also the alleged Naxalites and spies, were after all not as dangerous as the detention order made us out to be”.

In jail the detainees allowed themselves to wonder at the vigilance of the police. Said Mr. Siddiqui: “The intelligence personnel supposed to be watching my activities did not even know where I lived and where was my office. But then, said Mr. Saeduddin, another detainee, who runs a Bus Service in Delhi, “I bet I have a much more surprising disclosure to make of the working of Delhi’s Intelligence service. Would you believe that along with my detention order, there was an order of detention of a relation of mine, Mohammed Shafi of Matia Mahal, who died in May 1970!” One Syed Hamid Ali was brought to jail in spite of his vehement protest that he was not the wanted man,

as his father’s name was different, he did not reside in Delhi, and happened to be in the metropolis on his way back from Bombay to his hometown Shahjahanpur” Others arrested were released much before the Muslim leaders especially as the news came in that Dacca was about to fall and the war was expected to be over soon. During this time, said Mr. Siddiqui, “another interesting and intriguing incident had come to our knowledge. A report was afloat in the jail that release orders for 10 detainees, who were never in Tehar Jail, had been received in the jail from the Delhi Administration. This mystery is yet to be unravelled. . . .” At the end of it all, Mr. Siddiqui had spent 41 days in jail, his second such *yatra* within five years association with the *Radiance*. His case like that of Muslims in India represents another but little mentioned casualty of the Indo-Pakistan war.

IMPACT revision of Airmail Tariff

Impact started publishing on 16 May, 1971, and the following July, GPO raised its overseas postage rates. This along with the subsequent devaluation of the American dollar has made it imperative to revise the existing overseas airmail tariff. Out of the present airmail subscription of \$9.00 (student) and \$12.00 (regular), the net postage paid is \$7.50 for the Middle East, \$10.00 for USA, Canada, South and SE Asia, and \$12.50 for the Far East. This excludes cost of the magazine and all other overheads. In order not to make the increases too heavy and economise on postage as from next issue, *Impact* is being printed on a lighter paper and a marginal reduction made in its size. This however does not affect the printing area and there is no reduction in the reading material either.

All remittances are also requested in Pound Sterling because about 75 cents are lost in clearance and conversion. Students concessions would apply only to local subscriptions and those by ordinary post. THERE IS, HOWEVER, NO CHANGE IN LOCAL AND SURFACE MAIL RATES.

Details on page 11

SCIENCE AND SOCIETY

Humane Slaughter — “a curious saga”!

By Our Science Correspondent

On 20 January 1971, the Universities Federation for Animal Welfare held a symposium on “Humane Killing and Slaughterhouse Techniques” at the Royal Society of Medicine. The proceedings of the symposium* which have since been published serve to clarify aspects of a problem which is of great importance to the new Muslim communities in the West. Here they are faced with the difficulty of convincing the host authorities of the necessity and rationality of a method of slaughter regarded *ipso facto* as cruel and unscientific. The sovereign Muslim countries too face a growing commercial and “civilising” pressure to modernise their slaughtering methods from both within themselves and the “aid” giving agencies.

The symposium was chaired by Prof. T. K. Ewer and participated by experts from the Ministry of Agriculture, Manchester Health Department, University of Glasgow Veterinary School, UFAW, Agriculture Research Council, Dr. B. Homa, Chairman of Sheciita Committee and Mr. G. M. Khan on behalf of the Shahjehan Mosque, Woking.

Prof. Ewer introduced the subject and said the object of a fresh R.S.P.C.A. focus on the problem was to emphasise the constant need of devising improvements in the method of animal slaughter. Progress towards the present situation on the slaughter of animals, he said, was a “curious saga”.

Giving a brief history of the framing of the various regulations on the subject, he said that in 1886 was formed the first Model Abattoir Society by Benjamin Ward Richardson but it had little success. In 1904 the Admiralty appointed a Committee under Lord Lee of Farnham to ascertain the most humane and practical method of slaughtering animals, and it recommended that all animals should be stunned before slaughter. Until it became a legal requirement in 1919, only the oxen and bulls were stunned with Poleaxe. In 1922 a Departmental Committee on Meat Inspection discovered that there were 20,000 private slaughterhouses, less than 100 being in the hands of public authorities. (Muslim communities then living in Liverpool and Wales used to slaughter their animals in private slaughterhouses). In 1933 was passed the Slaughter of

Animals Act which required the licensing of slaughtermen and stunning of all animals save sheep and pigs if there was no suitable electric supply. After the last World War stunning of sheep and pigs also became obligatory. The Slaughter of Poultry Act was passed in May 1967 but was not brought into effect until January 1970. The Act provides for electric stunning of birds by an approved instrument prior to slaughter.

“A great deal has since been learnt about animal physiology and pharmacology”, and Prof. Ewer hoped the symposium may provide the needed guidance in effecting improvements.

Mr. G. Wight (Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Fisheries) summarised the provisions of the Slaughter of Animal Act 1958 and the Regulations framed thereunder to prevent cruelty whether in a slaughterhouse or knacker’s yard. He pointed out that “the provisions concerning the slaughtering or stunning by a mechanically operated instrument do not apply to slaughter by the Jewish method . . . or by the Mohammedan method. There is an overall proviso that slaughter either by the Jewish or Mohammedan method must not inflict *unnecessary* suffering” (p.5).

Mr. Wight mentioned the Slaughter of Pigs (Anaesthesia) Regulations 1958 which permit the use of carbon dioxide gas for anaesthetising pigs. Before 1958 the use of such process was not legal in this country but in order to legalise it the regulations had to be amended. The reason, (not mentioned by Dr. Wight) being that electric stunning seriously affected the quality of British bacon and made it much less acceptable in competition with Danish and other non-British varieties.

As regards electric stunning, Mr. Wight described the precautions which should always be observed by person stunning the animals. Voltage should not be less than 75 volts and current should be applied for not less than 7 seconds. As animals recover comparatively quickly it is essential that after stunning they should be bled with a minimum of delay. When stunning long-wooled breed of sheep, wool is clipped from the sides of the head before the electrodes are applied but few establishments are prepared to spend time in carrying out this operation.

Mr. F. P. Lawton (Health Department, Manchester Abattoir) described the methods of handling and slaughtering

animals in municipal abattoirs. He said: “since the dawn of history, man has hunted and slain for food those species which he considered to be of a lower order than himself . . . As man’s evolution progressed however, he developed into the most efficient and ruthless predator the world had yet known and frequently sought justification under the cloak of religious symbolism, thereby associating slaughter with ritual sacrifice . . . In the early days of domestication of animals for the provision of food the methods of slaughter were primitive in the extreme and included strangulation and penetration of brain by means of a heated spear”.

Mr. Lawton went on to say that: “It is generally accepted that animals to be slaughtered by the Mohammedan method may be stunned before being bled, providing the instrument to be used has not previously been in contact with a pig (H. Thornton, *Textbook of Meat Inspection* 3rd edition p. 32 and pamphlet from Shah Jehan Mosque), nevertheless the Slaughtering of Animals Act exempted the method”. (p. 13).

