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When last year Egypt signed the treaty of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union there was not much reaction from those who were familiar or involved with the Middle East. The treaty merely formalised a relationship which is almost two decades old and which has left Egypt, sadly and painfully to many Egyptians and Arabs, up to its neck in debt to the Soviet Union. It is said that if the Soviet Union were to redeem its loans to Egypt, Egypt would have to forfeit all of its agricultural lands to this great friend of the Arabs.

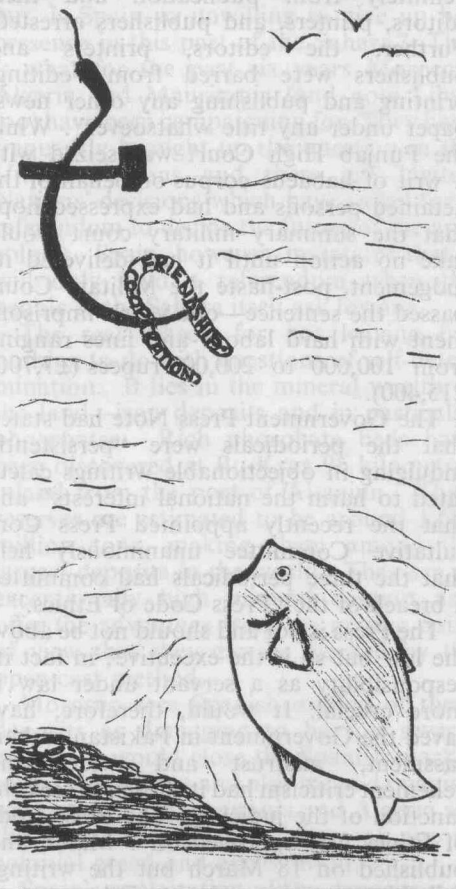
When, on the other hand, the Ba'athist regime in Iraq signed its treaty of friendship with the Soviet Union, it was hailed as one of the most important event in the Middle East since the June war of 1967. And it may well prove to be so.

The key to the events lies in Egypt where there has been a new-found and growing suspicion of the Soviet Union and its real motives in offering technical assistance and military support. All the armaments given to Egypt are of a defensive kind and not at all adequate for a war with Israel. When the Egyptians contrast this with the active help of the Soviet Union to India in her war against Pakistan they were bound to have a second look at Russian promises of help in the fight against imperialism and zionism. Apparently the Egyptians have been making their displeasure known and there is not much more that the Russians can get from Egypt in the economic or ideological fields.

In the circumstances Russia began fishing about for more, and more reliable and potentially beneficial allies in an oil-rich Middle East which is politically in a very uncertain and fluid situation. The obvious target was Iraq which has been in a somewhat isolated position on many Arab issues. The Ba'athist regime is more to the Left than any other government and despite its bloody vengeance on the Communists in 1963 and 1968, now says that it is ready to form a National Front with the Communists in Iraq. The Ba'ath has also undertaken to broaden its cooperation with the Soviet Communist Party and to approve the decisions of the Warsaw Pact political commission recently held in Prague.

With these ideological leanings, with its oil riches and its desire to reduce the

And if the Iraqis are not careful



share of the British controlled Iraq Petroleum Company, and not least of all its strategic position in the Gulf area, Iraq seems to be in a position to fulfil the

role of a Soviet satellite or pawn in ways better than Egypt could do or has done.

The Soviet Union has been very quick in realising this and in fact has been preparing the ground for sometime now. It has been responsible for the greater cooperation between the Communists and the Ba'ath. Since the late sixties it has given much technical assistance and has been developing the new North Rumaila oil-field (at a cost of £80 million) which Iraq took over from Western oil companies.

Now, after the treaty of friendship and cooperation, Moscow is in for substantial gains. There will be a much bigger Soviet role in Iraq's national oil industry. Although the treaty promises Soviet assistance to strengthen Iraq's defences, the Soviet Union may not commit itself too much beyond the stipulation that neither of the signatories will join an alliance or international bloc hostile to the other. This together with port facilities near Basra would give the Soviet Union a commanding position in the Gulf where it has already offered its assistance to the Arab states to end "domination by Western monopolies" of their oil wealth. Since the present rulers in the Gulf would not be inclined to accept these offers of assistance, it has been suggested that the Soviet Union might well aim at the removal of these rulers.

Already the treaty has brought its results. Soviet warships have been to Basra on a 'friendly' visit, Libya has recalled its ambassador in Baghdad and even Syria has criticised the move made by the Iraqis. The United States is very much aware of what is going on and Mr. Nixon's announcement that he would stop over in Tehran on his way back from Moscow is seen in the context of a heightened East-West confrontation in the area.

There is no doubt that the Soviet Union has gained another important foothold in the Middle East. And if the Iraqis are not careful they could end up worse than the Egyptians. But apparently oblivious to this fate they assert that theirs is a treaty which represents "a pioneer model of relations that should be established between countries struggling against imperialism in the Third World and socialist states, led by the Soviet Union."

Survey

● PAKISTAN: END OF MARTIAL LAW IS NOT THE BEGINNING OF DEMOCRACY

Pakistan—a chance to begin afresh

On Friday, April 14, President Bhutto made the dramatic announcement that Martial Law will be lifted on 21 April provided the National Assembly passed the interim constitution within the three days it had been given to meet and disperse.

For a nation whose central problem during 25 years of her existence has been whether to have or not to have a constitution, and which has sacrificed more than half of its population at the altar of Martial law, any constitution was better than Martial Law and very sensibly the Assembly (with about 40 abstentions) voted to pass the interim constitution.

The constitution has been described as federal and parliamentary type though it has neither a prime minister nor an upper house. Until a regular constitution is framed (and if it does not then this would become a permanent constitution), all powers are vested in the President and the Governors appointed by him. The President heads both State and Government and his council of ministers would not be answerable to the Assembly. The President is elected by the Assembly but once elected, he can dissolve the Assembly itself. The fundamental rights are provided for but with rider clauses and limited by emergency regulations. As one MP said it was "neither fish nor fowl" but even if it was a beast at least it was a civil beast.

Although this may amount to putting up with an autocratic constitution (even more autocratic than Ayub Khan's post-Martial law Constitution of 1962), yet the change of label denotes more than a nominal change, particularly in face of the full bench and unanimous verdict of the Supreme Court announced on 20 April, a day earlier than the lifting of the Martial law. It ruled that the assumption of power in March 1969 by Yahya Khan as Chief Martial Law Administrator and President was an illegal act, all legislative and administrative action taken thereunder are void, and that it would be for the courts to determine and pronounce a law as being valid because of being in public interest. The Court was delivering judgement on the detention of Altaf. Gauhar, editor of *Dawn* and Malik Ghulam Jeelani, an opposition leader.

It is, therefore, obvious that the end of the dark days of Martial Law, as one daily chose to call it, owed in main to Pakistan's Supreme Court. But it is to be understood that this is as far as the Court could go and the preservation of liberty and democracy was essentially for the people to be jealous and concerned about. A great deal of blame, much of it justifiable is thrown on the leadership, but who elects

and sustains them? As it is, there is no remedy for a self-infliction.

The judgement of the Supreme Court has no doubt put a seal to the types of 'revolutions' and coups, Pakistan has so far known, but if the leadership continues to fiddle with democracy and the masses persist in their gullibility, parochialism and cosy complacency, the country may lose its very sovereignty. The Supreme Court judgement does no more than provide another chance.

Gagging the Press in Pakistan—whom does it serve?

It is unfortunate that contrary to assurances and pronouncements, the bureaucracy in Pakistan seems to have acquired an incurable allergy to press freedom and the most recent example is provided by the blatant action against the weeklies *Zindagi* and *Punjab Punch*, and monthly *Urdu Digest*, their editors, printers and publishers. Under a new Martial Law Order—Objectionable Publications Order, 1972—the periodicals were banned indefinitely from publication and their editors, printers, and publishers arrested. Further, the editors, printers and publishers were barred from "editing, printing and publishing any other newspaper under any title whatsoever". While the Punjab High Court was seized with a writ of habeas corpus on behalf of the detained persons and had expressed hope that the summary military court would take no action until it had delivered its judgement, post-haste the Military Court passed the sentence—one year's imprisonment with hard labour and fines ranging from 100,000 to 200,000 rupees (£7,700-£15,400).

The Government Press Note had stated that the periodicals were "persistently indulging in objectionable writings calculated to harm the national interests" and that the recently appointed Press Consultative Committee unanimously held that the three periodicals had committed a breach of the "Press Code of Ethics."