The position, however, with regard to the Muslim attitude needed to be clarified and for this it is necessary to go into the background and context of the two statements referred to by Mr. Lawton. A reading of the correspondence that passed between the persons involved in the debate on mechanical versus non-mechanical stunning (Macnaghten: “*Pistol versus Poleaxe*”, Chapman and Hall, London 1932) helps sort out the true position. Going into the historical background of the issue, it would seem that while anti-Semitism in Europe was already conscious of the “cruelty” of the Jewish method of slaughter, this came to be compounded by the fact that in 1912 “one hundred million Muslims directly or indirectly (sic) own allegiance to our sovereign”*

The problem of civilising these Muslim subjects thus became a part of the colonial burden and the process had therefore to be extended to slaughter techniques as well. This zeal to civilise is very much in evidence in Lord Kingsale’s letters to Macnaghten whom he quotes extensively in his chapter “Mohammedan Slaughter” in *Pistol v. Poleaxe*. He tells Macnaghten that: “I was able to induce some of the

*“*Humane Killing and Slaughterhouse Techniques*”, The Universities Federation for Animal Welfare, 230 High St., Potters Bar, Hertford.

*Ameer Ali, Syed P.C., C.I.E., L.L.D., Member of the Judicial Committee of Her Majesty’s Privy Council “*Legal Position of Women in Islam*” University of London Press, 1912.

Humane Slaughter . . .

Mohammedans in the part of Assam in which I lived to have all their animals shot by a revolver before their throats were cut but it took a great deal of persuasion and constant looking after, and I doubt not that now I have left they continue in the old and barbarous ways. We had not heard of the humane killer then and I am sure it would take a great deal of persuasion to get the Mohammedans who come home on the lines to use them. I was manager where I was, therefore, had more or less power over people" (*ibid* p.330).

Apart from the 100 million Muslim subjects and the sailors on the liners, the question, had the usual commercial undertones as well. Mechanical albeit humane killers which had by then started coming into use needed to be introduced in the subject territories. It was felt that if the device could in the first instance be made acceptable to the Muslim sailors and the microscopic community in Britain, the gadget could find its market in the colonies as well.

The Chief Moulvie of the Shahjehan Mosque was accordingly approached and he opined that: "...if the authorities proceeded on the right lines, they shall experience no difficulty in its introduction in the Muslim countries". (Letter to Capt. Fairholme, R.S.P.C.A., *Ibid*, p.332)

It appears that the authorities in Britain were perhaps also not willing to allow the Muslims to use knife in their own way even after stunning. As mentioned, the Jews and Muslims bleed the animal by cutting across the neck so as to sever all the major blood vessels, and from the point of "cruelty" the way an animal is bled seems immaterial, but in the later part of the same letter, the Chief Moulvie expresses his fears that they would not be able to persuade the sailors unless the authorities "allowed them to cut the jugular vein" (*Ibid*, p.332).

The view expressed by Thornton that Muslims accepted stunning before bleeding seems based on the following:

1. Lord Kingsale's assertion that "their only objection to Christians killing their meat was the fear that it might be contaminated in some remote way with the flesh of the pig. The instrument might have been used in killing pigs or the instruments might have been rubbed with some lard or other pig's material on it as the Humane Killers might have been greased with the same material" (*Ibid* p.330)

2. On the opinion of the Chief Moulvie: However, in this respect, the following points deserve note:

- (i) "The Chief Moulvie could not give any authoritative assent, because a number of his co-religionists are

not in agreement with modern methods..." (Letter of Capt. Fairholme to Mr. Macnaghten, *Ibid*, p.330)

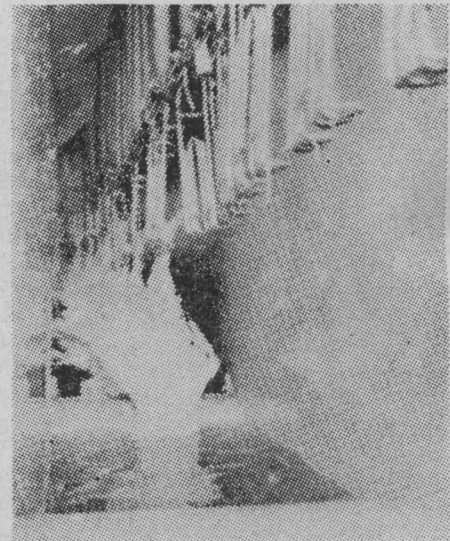
- (ii) he "made clear that they were his personal views" (Letter of the Chief Moulvie to Capt. Fairholme, *Ibid*, p.33) and
- (iii) that the Chief Moulvie's opinion was based on the advice of Mr. Paddison who had told him that the blood content of the Jewish slaughtered meat was less than the English butchered meat not because of difference in the method of slaughtering but due to its being salted. (Mr. Paddison's letter to the Chief Moulvie, *Ibid*, p.306).

That the opinion was tentative and based on insufficient grounds is substantiated by a subsequent editorial in the *Islamic Review* (September 1948) which refuted the notion that use of knife for stunning and bleeding in one single process was cruel as compared to stunning with pistol and bleeding with knife. The magazine is edited by Mr. Abdul Majid, former Imam of the Woking Mosque and who is referred to by Macnaghten as the Chief Moulvie. In any case, even if there was any implied assumption that pistol-stunning was kinder, this was negated by the fact of its subsequent replacement by electric stunning in 1933 and by carbon dioxide gas in 1958.

So that's the position with regard to the Muslim view as understood by Thornton and cited by Lawton.

Mr. J. B. Glen (Department of Veterinary Surgery, University of Glasgow) discussed the acceptance of Carbon dioxide gas as an anaesthetizing agent and the problem involved therein. Curiously enough at the beginning of the century experiments with carbon dioxide were made on human beings but abandoned because it was not found to be humane. The meat trade was understandably interested in employing a cheap gas on a large scale. In 1950, use of the gas was re-investigated by Hormel, a meat packing company in America, a successful technique was developed and the method soon found wide use in the continent. Since 1958 it is permissible in Britain to anaesthetize pigs by carbon dioxide gas. The method is not used to any great extent in regard to sheep, calves and poultry.

Admittedly electrical stunning has "certain disadvantages": likely danger to the operator, inducement of paralysis before actual unconsciousness (obviously more painful) and affecting the visual and food quality of bacon by irregular coagulation of blood inside the tissue etc. On the other



Shackled birds passing through an electrified water-bath — a stunning device

hand application of carbon dioxide gas involves a measured exposure of a 65-70% gas and air mixture for a period which should not be less than 45 seconds and requires bleeding that must begin within 30 seconds of stunning. Obviously all these conditions are impossible to attain and ensure under commercial conditions. This actually came out during the discussions. "Dr. Linzell said that he and his scientific colleagues frequently had reason to visit a slaughterhouse to collect material for their work and what they saw revolted them. It was quite clear that what was done when an inspector was present bore no relationship to what happened at other times. He cited instances of sheep being kept for days without water (their blood showed a very high haematocrit), pigs stunned in batches of four or five long before being stuck and obviously conscious again when this was done, cattle being caused great distress by being driven on a slippery floor to the slaughter point, and sheep not stunned at all." (p.60)

Mr. W. N. Scott (Universities Federation for Animal Welfare) described the use of manual and automated electrical stunning devices in poultry slaughter. In high voltage stunning, shackled birds are dragged over a high voltage grid. The area of the body into which current would pass usually depended on its contact with the comb. This in turn affected the time taken to get anaesthetized and the quantity of blood retained in the meat. The problems involved in electrical stunning of poultry are again not clearly resolved. First there is the question of establishing and achieving optimum voltage. The latter depended not only on the condition and

... a "curious saga"

construction of the electrodes but also on (1) the area of contact (2) condition of the animal skin; clean, moist or otherwise, and (3) resistance or susceptibility of the breed and (4) specific condition of each individual bird. The significance of the last condition can be seen to lie in the fact that the avowed object is the humane killing of each single individual and not any average or "statistical humaneness". The problem is that if the voltage is low it "will not cause unconsciousness but merely leave the animal paralysed and completely conscious of pain" (p.24). On the other hand high current density may kill the animal by causing heart failure and "prevent effective bleeding of the carcass" (p.24).

Mr. Scott mentioned that more recently "an automatic electric stunner based on the water-bath principle has been introduced from Holland". Though the scientific details have not as yet been published, UFAW investigations suggested that "when carried out properly... (it) is humane and reduces *over-all* suffering". This was despite the fact that "some doubts... as to whether in *all present circumstances*, electrical stunning is properly carried out" (p.32-33). The Slaughter of Poultry Act required the bird to be reduced "instantaneously insensible to pain" but Mr. Scott felt unsure as to whether this was correctly interpreted under field conditions because even "inspecting officers also have difficulties in differentiating electrical paralysis from electrical narcosis" (p. 33). During discussions Dr. Rao pointed out that "euthanasia of small animals by electrical stunning was now considered inhumane" and enquired if there was any scientific evidence to show that this was humane in large animals. Mr. Wight replied that the Minister of Agriculture would consider evidence if presented but the speaker confused euthanasia with pre-slaughter stunning. A confused reply indeed!

Dr. Bernard Homa explained the Jewish method of slaughter and said that being Divinely ordained, it could not be cruel. Opposition to Shechita, in fact commenced in 1880, in South Germany as an anti-semitic act. The opposition is "mainly based on sheer ignorance of physiological phenomenon, on sentimentalities and emotionalism, and intolerance of minority rights. The Shechita method is really painless and severance of the large vessels in the neck produces almost immediate unconsciousness. The Shechita cut was in itself a form of stunning because it produced immediate and irrecoverable insensibility. The draining of the blood meant better and more hygienic meat (p.48-49).

Mr. G. M. Khan* began by explaining the Islamic view about the sanctity of life, and the injunction of the blessed Prophet on showing true kindness to all life—big or small, animal or vegetable. All life was created by God and belonged to Him. If man was given power and custodianship over other animate objects, it had to be used as a trust and in accordance with His Commandment. So the concept of cruelty or kindness, in this case was neither notional nor commercial, it was a religious duty.

Muslims are forbidden to consume blood, eat dead animals or pigs and meat of those animals which die from strangulation, beating or headlong fall or those killed by the goring of the horns. If the Qur'an asks them not to consume blood, it also tells them how to drain it from the body. The basic physiological principles is to produce an incision in the neck where all four major blood vessels are found and can be severed. The spinal cord is preserved because otherwise convulsive movements necessary to cause a rapid and complete flow of the blood would not be produced. In fact cutting the spinal cord would be more traumatic and painful but the Muslim method has the quality of producing immediately a degree of unconsciousness where pain is either not perceived at all or at least is dulled. Here blood loss, acted as a pain killing, a stunning and an anaesthetic agent, all three in one.

Mr. Khan explained that sensation of pain depended on painful stimuli arising from the skin and their appreciation in the brain. He said the animal skin is less pain-sensitive and because of lack of a well-developed frontal lobe, the brain too was less appreciative of pain. The animal does not feel pain during the cutting of the insensitive skin and due to fainting caused by blood loss it also does not feel pain after the cut. On the contrary, a method of cutting without blood loss is indeed most painful. He concluded by saying that in our search of humane method we have travelled from captive bolt to carbon dioxide, yet the problem of pain and cruelty at each step was very much there, but if it is agreed that carotid section is the most humane method, then time and technology can be applied towards improving its mechanics.

In conclusion, one could not but agree with Prof. Ewer's summation that there should be carefully planned research into methods of slaughter *in order to ascertain which are the most humane* (p.64).

*Mr. G. M. Khan is Clinical Assistant (E.N.T.) at the Royal Surrey County Hospital, Guildford, Surrey.

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

In a world where communication has become an art of commerce, truth a shade of grey, and opinion a matter of expediency

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Letters

Turkey - cause of conflict

May I add the following in reference to the extract from the *Financial Times* (London, 30 December, 1971), which was included in the January 14-27, 1972 issue of *Impact International*.

Although the incident of the Ottoman Pasha's (Damat Ibrahim Pasha) death is true, he was not, to be exact, dragged to his death tied to a donkey. The *Financial Times*, furthermore, appears to be oblivious to the circumstances, leave aside the details, which precipitated that despicable violence.

This "Revolt of Patrona Khalil" marks the end of what is called in Ottoman history the "Age of Tulips" (1712-1730) which is noted for luxury and opulence of the privileged few. The "Frankish manners" of the palace produced a strong wave of resentment among the people. At the same time opposition to the Grand Vizier, Damat Ibrahim Pasha, and his foreign policy also became widespread. The revolt was initiated by a group of dissident Janissaries who were led by Patrona Khalil, a bath attendant, and gained the support of the discontented and the oppressed. As the mob grew it was joined also by ruffians of the city. They marched to the palace, demanded from the Sultan the lives of certain ministers, which included Ibrahim Pasha and also the Sheyhulislam (the highest religious authority in the Empire). It was the Sultan who was then obliged to order the death of his favourite son-in-law Ibrahim Pasha along with few others who were strangled before being handed over to the mob.

As to the religiousness of the rebels, since at that time religion was the principal motivating force it was "used" for rallying public support in much the same way as the modern intelligentsia (for whom the *Financial Times* is so much concerned) who shielding themselves behind "Kemalism", reason or even advocate violence to serve their "progressive" goals. This happens to be the basic cause of the present schisms and conflicts in Turkey. Here we have a section of the intelligentsia which has long since broken its ties with the common man and the peasantry who comprise more than two-third of the electorate. So much ironic that these "intellectuals" hope to succeed where both Pasha and Patrona Khalil—two extremes of a situation—had previously failed.