The Press is not and should not be above the law but so is the executive; in fact its responsibility as a servant under law is more crucial. It would, therefore, have saved the Government in Pakistan embarrassment, mistrust and wide and vehement criticism had it chosen to seek the sanction of the judiciary. The Press Code of Ethics was approved on 7 March and published on 18 March but the writings called into question relate to February and the period before 18 March which makes the whole exercise a retro-active repression. The assertion that the Press Consultative Committee had *unanimously* held that a

breach of the Press Code had been committed becomes ridiculous in face of categorical denials by at least four leading members of the Press Consultative Committee — editors of *Dawn*, *Jung*, *Jasarat* and *Nawai Waqt* — that the Committee had held so. *Dawn*, Karachi, says: "When the matter of the three journals now banned was discussed in the Executive Committee, all the Editors present suggested that, in the first place, the Editors whose writings have been placed before it should be invited to discuss the matter with the Committee. When Government spokesmen stated that the Editors concerned may not accept this invitation, and the authorities could not wait indefinitely because they feared that the alleged offences would be repeated, the Editors unanimously pointed out that—while the question of any action against newspapers was not within the purview of the Committee—they felt that if the Government considered it necessary to proceed against any newspaper this should be done in accordance with the ordinary law. (7 March). Similar editorial disclaimers have been made by the other three dailies which makes the official position indefensible. Even if one dismissed their version of the proceedings as untrue, it is obvious that the Committee could not have made any *unanimous* recommendation."

One hopes that in view of the Supreme Court ruling on the illegality of Yahya Khan's Martial Law, the above actions may be nullified but the question here is of a principle. Even from a pragmatic point of view, those who have been advising and formulating such actions do no service even to Mr. Bhutto or his party. In the ultimate analysis, they serve deliberately, one suspects, the interests not of Mr. Bhutto but of the forces keen to replace him.

In passing, one may take note of an aspect of comment these measures have evoked in Pakistan. While obediently and respectfully begging to say that it was not a good action, some editorials pointed out that if not withdrawn, the action would create a bad impression in the Free World. The editors ought to have known (the authorities in Pakistan do) that the Free World they tend to dream about in their deprivation does not exist. As far as the British Press is concerned, except a single report in *The Times* the news was not considered worthy of report by any other newspaper. For the present, the matter lies buried in their files to be brought out for use in any Bangladesh type of situation.

Press freedom in Kuwait—a welcome step

It seems that the three-months ban on the Kuwait weekly *Al Mujtama'a* (*Impact*)

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14-27 January 1972) because of its criticism of the affairs of Kuwait University, had not been without its silver lining. The Kuwaiti Parliament has since amended the enabling provision in the country's statute and deprived the executive of the power to ban arbitrarily any publication. A ban can now be placed only after a judicial action. It is now for the press to see that the newly obtained freedom is put to right use and that it acts as an objective medium of reform, progress and unity. It cannot arrogate any right to infallibility. In fact a certain degree of corruption, reaction and regimentation, the pressmen enjoy agitating about owes itself to their own conduct.

Zanzibar—overdue for sane and sensible government

It does not say much for a head of state or a leader of a people or government that his death in however violent a manner should not be mourned by many, if at all. For the hallmark of Sheik Abeid Karume's rule over Zanzibar, from its very beginning to its bloody end eight years later, was violence. His rule had been motivated by a desire for revenge against people whom he felt once exploited his black brothers. A racist, and one who was responsible for such measures as forced marriages, Karume once said that only those who could claim one black African parent could be considered citizens of Tanzania. The result of this attitude was that barely one-tenth of the 30,000 and more Indians, Arabs and Persians who have been on the island for generations are now left.

Instant hopes that the death of Karume would lead to a lessening of repression on the island and a more enlightened government have so far not materialised. The clamp-downs and the curfews which the ruling bosses of the Afro-Shirazi party have laid down show that the party is intent on preserving its position and any change for the better may have to wait some time.

Signs of such a change are seen in the appointment of Mr. Abboud Jumbe by President Julius Nyerere as first Vice-President of Tanzania and chairman of Zanzibar's ruling Revolutionary Council. It is pointed out that Mr. Jumbe, a former schoolmaster, is, unlike his predecessor, at least literate and one with whom a rational discussion could take place. But it is also pointed out that as Minister of State under Karume and the person in charge of religious affairs he supported the forced marriage of teenage girls to Karume and members of the Revolutionary Council. He is also the one who took charge of the counter measures after the sheikh's assassination.

Zanzibar is long overdue for some sane and sensible government. It does not say much for the avowed socialist government of Tanzania that it has allowed things to reach such a pass. While on the mainland of Tanganyika some interesting, and even laudable experiments are being carried out by Nyerere, it is very much to be hoped that whatever enlightenment there is would spread to the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, and help to resuscitate the ghost towns, end shortages of essential supplies and bring some peace to these terror-stricken, clove-scented islands.

Sahara, which Spain loves so much

Apart from Djibouti which is under French colonial control, the territories held by Portugal and South West Africa which can be said to form a colonial possession of South Africa—Spanish Sahara on the Atlantic Coast south of Morocco is the only territory in Africa still under direct colonial rule.

Most of this land is desert and its population of about half a million is mainly nomadic. Why then, the question has been put, is Spain so unwilling to give up her presence in this part of the Sahara? This is what for the past six years Morocco, Algeria and Mauritania (and now Libya too) have been campaigning for. They have frequently brought up the question in the United Nations and there are United Nations' decisions which have called for a referendum to decide the future of the arid colony. Spain, however, maintains that it will only hold a referendum when the people of the Sahara itself ask for one.

The real reason for not leaving has nothing to do with questions of self-determination. It lies in the mineral wealth of the land—iron deposits and in particular phosphates. Rich phosphate beds have been discovered at Bu-Kraa 96 kilometres inland from the port of Al-aiun. Their reserves are estimated to be around 1,600 million tons, making them among the largest deposits in the world. They are of exceptionally high mineral content and offer the advantage from the mining point of view that they can be worked by the open-cast method.

Morocco sees Spanish mining of these deposits as damaging to her on several counts: it would close the Spanish market to her phosphates and also mean damaging competition. Mauritania and Algeria see the question in its basic form as one of colonial greed and exploitation.

Spain's exploitation of the deposits is to start during this summer and production capacity is expected to reach 3m tons of phosphates a year by 1974 rising by subsequent stages to a capacity of 10m tons when the planned production installations

are completed somewhere about 1979. With such capital investment on machinery it does not seem likely that the Spaniards would give up the Sahara easily, even though the natives ask or agitate for a referendum.

Race in the Institute

The Institute of Race Relations is deeply divided on the attitude to race and minorities in Britain. The controversy has centred around the director of the Institute, Professor Hugh Tinker, and the magazine *Race Today* which is published by the Institute.

The Council of the Institute had decided earlier this year to dismiss Professor Tinker when he refused to stop the journal on their contention that it was losing money, that it was scaring off potential donors when the Institute was critically short of money, that it was prejudicial to the Institute's reputation for objectivity and that it might call the Institute's charitable status into question.

A special meeting of the Institute's 500 members on 19 April reversed the decision of the Council by voting against the dismissal of Professor Tinker and the closure of the magazine. At this many of the majority of the Council resigned. These include Mr. Mark Bonham-Carter, chairman of the Community Relations Commission; two MPs; Lord Boyle, vice-chancellor of Leeds University; and the chairman of the Council, Mr. Michael Caine. Among those expected to resign are Mr. David Sieff of Marks and Spencer and Sir Frederick Seeböhm who have been supervising fund raising for the Institute.

The Government, many prominent institutions in the City, including the Bank of England and Mercantile Credit and other interested groups like the Ford Foundation have been financing the Institute. Those who feel that the journal should not be closed argue that the Institute's publications should not be influenced by the attitudes of donors and that the paper should become more and more representative of the racial minorities in Britain and that it should move away from highly theoretical research to projects which are more relevant to relieving the more pressing problems of the minority communities, in particular the 'coloured' ones.

This would undoubtedly be a much more helpful approach in that many minorities feel that the existing race relations bodies are not always understanding of their problems and respectful of their traditions and life-styles; the emphasis on integration was proving destructive in many respects and there are still far too many who are unwilling and even refusing to come to terms with the fact that Britain is a plural society.

PAKISTAN & 'BANGLADESH'

Whose good offices should it be?

IBN NIZAM

Whether it is lack of realism or courage or both, the situation anyhow is that Pakistan and Bangladesh leaderships have not so far been able even to speak to each other frankly and directly. Sheikh Mujib insists that unless there is a prior recognition, he cannot talk either to Pakistan or any other Muslim State which does not recognise Bangladesh. As if recognition by 55 nations including Russia and America was not assuring enough to give him the requisite self-confidence and as if they had not been dealing with and talking to Britain and even America before they had recognised Bangladesh!

In Pakistan, the positions seem to be that there has to be a 'graceful' excuse for accepting the unacceptable. In the welter of emotions and arguments, some genuine and valid, others simply counter-chauvinistic, what seems to be overlooked is that all the provinces which once constituted the 'old' Pakistan had come together through a process of *voluntary* association.