Columbia, Mis. USA

DR. ERDOGAN GURMEN

Bangladesh & the Bengalis

The impression one is sought to be conveyed by the news media in this country is that nearly every Bengali in East Pakistan wanted an independent Bangladesh which in not really true. I know many Bengali friends from East Pakistan who broke into tears when they heard the news of the surrender in Dacca. One therefore, hopes that our friends in Afro-Asia would not allow themselves to be misled by the

vile and vicious propaganda of the international newsmedia, who clearly had a vested interest in the break-up of the largest Islamic State. No doubt one appreciated very much the Afro-Asian solidarity in condemning the Indian aggression and that they too were helpless but one certainly expected them to apply at least full diplomatic and moral pressure to make the aggressor desist and relent. The Afro-Asians should well realise that despite what they profess, peaceful co-existence and non-interference in other countries' affairs is not the Indian policy. Since 1947, India has through military action occupied the State of Hyderabad, Junagadh, Manavador, Goa and Kashmir. Sheikh Abdullah, the Prime Minister of Kashmir was a good friend of Nehru but he is now living in exile in Delhi because India did not want to honour her pledge, regarding plebiscite, given at the time when she sent in her army to "liberate" the Kashmiri people. It would be interesting to see now as to how Nehru's daughter dealt with the other Sheikh.

Paisley, Scotland

DR. S. A. RAUF

After Bangladesh—an Indian view

As an independent country Bangladesh will soon take its rightful place in the committee of nations. It is for historians to write about the part India and the local population of Bangladesh played in the birth of this new State because only a few months back no one could predict the course of events which have resulted in the birth of Bangladesh. All this is now part of history.

As President Bhutto of Pakistan accepted unequivocally, India has inflicted a defeat in the 14 days war with Pakistan. Now in this hour of victory we have to show magnanimity and try to close the chapter of old bitterness. Time has come to review the whole situation and plan the future course of action accordingly.

Firstly, through the columns of your esteemed paper I would like to emphasise that India, Pakistan and Bangladesh should now try their best to live in peace and amity with one another. The economies of all the three countries have during the past one year suffered greatly and the longer it takes for peaceful conditions to return, the more difficult it would be to rehabilitate them. The first step, therefore, ought to be, to stop all such propaganda which would widen the gulf between them. As one who listens occasionally to the All India Radio and reads regularly the stuff published by our press, I feel that attempts are being made to throw the entire blame for the sad happenings in Pakistan on Islam and not on its army junta. Some Indian news and publicity media are carrying on a campaign against the Muslims all over the world (including India), and are responsible for hurting our religious feelings. At times these Indian agencies, instead of publishing straightforward news-matter, try to give a communal slant by mixing it with the views of their reporters. During the war, publication of such 'hunches', 'fabricated news' and sensational headlines was to some extent justified, but to do so now and after more than two months of the surrender, would only increase the prevailing bitterness and delay normalisation.

Secondly, the frequent assertion in this context

that the emergence of Bangladesh has disproved the Two Nation theory, is irrelevant. It was Indian National Congress which had accepted Mr. Jinnah's Two Nation theory. I have always held that India was a multinational State, and I am glad to say that the country is gradually accepting it. Our victory in Bangladesh had nothing to do with the vindication or otherwise of the Two Nation theory; neither with democracy nor secularism. The plain fact was that of economic exploitation of the East by West Pakistan. This coupled with a corrupt military junta at Islamabad, and the inefficient provincial bureaucracy provided Mr. Mujibur Rahman the justification and India a golden opportunity to help the oppressed East break away from West Pakistan. Therefore, citing irrelevant material does not strengthen our stand.

Thirdly, every attempt is being made to minimise the tragedy of about 2.5 million non-Bangalis (the so-called Biharis) still living in Bangladesh. We have learnt about their sad plight through those who have come to India after witnessing the horrors perpetuated by the chauvinistic elements in Bangladesh. A new refugee problem has been so created. I, therefore, appeal not only to Sheikh Mujib, but also to the International Red Cross, UN Commissioner for Refugees and our Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi to take up the question of their safety and economic rehabilitation on humanitarian and compassionate grounds.

Sheikh Mujib's statement that all those who stay in Bangladesh must adopt Bengali language and Bengali culture, if correctly reported, gives the reactionaries in our country a handle to beat us with. India has already taken back a large number of returning Indian emigrants who had migrated several decades ago to Ceylon, Burma, Malaya, East Africa and other countries. The 'Biharis' went to Bangladesh only 25 years back and it should not be difficult to help them return to their home towns in India where they already have relatives to help them. It is also appropriate that the International Commission which Sheikh Mujib wants to appoint should also address itself to the problem of all the non-Bangalis Muslims.

Fourthly, in order to improve relations between the three countries I suggest that a deputation of Muslims of India should talk to Mr. Bhutto and to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as well as the elected members of their legislatures and try to bring them nearer.

Lastly, to ensure lasting peace all the outstanding differences between the three states of this subcontinent ought to be resolved. Communication, trade and travel facilities should be resorted to at the earliest. Confederation between the three countries has already been suggested by some leaders and this was also proposed by me in 1965. A confederation of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh should, therefore, include Kashmir as well. No-war pact and common defence arrangements should be made a precondition to such an entente. This would not only ensure a lasting peace in our part of the World, but would also save us from being pawns of Big Power politics. The establishment of a sub-Himalayan common Market, as suggested by me in 1962, which should, besides India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, also include Nepal, Burma, Afghanistan and Ceylon, can be taken up later on.

Lucknow, India

Dr. A. J. FARIDI

President,

All India Muslim Majlis-e-Mushawarat

Books

Coming down to what levels?

A Young Person's Guide to Life and Love by Dr. Benjamin Spock, *Bodley Head*, London, 192 pages, £1.25.

Boy Girl—Man Woman—An intelligent guide to sex education for young people by Dr. Bent H. Claesson, *Calder & Boyars*, 158 pages, £2.25

Connexions: His and Hers—An examination of masculinity and femininity by Joy Groombridge, *Penguin*, 64 pages, 30p.

Dr. Martin Cole's film 'Growing up' triggered off a new wave of debate and discussion on sex education. Some argued that sex education should be provided in schools because children need it and because many parents do not provide it. Others opposed it on the grounds that a disintegrated approach, such as it was, may on the contrary, accelerate the pace of sexual corruption among the young people. One such pertinent comment was from Dr. E. S. Conway, headmaster of Jewish Free School who felt that the plethora of information flowing through the press, radio and TV was bound either to corrupt or at least create anxiety about matters still outside their biological experience. (*The Times*, 24 April 1971).

However the debate continues and many books on sex education have since appeared and they are all directed towards the young, the centre-piece of the controversy. Most of these are written with fifth and sixth formers in mind and sooner or later these books are bound to find a way to many of them.

A self-styled sex educationist Dr. Spock, while addressing his book directly to the young, claims that it will be useful in preparing them for their future sexual, social and emotional involvement in life. Indeed the book covers a wide spectrum of human biology but the dominant theme revolves around the physical sex. The book also tells the reader 'how to be popular', 'what to do about body odour' or 'why is sex often considered sinful'. There are chapters also on 'smoking, alcohol and drugs' and 'delinquency'. The very outlook of the book seems to be that sex is a big chunk of anyone's total existence, as far as time is concerned, and there is a need for experiment and experience. Happiness, Dr. Spock says, lies in knowing what is normal. Who would disagree with this? But it is books and experts of this

kind which have served to make the very concept of normalcy disputable and controversial. For example, Dr. Spock says that to a degree, homosexuality and sadism are normal aspects of human behaviour. He also sees nothing abnormal about 'arrangement' i.e. young people living together without marriage because most people who engage in such activities are responsible, thoughtful and studious types. This is to say that whether one travels with or without a ticket, it is just the same, both are equally normal. Anyway Dr. Spock is advocating two kinds of relationship between the sexes. We may describe the first as "adolescent experimentation" which he considers to be normally brief, serves to satisfy the curiosity of the young and paves the way for marriage. The second, which will usually follow the first, is one of exclusive loving and an extended relationship or marriage. He condemns such casual relationships which are devoid of the enriching warmth of giving and receiving love, and considers them to be a defect of the personality. How to 'experiment' but not to repeat, he does not tell. This is not his concern. On sum, the adolescent and the unknowing sixth formers may not find it easy to decide between the friendly approach of Dr. Spock's book and the exceedingly primitive and naive treatment that it contains.

'Boy Girl—Man Woman' is the latest arrival from the sewage of sex-education literature; Denmark. According to the foreword, the book is being used as a text-book in Danish schools. "The new law in Denmark about compulsory sex-education does not include the teaching of sexual techniques" but the book also seeks to fill that 'knowledge-gap'. Dr. Claesson is too much of a professional sex-educationist for many tastes. He is a strong believer in the visual and the book is so profusely illustrated that not to speak of the ordinary mortal, it may make even Dr. Cole to blush. Even Michael Schofield—a leading campaigner for 'O' Level examination in sex admits in his introduction that "regretably, some people are going to be offended by certain paragraphs in this book. It can hardly be avoided when someone is trying to be truthful about sex, because alas, to some people even the truth is offensive" (p.8). However, it is not the truth that one finds, offensive it's rather the lack of it. The truth about sexual relationship is that like other human relationship it entails honesty, responsibility and faithfulness. Relationships outside marriage not only deny that truth but

also lead to degradation, disillusionment and disgust.

The crude manual is thus unlikely to be beneficial to any young teenager. It only provides guidance and encouragement for extra-marital sex and if that led to illegitimate births, unwanted pregnancies, venereal disease etc, it is no part of the educator's concern. While the book is not wanting in detailing and illustrating the physical sex, the chapter on venereal diseases—like the one in Dr. Spock's book—is short and carefully avoids mention of the fact that sexual diseases now form the largest single group of illness in Britain. While we read the 'truth' about gonorrhoea we do not come across the fact that it has now assumed an epidemic proportion and that in Britain today there are twenty strains of this disease which no known antibiotic can cure. Nowhere in the book is mentioned that promiscuous sexual behaviour can lead to prostatic cancer or the fact that someone using contraceptives is 15 times more likely to develop cancer of the prostate than one who is not. (*Journal of Chronic Diseases*, Vol. 24, 1971 p. 29.)

Joy Groombridge (*His and Hers*) starts by defining sex as "the state of being male and female" and "goes on to look at some of the ways we think about ourselves as men and women and what this does to our lives". And this puts her book into a different class than the preceding two.

"His and Hers" is a discussion book (for schools and colleges of further education) and Miss Groombridge provides the facts and then goes on to pose certain questions. "Do you think that this (unisex) is a passing fashion?" "What sort of masculine or feminine rôle are you going to play?" "So just how are you to behave?"

The book is divided into three sections, namely: 'Girls and Boys' 'Men and Women' and 'Male and Female'. There is discussion about women's place, men's World, revolt, heroes and heroines and among other things, ways of filling in time. Though most of the material is coloured by Miss Groomsbridge's women's lib outlook, yet the book has its own quality of sincerity.

If the present trend in favour of indiscriminate and primitive sex education continues one can well foresee the day when to the question "what 'O' Levels have you got", a sixth former would say: "English Language, Sex and VD".

Z. U. Sirdar

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Briefing

Racial Influences on American Policy

Edited by George W. Shepherd, Jr.
Basic Books Inc., New York, \$6.95

Traces growth of Negro reaction to Jewish and other immigrant pressure groups influencing US policies.

The U.A.R. in Africa, Egypt's policy under Nasser by Tareq Y. Ismael, *Northwestern University Press*, Evanston, USA, \$9.75

Documents the motives and instruments of Nasser's policy in Africa.

Ruyat-e-Hilal ka Masala (The problem of new Crescent)

by Burhanuddin, with a foreword by Maulana Abul Hasan Ali Nadavi, *Majlis Tahqiqat-e-Shari'ah, Nadwat-ul-Ulama*, P.O. Box 119, Lucknow, India.

A 134 page discussion in Urdu on the subject of visibility and sighting of the new crescent.

● **Al-Quds: Iman wa Jihad** by Ali ad-Dajani and Irfan Nizamuddin pp. 254. Published in Beirut. Discusses the Jewish designs to occupy al-Quds even before June 1967. The Jews whom Islam accords the status of *ahl ad-dhimmah* (protected people), and whose places of worship have been defended by the Muslims, now desecrated al-Quds after having occupied it. Systematic Judaisation of Jerusalem began within two months following the occupation. Jews started forcibly removing the Arab population and bringing in more Jews. They excavated extensively along the holy places of both the Muslims and the Christians. In course of time this may lead to the collapse of the Masjid al Aqsa. The drama of burning Masjid al Aqsa was part of the same plan. The threat to the Christian holy places is no less real and serious than those of the Muslims. Evidence provided by Patriarch Hakim and other Bishops is mentioned as demonstrative of a genuine concern among the Christians as to the future of their holy places. (Reviewed in monthly *Falastine*, Beirut, February 1972).

● **Literature Struggle** is a new paper which claims to be "An International anti-imperialist monthly for the overseas communities in Britain and Europe, covering the direction of events in Asia, the Caribbean, Latin America and with a special focus on Africa." The first issue (January 1972) contains useful material including an article "Palestine in the Western subconscious". Published by the Centre for Writers and Journalists from the Exploited World (C.W.J.), The basement, 101-103 Gower Street, London W.C.1. 10p.

● **Stress in Youth.** Mary Copes, Elizabeth Gould and Molly Townsend spent 5 years to produce this report on 150 adolescents undergoing psychiatric treatment, schooling and care under the Nuffield Provincial Hospital Trust. Obtainable from NPHT, 3 Prince Albert Road, London NW1, for 75p.