The ethnic and environmental variety which later acquired such a critical importance had always been there, but it was the over-all climate of thought which made Muslims in the subcontinent feel and act as one people. Now that the very cementing factors are diluted and eroded, it would not help quarrelling with the bricks and the stones. Plainly any chance of reconciliation depends entirely on the re-creation of that original social climate in which one is prepared to give rather than ask. It is as simple as that. Should it be possible at any stage to recover that original spirit of the Pakistan movement no internal or external factor will be able to prevent a reunion of the two wings. In the realities of today, this may sound improbable and even romantic but if the present generation does not feel itself being equal to the challenge, at least, it should not do anything to widen the gulf.

However, in the absence of that courage and common sense the tragedies of the situation have become more gross and more compounded.

There is the problem of 1.5 million non-Bengali Muslims which is becoming more and more painful and pathetic. They had no place in independent India so they came over to (East) Pakistan, for the achievement of which they had fought and suffered. East Pakistan, is now Bangladesh—the establishment of which they had vehemently resisted—and so it has become an inhospitable homeland.

Ironically, they now constitute a Muslim minority in a Muslim State but the tragedy becomes more poignant when one finds that the new State is unable even to ensure the minimal right to live and earn a living.

Sheikh Mujib told Walter Schwarz that he was "under pressure to give my own priority" (*Observer*, London 15 April). The 'Biharis' too are people but it appears that no one, not even Pakistan is willing to accept them. It is not willingly that she has agreed to exchange the 'Bengalis' in West Pakistan with the 'Biharis' in Bangladesh on one-to-one basis. Funny enough, this amounted not only to a *de jure* but to a moral recognition of Bangladesh.

Then there is the question of those East Pakistanis who believed and stood for the integrity of Pakistan. Whether they are university professors, scholars, religious leaders, trade union or political workers, no one seems even to be conscious of their pathetic and inhuman lot. Their only crime had been to be a patriot and stand for the integrity and freedom of their own country, but as the Western press had dubbed them as 'collaborators', the World conscience could well afford not to have any moral qualms about their fate. Legally and morally, they are Pakistani citizens but it is doubtful if Pakistan would have any place for them either. An indication of the quality of thinking on the subject can be had from the statement made during a recent visit to Britain by a ruling party MP from Pakistan. He said Pakistan feared that if she agreed to take the 'Biharis', Shaikh Mujib would also push along with two million of his own 'Bengalis'.

There is also the problem of the 93,000 or so prisoners of war whose release should have posed no difficulty after the end of the hostilities. But India says she cannot release them without the concurrence of the Bangladesh government who were a member of the Joint Command. As far as Bangladesh is concerned her position is clear: they must be held as a ransom for recognition. Pakistan thus finds herself unable to let go the 400,000 'Bengali' civilians and defence personnel presently held up in Pakistan, a great majority of whom now like to rejoin their families in Bangladesh. Bangladesh's nascent and weak administrative infra-structure needs them most. Only last month Sheikh Mujib gave an open vent to his chagrin against the new state's worthless civil servants but things seem to have become part of a horse-trading and the impasse continues.

And then the 'war-criminals': The number mentioned from time to time has fluctuated from 2000 to 300 and this betrays the fact that the whole thing could well have been conceived in revenge and reaction rather than on the basis of justiciable evidence. There is no doubt that in Bangladesh today there is a certain atmosphere of tension, unrest and 'Paki-

stan' or 'collaborator' phobia, yet the fact is that there have been excesses. Although all excesses in dealing with an insurrectionary situation may not necessarily be the same as 'war-crimes', but it is also true that even a single case of rape on the part of a *Muslim* army was far more heinous and despicable than all that is termed as war-crimes.

The question here is not of the despicability or the punishability of the crimes but the advisability or otherwise of a certain method of dealing with the Pakistani excesses are explained as a human response to similar or more gross brutalities perpetrated early in March by the 'rebels' on the 'Biharis' and the pro-Pakistan 'Bengalis'. May be that was a human response but certainly not an Islamic response because two wrongs do not make one right. However, now that after the establishment Bangladesh, the Mukti Bahini has also shown a similar 'human' response, a third wrong would not mitigate the circular viciousness of the whole thing. In a situation where the whole exercise may end up in cruel vengeance against the innocent instead of punishing the really guilty, it is desirable to get over the tragedies of yesterday and bury the hatchet nevertheless if the Bangladesh leadership finds itself unable to forgive and forgive and insists that true justice be done then this should include all crimes i.e. those committed during the insurrection, suppression, and the 'post-liberation' periods.

The present state of impasse and drift in the relationship between Pakistan and Bangladesh is dangerous not only to the parties concerned but also affects vitally the Muslim countries west of Pakistan and east of Bangladesh. Some hopes were aroused by the interest taken by the recent Islamic Conference but it seems the mission has been given up. Malaysia, Indonesia and Senegal, the three Muslim countries who have recognised Bangladesh had an obvious role to play but the realities of the Muslim world are like that. Senegal is too far and too small a fry. Indonesian stipulations and formulations depend a great deal on situation reports received from the U.S. Malaysia's relations with Pakistan have developed a reserve since the 1965 Indo-Pakistan war.

The Muslim countries have to learn to rise above the pettiness and trivialities of the situation and how-so-much, they may underrate themselves, they have a duty and can play a profound role in the solution of the problems. Otherwise any solution or 'non-solution' that may ultimately come up is likely to emerge through the 'good offices' of India, Russia and America. None should then raise the cry "Down with Imperialism".

Nature and origins of the Israeli involvement in Africa

K. B. NAZIR

President Amin of Uganda is one of those Africans who know at first hand what is the nature of Israel's involvement in the politics of his country and that of some other African nations. Not long ago *The Times* (6 November 1971) observed editorially that "Israel has been involved in the change in Uganda from civilian to military rule, if only by acquiescence in General Amin's seizure of power at a time when Dr. Obote, the former President was becoming less enchanted with Israel. It is undeniable that Israel has become a factor in African politics". President Amin's ascendance to power was hailed by Israel, the first country he visited after consolidating himself. A symbol of Israel's *special relationship* with Uganda was the Israeli plane, with its Israeli pilot, which guaranteed the Ugandan President's safe mobility at home and abroad. With its vast paraphernalia of diplomatic staff, military and civil advisers, business representatives and joint ventures it did not take President Amin too long to become wary of Israel. But to his good luck, this happened perhaps a moment before the other party got fully disenchanted and had acted to his peril. Risk and uncertainty still loom on the horizon. It is difficult to predict what counter-action is there in the offing, if for no other reason, at least in the good name of democracy and the people.

Uganda has been forced to expell all military and technical advisers and order the closure of the Israeli Embassy which it is reported had a larger staff on its rolls than a Government department. The Ugandan Army and Air Force have been organised with the help of Israeli advisers and as such it was difficult to weed out their influence. The President, it seems, convinced the army and air force leadership of the clandestine role of the Israeli advisers. Their number turned out to be many times larger than the figure reported officially to the President.

What has happened in Uganda also provides a chance for surveying the overall aims, strategy, and tactics of Israel in Africa.

In appreciating and interpreting the Israeli role in world affairs, one has to accept that it is a special country.

On the one hand, she is a "small country", engulfed by the hostile "fanatical" and "oil-rich" Arab countries, threatening to "drown her" in the ocean and as such deserving the sympathy, political help and financial assistance of the world. On the other hand, she is meticulously planning to emerge as a world power. She

... the murky morality

The first serious confrontation with the idea of an alternative to Palestine as a home for Jews came in 1903 when Joseph Chamberlain offered the "Uganda Scheme" to Herzl for the settlement of Jews, with autonomy but under British protectorate . . .

Uganda is again in the news. What a blow to Israel!

Let the professionals indulge in probing and pondering the murky morality of political expediency which transforms a friendly General Idi Amin, President of Uganda, into another Pharaoh who did not want to know Joseph, a special community of Israeli experts who for ten years had dedicated themselves to the up-building of almost every part of Ugandan life without strings and without patronage and had made of Uganda (so it has been said) the showcase of aid to Black African States.

but financial gain . . .

The events in Uganda have led to widespread public discussion in Israel on the value of Israeli assistance programmes in Africa.

One popular illusion, which informed officials and experts were unanimous in refuting, was that the operations in Africa involved financial loss for Israel. In fact, all training programmes and other projects are paid for either by the government of the country concerned or by international organisations. And if the exports which almost invariably follow aid programmes are taken into account, the balance is positive. "Even if Amin kicks us out and reneges on whatever he still owes us, the Uganda operation will not have been a financial loss," one knowledgeable source said last week.

is building its military-economic base with the help of Jewish world capital. American aid and manpower drawn from Russia; and at the same time systematically extending its area of influence in the Third World. The "small country" argument is valid only for procuring help from outside, but when this small country undertakes the task of reconstructing the poor countries of the Third World the whole image changes altogether. And in the dialectics of world politics there is no contradiction between "small country" (as a geographic unit) and a 'big power' (as a political force). After all Britain, Italy, France, Belgium, Portugal etc. were all 'small countries' strutting around as big imperialist powers. What was possible yesterday could be equally possible today!