● **Race and the Press.** Essays by 4 eminent journalists and obtainable from Runnymede Trust, Stuart House, 1 Tudor Street, London EC4, for 50p.

The Unemployed, Houseless and Destitute is the second report of the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants. The pamphlet deals mainly with the Kenyan Asians and points out that in spite of increase in the voucher quota, a large number of unemployed, homeless and destitute Kenyans still faced distress due to delay in the issue of these vouchers. Obtainable from JCWI, 10 St. George's House, Toynbee Hall, Commercial Street, London E1, for 7p.

● **Employment for Foreigners in Great Britain**, is a Department of Employment leaflet (AR 205 and AR 206) and deals with changes in the rules governing the issues of work permits. Available free from all local employment offices.

● **Wings of Dove** a film depicting the life of a Pakistani family living in Birmingham. It is intended for teachers and students in colleges of further education and gives a reasonable introduction to the way of life of some of their future pupils. Hire charge is £5 per showing, from 'The Other Cinema', 12 Little Newport Street, London W1.

● **Feel No Shame** is a 20 minute colour film about the Third World. It discusses world poverty and development and the Western Society's attitude to the poor world. Hire charge 72p, from Concord Film Council, Nacton, Ipswich.

● Radio Moscow has started a new series of programmes on Socialism for listeners in South and South-East Asia. The first programme illustrated the advantages of socialism and pointed out that national liberation movements in Afro-Asia were turning more and more to the experience of the socialist states.

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WORLD OPINION WORLD OPINION WORLD OPINION WORLD OPINION

Blame not the Bank but thine own seed

The US Government's domination of the World Bank lies in its control of the organisation's system of voting and in the imposition of its strategy in the Bank's policy and leadership.

As in the case of the Fund, each World Bank member state holds 250 votes plus one additional vote for every 100,000-dollar stock purchase. Needless to say, this means that the countries with higher quotas control the majority of votes and can, therefore, decide on all important matters.

The United States has 24 per cent of the total votes. The countries of the European Common Market (the GFR, France, Italy, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg) hold 15 per cent. A total of 17 highly developed countries control 64 per cent of the votes, while some one hundred underdeveloped countries hold 36 per cent.

Considering that the quorum at all Council meetings is made up of a majority of members representing 67 per cent of the votes, the 17 developed countries are able to meet and decide on any important matter practically all by themselves . . .

The present strategy followed by the World Bank was clearly set forth by Robert McNamara in his first speech after being inaugurated as its President. Addressing the 24th Meeting of the Inter-American Press Association, in Buenos Aires, on October 1, 1968, he said, "I am concerned over the fact that a number of countries whose rhythm of development has been slow tend to blame their lack of progress on outside factors. We must educate the leaders of Latin-American governments about birth control so as to keep the gap between the poor and rich countries from becoming wider . . ."

No comment needed. In a nutshell, ever since McNamara became President of the World Bank, the United States has used the institution as a spearhead for a worldwide campaign to try to convince the nations of the underdeveloped world that their problems are the result of an "excess" of population, rather than the result of the ruthless exploitation to which they are subjected.

Today, any nation wishing to obtain a loan from the World Bank must first prove that it practices a policy of birth control or accept the World Bank's "technical assistance" to undertake a birth control programme . . .

("Five Questions about the World Bank", *Granma*. Havana, 6 February, 1972)

A Swiss humanitarian impulse

The Swiss Bank Secrecy Act of 1934 actually stemmed from a Swiss humanitarian impulse, their bankers maintain—the desire to protect the

accounts of Jews in Hitler's Germany.

In the early 1930s Nazi intelligence agents penetrated several large Swiss banks and reported to the Gestapo the existence of accounts of Jews and other Germans—accounts that Hitler had declared illegal if located outside the country.

Thus, Jews who had put their money in Swiss banks for safe-keeping had their outside assets confiscated, and were sometimes themselves jailed or executed.

To prevent Nazi bribery and other skulduggery inside the banks, the tough banking code was issued making it a penal offence for any bank employee to disclose any information about accounts.

Swiss banks, however, do cooperate with the police or other authorised investigators in the case of criminal fraud, as distinct from tax matters. Forgery and fraud are serious crimes in Switzerland. Thus, when the question of fraud was raised in the H. R. Hughes case, the bank cooperated with American investigators.

The Swiss, in fact, dearly like to prosecute such criminal cases and issue jail sentences to serve as a warning.

William Tuohy: "How almost anyone may open a Swiss Bank account,

International Herald Tribune, Paris, 2 February, 1972)

The easy way with crimes

There's one easy way to reduce the size of the crime problem if you are a criminologist. Simply assert that some acts, usually regarded as crime, are no longer worthy of the name. A year ago, two American criminologists, Norval Morris and Gordon Hawkins, did just this when they proposed the abolition of all victimless offences, like drunkenness, misuse of drugs, gambling, sexual behaviour, abortion and vagrancy.

However, if some criminologists can get the crime figures down by this simple device, there are others who use the same definitional trick to push it up again. The ninth Council of Europe Conference of Directors of Criminological Research Institutes, meeting in Strasburg recently, went some way to "reducing" crime by arguing that such matters as shoplifting and issuing worthless cheques were not "real" crimes. They then threatened to increase crime figures dramatically by declaring that the definition of crime should be extended to acts which "genuinely disturbed the life of society". According to their new formulation, pollution and invasion of privacy would become "real" crimes.

But *who* is to decide exactly what disturbs society?...

(Crime re-jig, *New Society*, London, 10 February, 1972)

Intervention—Rules and Exceptions

...A world as diverse and divided as ours is more likely to be able to agree on the prohibition of intervention than on formulae for making it legitimate. At all events this is so if one is considering the global rules of international society at large, rather than the special rules appropriate to particular regions or blocs, in which a higher degree of consensus may exist. It is interesting that some Soviet lawyers have asserted that there are three laws of intervention: (1) between socialist states, where non-intervention is subordinated to the higher law of 'socialist internationalism'; (2) between capitalist states, where imperialism and interventionism prevail; and (3) between socialist states and capitalist states, which should be governed by the principle of non-intervention as laid down in Article 2 (7) of the UN Charter...

(Hedley Bull: "Civil Violence and International Order", *Adelphi Papers* No. 83, IISS, London, December, 1971)

Realism and Socialism

...When M. Jean-Marie Soutou presented his credentials to President Boumediene in mid-December, the president replied to the new ambassador's speech of courtesy that Algeria 'is always compelled, even in critical times, to sustain every chance of developing harmonious relations with France'.

He added that 'realism and confidence have found their true place'. This may have gone a bit far, as the occasion in which his remarks were made warranted, but it clearly reflected the pragmatism which has more and more been manifest in Boumediene's policy. His ideology is clearly that of traditional Arab nationalism, which is now called Arab socialism. I confess once again that I find it difficult to define precisely what Arab socialism is but I understand by instinct what it means; that is to say, one knows what a true 'Arab socialist' is likely to do in any given situation...