Israel's active penetration into Africa began after 'Operation Suez' of 1956. It aimed at: (a) breaking Israel's diplomatic isolation from the rest of the world (b) mobilising political support from the Afro-Asian countries (c) "correcting"

Imagine for a moment that Uganda as an alternative to Palestine, proposed out of the most humane motives by the British Government had in fact been accepted at the Zionist Congress and over the years some millions of homeless Jews had been settled there under a benign British protectorate. Imagine what would have happened at the withdrawal of that protectorate, if, with the advent of Independence and after a decade of loyal service as citizens of the new State, the decree had gone out "Expel all Jews"! How tragic our historic experience might have been twice within a single lifetime.

Is it possible that there are still Jews in the diaspora who have failed to learn the lesson even now, that there is no other paradise for the homeless Jews outside Israel?

(—"Ugandan Lesson" by Rabbi Maurice Unterman in *Jewish Observer and Middle East Review*, 21 April, 1972)

But financial gain is far from being the chief consideration in Israel's efforts to establish and maintain good relations with Africa. Israel has a major strategic and political interest in maintaining a presence in as many African countries as possible—if only to prevent the Arabs from isolating us.

Despite occasional setbacks, of which the Uganda affair is undoubtedly the most dramatic, there is a general feeling of satisfaction among those responsible that this aim is being achieved. There is no tendency at all to conclude from the Uganda debacle that a general withdrawal from Africa is called for.

(Ronnie Hope in *The Jerusalem Post Weekly*, Jerusalem, 4 April, 1972)

Israel's image of being an imperialist collaborator through extending economic and technical aid to the less developed countries.

As a first step Israel had to embark on the diplomatic conquest of Africa. The Afro-Asian countries were becoming more organised and effective in world politics, particularly after the 1955 Bandung conference and it was necessary to drive a wedge between the Arabs and the Africans.

Israel is wedded to the United States of America in a special relationship. The U.S. thinking in the 1950's can be seen to consist of two distinct strands. At one level the USA was trying to play a direct role reaping dividends as well as disaffections. At another, she wanted to develop a new *modus operandi* in relation to the Third World through indirect means and without exposing herself to the charge of neo-imperialism.

Immediately after the Second World War, when American thinking was dominated by George Kennan's theory of

containment, direct participation and influence were preferred. This led to a worldwide network of military and political pacts and organisations. By the mid-fifties it has become clear that the bipolar world of 1945-55 was transforming itself into a multi polar world, wherein the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa could acquire a more positive role. It was felt that direct participation should be supplemented by the "third country technique", according to which American interests were to be served through some third countries with a progressive face. The Israeli lobby in the US not only emphasized this new technique, it also tried to convince the US policy-makers that Israel could be the most appropriate agency for this role in Africa to begin with. Arnold Rivikin, an economist, who was the chief of the Centre for International Studies at the M.L.T. and who later on joined the World Bank in a 'key position' wrote in *Foreign Affairs* in 1959 that the "Israeli Model" could easily be sold to the "developing nations in revolt against the West" and it might "well prove to be a sort of economic 'third force'". "Israel's role", he emphasised, "as a third force might also be reinforced by imaginative use of the *Third Country Technique*. A Free World state wishing to enlarge its assistance flow to Africa might channel some part of it through Israel because of Israel's special qualifications and demonstrated acceptability to many African nations".

This approach was sold to the policy makers and a strategy was fashioned in its light. Israel was to receive extensive economic and military aid mainly from the USA but also from France and Britain and to spend a part of that on providing economic, technical and military assistance to the African nations.

Israel's technical assistance to the African countries has been the first instrument of penetration. Experts trained in Israel and the USA are provided to African states, often in strategically important positions. Although a wide spectrum of technical assistance is provided, specialized assistance is given in military and para-military projects. Ghana, Congo (now Zaire), Tanzania, Uganda, Ethiopia are among the more important recipients of military and para-military assistance. There has been particular concentration in Ethiopia and Uganda, the two countries from which originates the Nile.

Israel not only provides experts, it also trains African personnel in Israel. This has been described as the "parallel training approach". Large numbers of students, civil servants, labour leaders and military cadres are given short-period concentrated and specialised training in Israel. During the last fifteen years more than twenty thousand trainees from the third world have been exposed to the Israeli seminars and training courses. It is instructive to note that very few students

are allowed to stay for longer periods, most stay for a few weeks to a maximum of one year, yielding place to new ones. "The Israelis have learnt", writes L. Lanfer in *Israel and the Developing Countries*, "that trainees brought to Israel for short periods of highly intensive, controlled exposure usually carry away with them a more favourable image than those who stay for longer periods . . . Since the exposure to Israel is selective, the trainees encounter the most attractive aspects of Israeli life and society". Government ministries and quasi-government agencies like Histardut also offer courses for the training of 'leaders' in civil services and elsewhere.

Israel's agricultural model is also being introduced in Africa and the Kibbutz provide training to African agricultural cadres. Similarly youth organisations are being developed on the pattern of Israeli *Gadna* (Youth Battalion) and the *Nahal* (Fighting Pioneer Youth). These programmes of technical assistance and youth training have been organised in thirteen African States: Cameroon, the Central African Republic, Chad, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Malawi, Senegal, Tanzania, Togo, Uganda and Zambia.

Trade and joint business ventures constitute another means of fulfilling this policy. Between 1961 and 1968, Israel's trade with African countries increased four fold. "It is probably more than a coincidence", writes Lanfer, "that the great increases have been in exports to those African countries (e.g. Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria and Uganda) that also have an active technical cooperation programme with Israel".

Over 100 Israeli-African Companies emerged during the 1960's. Israel has set up economic corporations with Israeli and African capital. In this way Israeli business leadership is able to capture the economy with minimum capital investment. Local capital and government protection enable these ventures to establish themselves with ease. These corporations engage themselves in prestigious development as against raising the fundamental capacity of the economy. To take only one instance, Soleh Boneh, an Israeli quasi-public firm, has through its African partners built an international airport in Accra, luxury hotels in Eastern Nigeria, fancy parliament buildings in Sierra Leone and Eastern Nigeria, and military installations in the Ivory Coast.

Israel has also been involved in counter-insurgency training in Africa, some of it being provided on the Third Country Technique. In Malawi, Dahomey, Togo and Ethiopia, Israeli advisers and technicians have organised para-military organisations. The army school for civic action in the Ivory Coast and a military academy in Sierra Leone were established under Israeli supervision. In Uganda and Ghana the air force was organised with the help of Israel. Ethiopian military

training is in the hands of the Israelis. Israel is selling arms to African Governments and is also providing military and technical assistance to some insurgents. Biafran and South Sudanese insurgents have been provided with arms and training over and above political support while counter-insurgency assistance is being given in Ethiopia and Chad.

How far the Israeli technicians are involved in intelligence and counter-insurgency activities? There is evidence to suggest that Israeli, US and British diplomatic missions "exchange notes" and assist each other. Israeli experts have conducted researches on guerilla warfare and counter-insurgency reports from Vietnam, and have used that to counter insurgency in Ethiopia, particularly against the Eritrean Liberation Front, the Ethiopian Liberation Front and the National Liberation Front of Chad. Israeli support for Biafra came out openly and exposed their political role. So has been the case with South Sudan. Nkrumah had charged that "Israel played a pro-Western intelligence role and had a hand in the coup in Ghana which overthrew him. And now the Ugandan episode have brought to the fore the allegations that Israel had a hand in the overthrow of Dr. Obote and was now actively engaged in planning the overthrow of the present regime.

Israel's record in Africa can better be appreciated in the light of its 'big power' ambitions.

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THE ARAB SCENE

Perspectives of an unfulfilled revival

MOHAMMED FADHEL JAMALI *

All those who speak Arabic, acquire Arabic culture and share Arab national sentiments are Arabs. Arabism does not represent a race. It is a cultural bond open to all races. Because, of the 100 million or so Arabs in the world today probably more than half are not racially Arab. Many Arabs today are of Turkish, Kurdish, Persian, Caucasian, Greek, Jewish, Berber, Phoenician, Copt, Indian, Ethiopian and other racial origins. There even is an European element going back to the days of the Muslim conquests of Spain and southern Europe and the continuing cultural contacts of today.

Arabism may well be compared to Americanism in the United States which is open to people of all races and backgrounds who acquire American culture and become American. Arab nationalism is thus an open and not a closed nationalism. It does not depend on racialism. The essence of Arab nationalism is the Arabic language, the unity of the homeland, common faith and common history.

The spread of the Arabic language is mainly due to the spread of Islam, and this is especially true of the whole of North Africa. That is why, to a North African, Islam and Arab nationalism are practically synonymous. A country may be described as an Arab country if the majority of its inhabitants speak Arabic.

The Arab world today extends geographically from the Gulf of Basrah in the east to the Atlantic in the west, and from the Mediterranean and Taurus Mountains in the north to the Indian Ocean and the Sahara in the south.

The term Basrah Gulf denotes here the gulf known in the West as the Persian Gulf and in the Arab world as the Arab Gulf. The truth is that the gulf is both Arabic and Persian at the same time but logically it should bear the name of the city of Basrah, just like the Gulf of Aqaba, the Gulf of Alexandretta, etc. In fact, in the past, it used to be called the Gulf of Basrah.

The fact that Islam spread from Arabia as a message to all mankind, and the fact that the holy Quran was revealed in the Arabic language made many non-Arab peoples who adopted Islam to adopt the Arabic language as well. Hence Arabic culture owes its eminence and glory to Islam.

Islam recognizes the varieties of races, peoples and cultures, promotes a fellowship and fraternity between them but it does not recognize the superiority of any one race of people over another. The holy Quran says: 'O mankind! surely We have created you of a male and a female, and made you peoples and tribes that you may know each other; surely the most honourable of you with Allah is (he who is) the most righteous...' (*Al-hujurat*, 49:13).

Islamic society has always been multiracial, for there is no racial discrimination in Islam. Until the end of the First World War, the overwhelming majority of Muslims were united by the Caliphate. The Caliph was a spiritual and secular ruler at the same time. During the Ottoman period the Caliph happened to be Turkish, but the Arabs

shared positions of prominence in the state. Arabic culture was respected and revered because it was the culture of Islam rather than from any nationalistic motive. There was harmony between state and religion, and between Arabism and Islam.

With the rise of nationalism in Europe in the 19th century, the seeds of nationalism were imported into the Ottoman state. Turkish nationalism reached its acme when the Young Turks Movement tried to Turkify the various peoples in the Ottoman state, including the Arabic-speaking ones.

Alongside the Turkish nationalism there began a growth of Arab nationalism. Young Arabs who were studying in Istanbul formed secret societies. Arabs who were studying in Paris held a national Arab conference there. In Beirut, the foreign institutions, especially the French and American ones, became centres for promoting 'Arab culture and Arab nationalism'. All this started before the First World War.

The Arabs then were divided between those who wanted to preserve the political unity of the state through a kind of de-centralization and local autonomy, and those who stood for separation and complete independence. The independence trend finally prevailed because of the militancy of the movement for Turkification promoted by the Young Turks and the Union and Progress Party. Arab nationalism and separatism were also supported by France and Britain.

During the First World War, Arab nationalists found a focus for a national revolt movement in Sherif Hussain, the ruler and custodian of Mecca, the holiest city of Islam. Sherif Hussain had entered into correspondence with Sir Henry McMahon, British High Commissioner in Egypt, according to which the British government recognized the independence of the Arabs and the rise of an Arab kingdom under the leadership of Sherif Hussain who declared the Arab Revolt against the Ottomans. Sherif Hussain, who later became King Hussain, was proclaimed by some Arabs at that time to be the Caliph of Islam, but this did not elicit popular recognition.

The Hussain-McMahon correspondence outlined what was to be an Arab kingdom roughly consisting of the whole Arab peninsula and the Fertile Crescent (Iraq, Syria, Jordan, Palestine, and Lebanon). Three sons of Sherif Hussain, Abdullah, Faisal and Za'id, took part in the Arab Revolt which harassed the Ottoman army in Sinai and Syria. The Arab troops, headed by Emir Faisal, entered Syria and established a Syrian kingdom. Faisal attracted nationalist intellectuals from all over the Arab world.

Though the First World War saw the fruition the dreams of modern Arab nationalism, but Arab faith in their allies was also undermined because of the betrayal of the Hussain-McMahon agreement, Balfour declaration and Sykes—Picot agreement.

The Balfour declaration was in fact a one-page letter written by Lord Balfour to Lord Rothschild on 2 November 1917 and it stated:

the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.' (italics mine).

Under the secret Sykes-Picot agreement in which France and Britain decided, behind the backs of the Arabs, to split the Fertile Crescent between themselves, France was to dominate Syria and Lebanon, and Britain was to take Iraq, Trans-Jordan and Palestine. The existence of this agreement was disclosed by the Russians, after the Russian Revolution of 1917.

The Arabs believed the words of their allies, Britain and France, that they had come as liberators and not as conquerors of the Arab lands. The Arabs also felt enthusiastic over President Wilson's declaration on the rights of the people to self-determination. Emir Faisal, son of King Hussain of Hijaz, appeared before the Versailles Peace Conference, 1919, and pleaded the Arab case for freedom and independence. President Wilson sent the King-Crane Commission to Syria (which then included Palestine) to determine the wishes of the people who expressed wholeheartedly their stand for freedom and independence.

But all these hopes and wishes were shattered when the League of Nations, established after the First World War, sanctioned the Balfour declaration and the spirit of the Sykes-Picot agreement by putting Iraq, Palestine and Trans-Jordan under British mandate, and Syria and Lebanon under French mandate.

From then on the Arabs entered a new era of struggle against their erstwhile allies for independence and liberation.

King Hussain was shocked by the revelation of the Balfour declaration. His opposition to the British policy in Palestine brought him into disfavour with the British government, a fact which helped to bring about his abdication. King Hussain was exiled by the British to Cyprus where he spent his last days.

Emir Faisal did not last long as King of Syria, for the French army occupied Lebanon and Syria and France imposed her mandate over the country. King Faisal fled from Syria to Britain.

During the First World War the British army occupied Iraq and later had it allotted to herself under the Sykes-Picot agreement. The Iraqi nationalists, the Shia leaders and tribal leaders of the Euphrates united together to revolt against the British occupation.

Britain, finding that Iraq was too costly to rule, yielded to the Iraqi wish that one of the sons of Hussain should come to Iraq as king. A delegation of Iraqi leaders went to Mecca to ask for Hussain's approval in 1921. Faisal was so proclaimed King of Iraq.

Iraq, however, did not have full independence

* Prof. Fadhel Jamali is a former Prime Minister of Iraq.

'His Majesty's Government view with favour

The Arab Scene . . . perspectives of an unfulfilled revival

which caused recurring unrest and trouble. In 1929 the Iraqi Prime Minister, Abdul Mehsin As-Sa'adoun, committed suicide because he had failed to obtain full independence.

In 1930 a treaty was concluded between Iraq and Britain which stipulated Iraq joining the League of Nations in 1932 as an independent nation. That Treaty did not fully satisfy the Iraqi aspirations because it gave Britain military air bases in Iraq and special political and economic privileges.

Iraq, having attained independence, became the hub of the Arab nationalist movement in the Middle East. Students and teachers came to Iraq from all over the Arab world and went out as messengers of Arab nationalism and Arab unity. Iraq also became a base for the Palestinians in their struggle for their rights to their own home, as well as for the Syrians who were struggling for independence from France.

Special efforts were exerted in those years to win Egypt to Arabism. After the First World War, Egypt, which was a British Protectorate and which had not joined the Arab nationalist movement in the First World War, began to fight for its own independence, led by Saad Zaghloul Pasha of the Wafd Party of Egypt. Zaghloul Pasha was succeeded by Mustapha Nahas Pasha as leader of the Wafd Party and the Egyptian struggle for independence continued. After a prolonged struggle Egypt entered a treaty arrangement with Britain very much like that between Britain and Iraq. In 1936 Egypt entered the League of Nations.

Syria had revolted against French rule on more than one occasion but the revolts had been crushed. Syria, in 1936, entered into negotiations with France, to achieve independence and treaty relationship on the pattern of the British-Iraqi treaty. But Leon Blum's cabinet fell and the negotiations ended.

After the First World War, Britain created a separate Arab entity east of the Jordan River and called it Trans-Jordan. Emir Abdullah, another son of King Hussain of Hejaz, became the ruler of this area under the British Mandate.

In Palestine, Britain, as the mandatory power encouraged Jewish immigration and settlement to the extent of making many Arab peasants landless. The Arabs of Palestine revolted on several occasions. The most serious revolts were in 1922, 1929 and 1936.

The rise of Hitler in Germany pushed Jewish immigration to beyond all proportions. The 1936 revolt was a direct reaction to the growing anxiety about Arab existence in Palestine. The British government sent more than one Royal Commission to study the situation. One such commission recommended the partition of Palestine which brought forth a violent Arab reaction against the British. Another Royal Commission was appointed which set forth the impracticability of the partition idea. A Round Table Conference was called in London in 1939 and attended by representatives of the Palestine Arabs.