(Tom Little: "News Desk Notes", *Middle East International*, London, February 1972)

"Terribly interesting"

...When I first arrived, I felt that for some inexplicable reason I had captured the heart of England. Every taxi driver and store clerk addressed me as 'dear', 'darling' or 'love'. It was all very warm and cosy until I reflected that they couldn't possibly care less. Then there was the English woman I rang up to deliver messages from Israeli friends. She responded with: 'Aren't you sweet'. It is really

so terribly thoughtful of you to be such a darling. We really *must* get together some time'. To my dismay, I learned this was an English way of saying 'Get lost!'

Adding to the confusion, if an Englishman tells you 'That's terribly interesting', it means he's bored, and if he says 'I absolutely adore her accent', it means the lady in question had best seek elocution lessons. And together with all this passionate affection goes an amazing inability to express genuine interest or feeling, which usually get communicated by way of a grunt or a gurgle. Unbridled enthusiasm may call for a shuffling of feet or a scarcely perceptible nodding of the head.

All this raises an insuperable challenge for any would-be initiate of the English tongue, but still I might have learned it tolerably well were it not for the curious relationship between the English and the human body. There simply is none. I've never had an English lover, but I suspect it could be a rather tedious exercise. Any concept of the body as an agent of communication is completely alien to the language, and thus, I assume, to the people who use it. An Englishman rarely raises his hands or changes his facial expression when speaking. Really skilled masters can dispense with all lip movement as well...

(Danah Zohar: "Learning English," *New Statesman*, London, 11 February, 1972)

The Liberal censorship

The liberal conscience is up in arms about a publisher's plan to print a cheap edition of Adolf Hitler's "Mein Kampf". Apparently any amount of Left-wing pernicious rubbish is all right, but Fascist drivel, however out-dated, is regarded as too dangerous for publication. It might corrupt the young.

Surely another example of how quick the Left are to use censorship when it suits *their* book.

("Publish the Damned", *The Sunday Telegraph*, London, 6 February, 1972)

President Mobutu of the Congo has been prevented from passing a decree to change his christian names to make them 'more virile'. He liked his first name Désiré, but felt that Joseph was rather weak, the French Press reports. So he had chosen the christian names Sese Seka Kuku Ngden Du Ma Za Banga, which means, translated, Invincible Warrior, Cockerel who Leaves no Chick Intact. The Bishop of Kishaha has vetoed the decree on moral grounds...

("Name-dropper", *The Sunday Times* London, 13 February, 1972)

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

AFGHANISTAN. An Institute of Child Health and a Medical Service Institute designed and set up with Indian finance and know-how were opened by Dr. Seraj, the Health Minister.

ALGERIA. The Common Market is to offer Algeria a 60% preferential on its wine exports to the EEC.

BANGLADESH. The pro-Moscow Bangladesh National Awami Party has called for forming of an "All Party People's Committee" to effect speedy distribution of food grain. It also demanded a more democratic approach to the proposed constitution and association of all other parties which directly participated in the struggle for independence. Reactionary forces, it said, are still active and trying to undo our independence.

● Maulana Bhashani, leader of the erstwhile/pro-Peking National Awami Party extended his full support to the government and said his party may even unite with the Awami League in achieving their common goal of democracy, socialism and secularity.

● Mr. Moni Singh, leader of the Bangladesh Communist Party said the slogan of democracy, secularity and socialism put forth by Sheikh Mujib has been propagated for a long time by the East Bengali Left Wing and they are now setting up branches in the countryside and among students.

● Wing Commander S. R. Mirza, Chief of Civil Aviation said that the 7 airfields damaged during the war have been reconstructed, and are being used. Work on Rs. 220m-Kurmitola international airport project will be resumed.

● "Bangladesh Biman" started operating air-service between Dacca, Chittagong, Sylhet and Jessore.

● Aeroflot has started a weekly Moscow-Dacca-Rangoon/Djakarta service via Tehran and Bombay.

● Soviet cargo vessels have started regular sailing to Bangladesh and have already unloaded rice and other foodstuffs in Chittagong and Chalna.

● A Shipping Corporation is to be established with an authorised capital of Rs. 250m.

● According to official Calcutta circles about 7.3m refugees have so far returned to their homes; the number yet to be re-patriated is 2.6m.

● A Bangladesh youth delegation is to visit USSR in March.

● Poland has offered to buy 2,000 tons of raw jute and supply 68,000 tons of urea.

● Israel has announced recognition of Bangladesh. Dacca authorities have, however, so far not acknowledged Abba Eban's letter.

● New currency notes printed by the Indian Security Press at Nasik and bearing the portrait of Sheikh Mujib have been issued.

CHINA. Radio Moscow accused China of adopting a policy of forced assimilation of minorities. According to official statistics, there are, apart from the Hans, more than 50 nationalities in China who total 42m, but only 5—Chuang, Mongolian, Uighur, Tibetans, and Hui—have been granted an autonomous region. In this the object was to split rather than the union of minorities so as to accelerate the process of their assimilation with the Hans. For example, the Chuangs, Mongolians and Tibetans were now a minority in their own autonomous regions. The Great Han

Policy aimed at forced assimilation and colonial exploitation of the autonomous regions' economies. The minority people play a secondary role in industry and the authorities are systematically eliminating their languages, cultures and arts. Their history is being re-written and at the 9th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, Government and Party cadres from among the minorities were replaced by the Hans.

● *Pravda* reported that in the last few years 250,000 intellectuals have fled from China into Hong-Kong and Macao.

● A campaign has been in progress to popularise the use of a new alphabet for the Uighur language.

EGYPT. According to Kuwaiti newspaper *As-Siyasah*, the Russians had withdrawn some of the electronic equipment they had put in Egypt and gave to India during the recent war. This withdrawal disturbed Egypt very much.

HUNGARY. A private and "un-scientific" poll of public opinion on the case of one Bela Demeter revealed that the majority of the people did not condemn the private profiteering activities of Bela who is being tried for undertaking private trade and profiteering in silver firs, cherry stones and other garden plants.

INDIA. INS *Nilgiri*, the first Leander class frigate built by India has completed extensive sea trials and will now join the Indian navy.

● A new long-range field gun produced locally is to replace the existing guns of the second World War. Manufacturing of anti-tank missiles is to be taken up shortly.

● Since the establishment of regular service between Odessa and India in 1947 more than 7m tons of cargo has been carried to India.

● Major/Gen. J. F. K. Jacobs has been decorated by the President of India.

IRAQ. The Iraqi Government has decided to resume trade relations with Jordan.

ISLAMIC SECRETARIAT. Arrangements have been completed to hold the conference of the Muslim Foreign Ministers at Al-Hamra Palace in Jeddah. The Conference is expected to be attended by 30 countries and inter-alia consider the creation of an Islamic News Agency and the report on Islamic Development Bank.