Two documents of great political significance were published by the British government at that time. One dealt with the Hussain-McMahon correspondence and proved that Palestine was included in the territories promised to Sherif Hussain. It had been argued that territories west of Homs, in Syria, were to have special treatment due to French interests but clearly Palestine was not to the west of Homs. The second document was the 1939 White Paper on Palestine which attempted

a final settlement by granting Palestine independence after five years during which time 75,000 Jews were to be admitted at the rate of 15,000 yearly.

When the Second World War began, there were four more or less independent Arab states: Iraq, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Yemen.

After the First World War and in the early thirties, the North Africans had started their national movements. Masali al-Haj in Algeria, Habib Bourguiba in Tunisia, and Allal al-Fasi in Morocco, had started popular movements, but French repression was severe.

The Second World War had ended by weakening the colonial grip and that helped the Arab states achieve independence. Palestine, however, was a sad exception.

But for Palestine all the Arab lands have since achieved independence, but the Palestine question has poisoned the atmosphere of the whole Arab world. The Arab states consider it their responsibility to liberate Palestine. The successive rise and fall of regimes, coups d'etat, and military rules in Arab countries arise to a great extent because of this tragedy. The relations of the Arabs with other states have often depended on their stand on the question.

The Palestine question continues to pose a challenge to the world's conscience. The right of the two million Palestinian Arabs to their own homeland, their rights as human beings remain neglected and disregarded in utter violation of the UN Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, International Law and all progressive moral and social principles. That the problem presented a constant threat to world peace no one felt worried.

The Arabs of Palestine are not anti-Jewish, and the Jews have lived with them for centuries in peace and harmony. Had the Jews cared to reciprocate this goodwill as the Armenians did after the First World War, there would have been no Palestine tragedy. But many Jews who came to Palestine came not to seek peace and asylum but to occupy and colonise. No peace can be achieved in the Middle East until justice is done to the Arabs of Palestine and until the Israelis abandon their aggressive and expansionist designs. Palestinians, whether Muslim, Christian or Jew, must come to live together as brothers in a Palestine which will be the land of peace and a land holy to the members of the three great monotheistic religions.

The Arabs have now eighteen independent states but Arab liberation will remain incomplete until the right of Palestine Arabs to a free and democratic Palestine is restored.

Side by side with the question of independence arose the question of the unity of the Arab world. The Arab world geographically, historically and culturally forms one great whole and Arab unity is a practical ideal. Yet most present-day political boundaries are artificial and do not represent natural divisions. Take the division of natural Syria into Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Palestine. This is neither historical nor geographical. Take the relation of Iraq and Syria. There are no natural boundaries between the two countries. The Euphrates River and the tribes and the desert between them are shared by Iraq and Syria. The same holds true about boundaries within the Arabian Peninsula, between Egypt and Sudan, and between the North African states. The unity of the Arabs is a cultural, historical, geographical, economic and political necessity.

All Arab nationalists are agreed on the idea of Arab unity, but when it comes to political realities one finds a variety of differing approaches.

There are different ideas concerning the degree of centralization and the number of centres. Should the unity be monocentric or should it be poly-centric? There are those who believe that the whole Arab world should have one capital and one head of state. There are those who believe that there should be at least four entities in the Arab world consisting of: (a) the Fertile Crescent (b) the Arabian Peninsula, (c) the Nile Valley, and (d) North Africa. There are others who believe in the multiplicity of the Arab states; each state preserving its political identity, but having a centre for coordination and cooperation which may eventually lead to a confederation of all the Arab states.

There is a difference of approach as to whether Arab unification should be a long and gradual process or whether it should be imposed from above by legislation agreed upon by the heads of states or one should proceed with the union of only those states which are willing.

While Arab unity remains a challenge both to idealists and realists in the Arab world, it may be useful to note some historical facts about the trial-and-error path of this unity:

The unity of the Kingdom of King Hussain of Hejaz was aborted by the betrayal of the Allies

In 1921 a Conference was held in Syria which was attended by Syrian and Iraqi nationalists presided over by Hashim al-Atasi who later on became President of the Republic of Syria. A Conference unity of Iraq and Syria was proclaimed but this was aborted by the presence of France in Syria and Britain in Iraq.

In 1943 Nuri as-Said of Iraq presented what is called 'The Bluebook' to Mr. Casey, the British Minister of State in Egypt. In 'The Bluebook' Nuri al-Said proposed the unity of the Fertile Crescent which includes Iraq and natural Syria (Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and Jordan). The project would unite the Fertile Crescent and recognize the cultural and communal rights of the various non-Arab or non-Muslim communities within the state. Those included the Christians in Lebanon and the Jews in Palestine. That plan was never taken up.

In 1945 the League of the Arab states was established. Article 9 of the Covenant of the League, however, opens the door for any Arab state wishing to move in the path of unity to do so but the Article remains to be acted upon.

In 1946, King Abdullah came out with a Greater Syria scheme through which he hoped to unify Syria under his throne but it met with strong protests by the Syrian government at the time.

In 1951 Prime Minister Nadim al-Qudsi of Syria presented the Arab League with a project calling on all the Arabs to unite immediately—an idealistic approach which could find no basis in reality.

In 1951 King Abdullah of Jordan presented the Iraqi government with a project for the unification of Iraq and Jordan, but that project never saw the light because the King was assassinated in the same year.

In 1954, I, as Prime Minister of Iraq, presented the Arab League with a project for the unity of

The Arabs cannot mimic the Ideologies of the East or the West and still be true to themselves

those states which were ready to enter such a unity gradually by democratic processes. I aimed to begin with a federation of Syria, Iraq and Jordan. The project was shelved by the League after it met much opposition from within and without the Arab world.

In 1958, Syria and Egypt united to form the United Arab Republic in which the identity of the two states was merged. President Nasser was the Head of the state. Actually Egypt dominated Syria. Centrifugal forces in the Syrian army broke that unity in 1961.

At the same time Royalist Yemen entered into a form of federation with Egypt but with no practical effects. It was ended by the fall of the royalist regime, a collapse which had Egypt's blessings.

In 1958, Iraq and Jordan federated to face the Egyptian-Syrian unity. With the fall of the royalty in Iraq in 1958 the federation ceased to exist.

In the 60's Iraq, Syria and Egypt made an attempt to create a unity of the three states. Later Iraq and Egypt also tried to join together but with no lasting results.

The states of the Greater Maghrib (Libya, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco) cherish hopes of unity based on co-operation and integration, but not amalgamation. Libya has recently turned towards Egypt.

In 1971, Egypt, Libya and Syria joined together to form the Federation of the Arab Republics.

So there is a big gap between the ideal and the realities. Arab unity, to be realized, has to come by growing inter-relations, growing co-operation, and a subordination of selfish, local and personal interests. Then there are the Eastern and Western blocs who through machinations and intrigues hamper attempts for genuine unity. However, it is for Arabs to stand up to such external and internal forces and achieve unity.

Arabs agree on the need for liberation and unification, they also agree on the need for progress, development and modernization. There is no controversy as to scientific development and technological progress, but, when we come to the social content of progress and modernization, we find the Arab world divided.

There are those who think that an Islamic revival is the safest and surest path for the Arabs to follow. Others who are Western oriented think that a secular state adopting the principles of democracy and social reform as practised in western Europe is the best guide. Then there are those who have adopted Marxism as an ideology and oriented themselves either to Communistic orthodoxy or any one of its revisions.

In actual fact no Arab state so far has been able to follow strictly any of the three patterns. Each state has been taking bits and pieces from the various sources. The result is instability and confusion in the social, economic and political spheres. The Arabs cannot mimic the ideologies of the East or the West and still be true to themselves.

Can one hope that the new Arab revival will be founded on solid, sound Islamic principles of justice, brotherhood, charity and human dignity. With these moral and spiritual values as a base, the Arabs may adopt to their great advantage the best developments in science, technology and organization that humanity has produced.

Nota Bene

By 'SCRIBE'

Railmen in Britain wanted a pay rise which they thought they deserved most, but their employers, British Rail, said they did not see justification. In any case they said they could not afford to accept increases of up to 16 per cent and instead offered a 12 per cent rise. The other party felt that a government which could afford to spend £500m on Concorde simply to be able "to fly film-stars and tycoons across the Atlantic" could as well "cough up £4 million". The talks broke down and the three unions—NUR, ASLEF and TSSA—decided to take industrial action, not by going on strike or breaking any rule but by "working to rule" i.e. a strict observation of the letters of the rules. And within a few days not only the commuter services ran into chaos; the industry and the whole economy started feeling the pinch.

On a move by the Minister of Employment, the National Industrial Relations Court ordered a "14-day cooling off".

But how can one be taken to court for "obeying" the rule?