● *The Muslim World*, weekly organ of the World Muslim Congress, has suggested creation of a joint Muslim fund to provide Hajj facilities to Muslims under Communist regimes. The number of Hajjis being allowed to come out from these countries is negligible. In the last Hajj in January 1972 not a single Hajj was reported to have come either from the People's China or USSR.

ISRAEL. In 1971, the trade deficit totalled £855m, about £40m more than the preceding year.

● The Finance Minister said the country's economy is growing faster than that of any other country with the exception of Japan.

● The Minister of Labour announced that nearly 28,000 Arabs from the "occupied territories" were at present employed in construction work in Israel.

KASHMIR. The Jammu and Kashmir Government have detained without trial about 20 persons including

Mr. Ghulam Mohiuddin Kara, a prominent opposition leader. An order of externment for 6 months has also been served on Begum Abdullah, wife of Sheikh Abdullah who is already exiled in Delhi.

LIBYA. President Qaddafi told the Beirut weekly *As-Sayyad* that "our victory over Israel, when we achieve it, would have no meaning or value if it meant replacing American and Western influences by Soviet influence in our region." He also criticised naked Soviet support to Indian aggression against Pakistan.

MOROCCO. The Kuwaiti fund for Arab Economic Development has granted a loan of \$2.5m to finance a sugar plant to be constructed in Morocco.

NIGERIA. Alhaji Usman Faruq, military governor of the North-Western State has protested against disgraceful treatment meted out to Nigerian Hajjis by the Saudi authorities who stripped and searched them for drugs.

● About 40 Nigerians were caught on charges of trafficking in drugs.

● Gen. Gowon announced a review of the country's judicial system to bring it up-to-date and adapting it to Nigerian conditions. The Military Government, he said, did not wish to undertake such review, but as things are it does not seem improper. He assured that independence of the judiciary will be upheld.

PAKISTAN. President Bhutto said he plans to meet Mrs. Gandhi and Sheikh Mujib shortly. He promised to lift Martial Law before the end of the year, but hinted that there may be a referendum on his constitutional proposals.

● Pakistan has launched a strong protest with India calling for measures to stop an increased recurrence of cease-fire violations. Fresh concentration of Indian troops have been reported along the West Pakistan borders.

● Proceedings for the trial of Sheikh Mujib have been annulled and their publication withheld under Martial Law orders.

SAUDI ARABIA. Four tons of British cigarette lighters worth £35,000 were air-lifted to Saudi Arabia to meet the souvenir market during the Hajj season.

● Rules have been issued regarding the grant of permanent residence permits to various categories of visitors to Saudi Arabia.

● Contracts worth SR100m have been awarded for projects designed to protect Mecca and Jeddah against floods.

SOUTH YEMEN. A 5-member Farmers' Group has been sent to Berlin on a 12 month training course in agricultural and socialist co-operatives.

● Mujahid dam, built with Soviet assistance, is expected to irrigate 2,100 acres, another dam in the Tibban river delta to be completed in April will serve 2,500 acres.

● Tata, the Indian car company is to sell 40 buses and train Yemeni workers in maintenance work.

SUDAN. A Conference on the resettlement of Sudanese refugees took place in Khartoum on 21 February and was attended by 80 delegates representing UN; European and American Charities and Churches; Swiss, American, Norwegian and Danish Red Cross organisations and observers from a number of Arab and American countries.

● North Korea has offered 100 short-term scholarships for the training of Sudanese students in rural cadres.

RUSSIA. The Turkmen Minister of Popular Education told a students' rally in Ashkabad that it is necessary for every student to know the Russian language so as to assimilate the heritage of Marxism-Leninism.

The number of Turkmen children in schools where Russian is the sole language of instruction is now 21.7%.

● Ibragimov, Kazakhstan's Minister for Light Industry has reported that due to faulty planning there has resulted acute shortage of essential consumer goods, including kitchen pots and pans.

● New settlers, in Kazakhstan and other Far Eastern regions, are to be given facilities to establish in the area. Every family will receive a grant of R150 for the head of the family and R50 for every other member, and a house or flat or a loan to build a new house.

Of this loan only 30 per cent is to be returned. All transportation charges will be paid for and preferential tax benefits given during the first two years.

● Russian scientists have isolated a number of strains of soil bacteria which break down Benzopyrene, a cancer-producing chemical.

PEOPLE

Gen. Mamduh Tagmac, Turkish Chief of General Staff, granted extension of service till March 1973.

● Maj.-Gen. David Ejoor to replace Maj.-Gen. Hasan Katsina as Nigeria's Chief of Staff.

● Abdullah Buraq, President Moroccan Union of Students arrested for demonstrating against authorities.

● Mustafa Tawfiq as-Sayyid, new Egyptian ambassador in East Germany.

● Umar ash-Shibani, appointed president of the Libyan University.

● Dr. Saeb Jaroudy, Lebanese Minister of Economy elected head of Arab Economic Fund.

● Dr. Jan Zelenka, director of Czech TV attended the annual meeting of the Arab Broadcasting Union in Damascus.

● Maj.-Gen. Shlomo Goren, former senior chaplain to the Israeli Defence Forces, appointed chief Rabbi of Israel.

● Hou Yeh-Feng is the new Chinese ambassador in Tunis.

● Gen. Rakhman Gul, governor of Sind under Yahya Khan, appointed Pakistan's ambassador in Kabul.

● Gen. Yaqub Ali Khan, Martial Law administrator in East Pakistan, prior to March 1971 and S. K. Dehlavi to be Pakistan's envoys in Paris and Moscow respectively.

● Mazhar Ali Khan, former left wing editor of *Pakistan Times* and father of *Red Mole's Tariq Ali*, appointed editor of the *Dawn* newspaper group of Karachi.

● *Dawn*, originally founded in pre-independence Delhi by Pakistan's founder Jinnah is now owned by the Haroons.

● Vladimir Polyakov and Popov appointed Russian ambassador in Khartoum and Dacca respectively.

● William Stolts, roving U.S.A. ambassadors in the Gulf and based in Kuwait.

● Devi Soekarno widow of the late President Soekarno, engaged to Senor Francisco Paesa, a Spanish industrialist.

VISITS

Prime Minister Nihat Erim to USA from March 21.

● Sheikh Mujib to Moscow on 1st March.

● President Tombalbaye of Chad to Sudan.

● CPSU Secretary General Brezhnev, Premier Kosygin and Chairman Podgorny, accepted invitation to visit Iraq to attend celebrations marking the start of oil production at Rumaylah, in April.

● President Amin to Tripoli.

● Abu Khalid a leading member of the Asifah Commandos, to Peking.

DIED

Edgar Snow, 66, journalist and author, America's bridge to China, in Geneva on 15 February.

● Sir John Sargent, 83, member of the Imperial (later Indian) Civil Service and director of British Council (1940-53) on 13 February.

● Lord Sieff, 82, president of the leading British Supermarkets Marks & Spencer and an active British Zionist, in London on 14 February.

● David McCutchin 41, reader in comparative literature at Jadavpur University, Calcutta and a student of Hindu art and architecture.