Perhaps a simple case of Britannia waiving the rules. But Reg Prentice in the House of Commons was anxious about the complexity of the matter: "For example, as to what is the difference between the normal observation of a rule book and the abnormal observation of a rule book?"

The complexity, it would seem, is intrinsic to all man-made rules, which are made to suit particular interests and given situations. Time procreates more swiftly than any known organism and so a time-fly is old and out-dated sooner than it is able to acquire its wings. Moreover, while one man can make a rule another would know how to bend it.

So this phenomenon of making rules and working-to-rule is not recent. Sometimes, somewhere there was an employer, say Jack, who contracted to employ Mr. Doolittle in his service on the condition that Doolittle would give him absolute obedience, and should either party decide to contract out, he would surrender his nose-tip and ear-lobes to the other. During those days such a loss of a few square inches of face-skin meant a perpetual shame. Now thanks to medicine and surgery one could afford to lose not only the face but the head as well.

Doolittle started work and within one week his obedience to rules brought such a havoc upon Mr. Jack and his family that he had to be fired, of course in accordance with the terms of the contract.

The very first day he was asked to walk behind Jack's horse while he rode to his bank and instructed to watch in case anything dropped. Arriving at the Bank, Doolittle had a heavier bag than Mr. Jack, but it contained equine droppings. He had been instructed not to shout it out, should

Mrs. Jack ask him to convey any family message to the master while out in the sitting room chatting with his friends. He had earlier made some very embarrassing announcements. There was a fire in the bedroom and by the time, they could interpret his sub-sonic message, a large part of the house had been damaged. . . . It is a long story. In order to avoid losing his nose and ears, Jack planned abandoning his home and made a nightly escape to his in-laws in the distant country. At the end of the journey, the trunk which was supposed to be so heavy because of the family riches it contained brought out the ever-loyal Doolittle. And that was the last straw.

□ □ □

The problems arising from unjust rules and unjust work-to-rule are understandable in human and obviously imperfect situations but one can also find human ingenuity trying work-to-rule even with God.

Moses told his people that God commands them to sacrifice a heifer.

"You must be joking", they said.

"Far from that", Moses replied, "your Lord does want you to make this sacrifice".

"Alright... then ask Him to clarify what he really meant by a heifer?"

"A heifer, not too young, not too old, . . . of middle grade".

"Yes, but what colour?"

"Fawn coloured".

"Still not very clear, all heifers look alike to us".

Moses said: "It should be sound and without blemish, not those you use to plough or irrigate".

They did make the sacrifice but in their over-canniness, they had all the options eliminated.

Though there is no chance of getting away with an excuse in so far as God is concerned because by very definition He is God, nevertheless, people still try.

On the Sabbath day, some Jews would presume transferring the ownership of their business to a gentile and carry on as usual. A more classical example is provided by the Israeli acceptance of the June 1967 resolution. Although it asked to vacate territories and not *the* territories occupied by them, they have never refused to talk or negotiate as to how to implement the resolution. This too is a work-to-rule".

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Now Plastic Warships

In January this year an all glass reinforced polyester (GRP) mine hunter, HMS *Wilton* was launched from Vosper Thornycraft's shipyard at Woolston, Southampton. Displacing about 400 tons, the ship contains over 100 tons of glass reinforced plastics. With overall length of 153 ft. *Wilton* is the world's largest plastic warship.

The merits of GRP as a marine construction material have long been appreciated and exploited but only for vessels upto about 90 ft. in length. The major advantage of GRP is its high strength/weight ratio and limited maintenance requirements. Normally for ships of this size steel is cheaper because it provides better rigidity per unit cost than GRP. But for a mine hunter, the hull (frame of ship) had to be non-magnetic (a desirable hull property when you are looking around for magnetic mines). The maintenance and construction cost of wooden or wood-and-aluminium hull which are currently used are continually rising. All these considerations put GRP as a better alternative construction material. Though initial cost of a GRP ship is higher—the *Wilton* project cost over £1.5m—but life-service cost may yet give it an advantage.

Vospers have experimented with full-size hull sections moulded in GRP and tested for factors such as: structural strength including resistance to underwater explosions, water absorption, fire resistance, effect of high and low temperatures, and ease of repairs. After these experiments a solid laminate structure was selected against cellular sandwich.

The actual hull was laminated by a semi-automatic process in a steel female mould of bolted sections. Successive layers of resin-impregnated glass fibre woven cloth were built up, across from side to side, by a moving-gantry dispensing machine, then compacted by rollers and cured at room temperature to produce a single skin hull of about 1.25 inches thickness. Quality control was applied to the whole operation so as to ensure that the design properties of GRP were realised in the finished ship. The resin used was BP Chemicals International 'Cellobond' based on an isophthalic grade. The glass fibre was made in Belgium.

● A sophisticated image processing system developed by the Bendix Corporation (USA) is to be used by NASA for processing thousands of electronic 'photo-

graphs' taken every week from the Earth Resources Technology Satellites (ERTS). The first Earth-Orbiting Space-craft, ERTS-A, is scheduled to be launched this spring followed by ERTS-B in 1973. The ERTS Programme is concerned with studies of the natural resources of the Earth and man's management of them. These photographs will provide information relating to a variety of disciplines: agriculture, forestry, oceanology, geology, hydrology, mapmaking and spying.

● Sensors used in the Vietnam automated battlefields (*Impact*, 14-27 April 1972) will be put to test during a large scale troop exercise in Germany in May. The object is to see if they would be equally effective in the congested areas of Europe. A US official said it was much simpler in Vietnam where "in many areas we know that anything that moves is enemy".

● Doctors working at the Kenyatta National Hospital have discovered a serious health hazard from the use of skin lightening creams by the local population. While studying patients with nephrotic syndrome (a form of Kidney disease) they found that many of these patients, mostly young women, used skin preparations that were claimed to lighten the colour of their skin. In two of the most widely used creams the active ingredient was found to be amino-mercuric chloride, a powerful kidney poison. All the 60 patients with nephrotic syndrome investigated at the hospital had swelling of the ankles from accumulation of fluid and all were losing large quantities of body protein in urine. One man, and 31 of the 44 women admitted using these creams, and mercury was readily detected in their urine. Despite treatment, including stopping use of cream, half of the patients still showed signs of kidney damage.

● Washington's Department of Health, Education and Welfare has forecast that 2.5m Americans (over 10% of the population) will develop gonorrhoea this year. Under the impact of antibiotics, venereal diseases had started declining but the recent rise is said to be linked with an increased use of the birth control pill and most of its victims are young.

● In the Fukien province of China as a result of soil improvement and use of steam for the rapid growth of rice seedlings in a greenhouse, it has been possible to have a double crop of rice in cool mountainous areas.

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Architecture and the needs of humans

At Nuneham Park, the country house of the village of Nuneham Courtenay, outside Oxford, those people lucky enough to obtain a place at the over-subscribed conference sponsored by the Wrekin Trust, called "The Spiritual Springs of Architecture", very soon discovered how much present day man has forgotten the laws of creation and the inter-dependence of all creatures held in one unity. Those who came to Nuneham Park reflected on the fact that the needs of humans cannot have changed that much as people today have led themselves to believe, and in their minds this question grew: "How can we as architects, interior designers, public educators and potential patrons bring about the reinstatement of architectural practice that would create a decent framework to contain human bodies, whose true extent reaches the stars and whose centre is the point of no dimension?"

Sir George Trevelyan led the discussions and spoke of the function of great temples, such as the Pyramids, the Parthenon and Chartres Cathedral, as crystals placed on the rind of the earth which by their geometry were to channel influences from planetary movements to be used for the benefit of man in ways almost inconceivable to us now. Sir George reminded his audience that they were looking out of a temple, the human body itself, co-ordinated and built in all its refinements of calculation. As the bones and flesh are a temple for the spirit, so should great buildings be, for we spend most of our time placed inside architecture.

Man's needs for space, richness and the truth of materials (the smells of woods or the touch of marble) cannot have changed that much, for his body has not changed its make-up. Ideas he has acquired about his needs are the deciding factor and these seem to have become more and more limited with the passage of time. The dignity of spaciousness is a prerequisite for man to be able to use his mind and have a sense of worth. Buildings with low ceilings and no decoration or mouldings, thin doors and a city with no centre—all these have led to the kingdom of man falling into atrophy, as we see in the majority of impoverished beings we pass in the streets today.

The key to calling up the echoes of the primary vibrations in solid form, it was suggested by Keith Crichton, is in the practice of geometry. The interplay of the laws of Allah in the solid work of matter are represented by men in the figures of geometry. Until men know geometry and its true quality as a physical representation of spiritual movements, they will not be designing buildings or streets or sacred buildings to measure up to the ones that were bequeathed to us from the past by men who were in connexion with the wide ranges of life's pulses.

Later, as we walked round the house of Nuneham Park, built by an 18th century gentleman, looking at the adornments of golden leaves on a blue walled octagon, and at the entasis of the great stone columns of this country seat, under the guidance of Sir George, we were in our various ways brought to feel the delight of physical forms as being but the outer layer of the rhythms that propagated them. And we began to feel as well, looking at the park around us with its swaying trees and the stretch of dark green water below with the guinea fowl honking across the sunny expanse of afternoon that there are indeed unchanging laws in bodies that will have to be reobserved by each of us for himself. Then, with confidence, will true science and art be wedded again and men concerned with the quality of human living can begin to try and find in what way they can use these laws in our present upside down way of life—to afford at least, oases of temporary relief from disproportion whether in shop interior or offices for the Houses of Parliament—patches of peace and order that will truly allow men to walk as men and not as items to be fed into a utility box.

Lynda Thomson

Third World Cinema

IMPACT reports

●The film screen is one of the most effective instruments of propaganda; for projecting an image and popularising a cause there is perhaps no better media. The development in film making in the so-called 'Third World'—and particularly in Latin America—constitutes one of the most original initiatives in films since the days of Charlie Chaplin. Between the 16th and the 26th of April, the **Other Cinema** together with the **National Film Theatre** held a season of 'Third World Cinema' and provided a chance for many to see some of the major works from Latin America.

Among these was *The Hour of the Furnace* (Director: Fernando Solanas, Argentina) which attempts to present an analysis of the political climate of the country. It consists of three parts the first of which 'Neo-colonialism and violence' is a remarkable exposition of the problems, horrors and violence of Argentina's political scene. 'Act of Liberation', the second part, deals with liberation struggles of the people and preaches armed resistance as an answer to virtually all problems. The final part is a study which attempts to deal with the meaning of liberation, nationalism and violence in national liberation.

Amongst other exceptionally well made films is, *Blood of the Condor* (Director: Jorge Sanjóns, Bolivia) which deals with the plight of the Bolivian Indians. These form about 65% of the population of the country. The story revolves around a

community leader who having lost his three children in an onset of plague discovers that his wife has been sterilised in a new maternity hospital which is imposing birth control on the whole Indian community. His repulsion and outrage results in the American doctors ('gringos') being castrated. Bolivian justice takes its course: the hero along with two others is taken to the mountains by the army and shot. He survives the wounds only to end up in a hospital bed waiting for a blood transfusion which never comes as his wife and brother are too poor to buy the blood. His death marks the ending of the film.

The thread which runs through most of Latin American films is two fold: keep the story simple and pay much more attention to the message. In the peasants-versus-the-establishment type of story great pains are taken to show the agony and the poverty of the peasants and the brute force response of the establishment. In *The Gums* (Director: Roy Guerra, Brazil) for example, the basic story is of struggle between a community of starving peasants and the army guarding a food depot. It is the 'justice' and the brutality of the army that is the message and hence the film. The solution offered by these films to the present state of Latin America is that help will not come from above, from the elite, but from below, from the people; and from violence. This is brought out exceptionally well in *Terra Em Trousse* (Director: Glauber Rocha, Brazil).

Myrdal: Not enough radicalism

●On April 12, Gunnar Myrdal, one of the most outstanding of contemporary political economists, gave a lecture to a packed house at the London School of Economics. Myrdal, a Swede, is best known for his studies of problems facing the third world, and his book *The Asian Drama* is a compulsory and compelling reading for undergraduates. His rambling but stimulating address, more interesting for his personal reminiscences after a career spanning half a century as a 'professional book writer', was on cyclical trends in economic thought. Myrdal is a rebel: he feels there is a "relative dearth of radical originality in the social scenes today", that the field of development economics has become "big business" for the experts, who have also mishandled the whole subject, and that for too long the effect of personality and social conditions on the direction of thought has been a "taboo" subject.

When Myrdal started his career in the 1920's, the institutional approach prevailed, but this was nipped in the bud by the Depression. The dominance of the Keynesian model was not so much a consequence of the impact of Keynes's books, but of the social surroundings. Myrdal said that the model can hardly be considered revolutionary for it was merely a theoretical rationalisation specific to an Anglo-American situation. He has noticed recently that the trend towards the institutional approach has begun again, and soon the established economics would appear as an irrational aberration. Thus he has experienced the full cycle.

Myrdal reserved his most acidic comments for the development economists of the Establishment. They had shown

"carelessness in using statistics", and had sought to free the West of its "moral responsibility" in third world problems. They did not question the use by governments of growth figures which were meaningless both conceptually, and in the definitions given to terms such as unemployment. In his own view a start to solving economic problems can be made by removing corruption, and bestowing a new spirit and direction to education.

As is usual, question time was equally informative. When asked on UNCTAD three, Santiago, he was not very optimistic. There was a reaction in the United States against giving aid; liberals like Fulbright felt that it was being wasted on maintaining corrupt regimes or supporting reactionary oligarchies, and Conservatives were against it anyway. On the Chinese experiment he said that it owed a lot to ingrained Confucian puritanism and recent events were superficial. On the USSR, he found himself in greater sympathy with the pre-Marxist socialists, but assured the audience that the wrongs in Soviet Russia should not be blamed on Marx, but the Czars.

Talking about things nearer home, Myrdal said that inflation was a serious threat—a disconnecting "source of irritation"—to Western Societies. He predicted an increasing importance of the 'equality' issue, and observed that the social reforms of recent decades had served to whet the appetite more. For example, people are now more concerned about poverty, loneliness, old age and such issues. Myrdal believes that economic thought is passing through a period of crisis, and that there shall be a radical restructuring in the direction of teaching and research.

Towards understanding and misunderstanding Iqbal

Iqbal: Poet-Philosopher of Pakistan, edited by Hafez Malik. *Columbia University Press*, New York and London, 442 pages, £6.

"Not yet another book on Iqbal"—someone is bound to exclaim. In the last thirty years the increase in the amount of literature and critical studies on Iqbal is remarkable. His works are translated into all major languages of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent and into almost every European language. In addition, scholarly treatises on his life and thought have appeared in many languages. There are at least two learned quarterly journals, *The Iqbal Review* from Karachi and *Iqbal* from Lahore, exclusively devoted to his philosophy and political thought. There are numerous other learned journals which periodically bring out special issues on Iqbal. "Iqbal Day" is celebrated both in Pakistan and India. Special radio and T.V. programmes are produced for this occasion. Hafez Malik is right in claiming that "there is not any country in the World except Pakistan where a poet and scholar has been raised to a position of national hero."

Despite his popularity in the East, Iqbal's thought has yet to penetrate and influence Western thought. The publication of this book, which includes original contributions by seventeen scholars from the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Germany, the United States, India and Pakistan, comes at a time when the *raison d'être* of a separate State on the Indian sub-continent is being questioned. Iqbal who championed the concept of an independent homeland for the Muslims of India was as much responsible for the establishment of Pakistan as his friend and admirer Jinnah.

The contributions are grouped under five headings: Biography, Politics, Philosophy, Islamic Mysticism and Poetry. The lively and extensive biography of the poet-philosopher by Professor Malik and Linda P. Malik is admirable. One of the interesting details discussed in this chapter is Iqbal's deep and lasting friendship with Miss Atiya Faizee, who knew Iqbal in Europe and provides some authentic information about his life in England and Germany. It seems Miss Faizee must be a very charming and intelligent lady to impress Iqbal. But it is hardly surprising, as we know that Shibli Nu'mani too, another great scholar of the time, noted for his definitive biography of the Prophet Mohammed, was equally influenced by her personality.

Iqbal's intellectual evolution, however, seems to have confused most of his critics who want to see him in a stereo-type frame. His early poetry was nationalistic and his

philosophy pan-theistic but his later visit to Europe enabled him to see the reality of nationalism and secularism. He moved from divisive and dividing nationalism to the fraternity created by belief in one God and His prophets. The Muslim ummah is the repository of such a uniting and unifying faith and Iqbal saw his task in addressing and arousing this slumbering messiah.

This progression in Iqbal's thought is reflected in his poetry and curiously enough makes him the most quoted poet by the whole range of people from the nationalists, secularists, socialists and even musicians, songstresses and minstrels.

It is difficult to predict what sort of literary, philosophic or political personality Iqbal would have become, if he had abandoned writing poetry in preference to his philosophical works. As we learn he was successfully persuaded by his close and life-long friend Sir Abdul Qadir and his learned teacher, Sir Thomas Arnold to continue to use poetry to convey his thoughts and ideology to the Muslim nation. Possibly the forceful and majestic prose style of Abul Kalam Azad would have admirably suited Iqbal's literary and philosophic talents, and probably his

message and ideology would have been conveyed in more clear and concise language. Naturally his dependence on poetry, with rhymes as a limitation factor, would have restricted the smooth flow of his thought, and thus make his meaning obscure. Iqbal in his magnum opus, *Asrar-i-Khudi*, tries to gloss over it by saying:

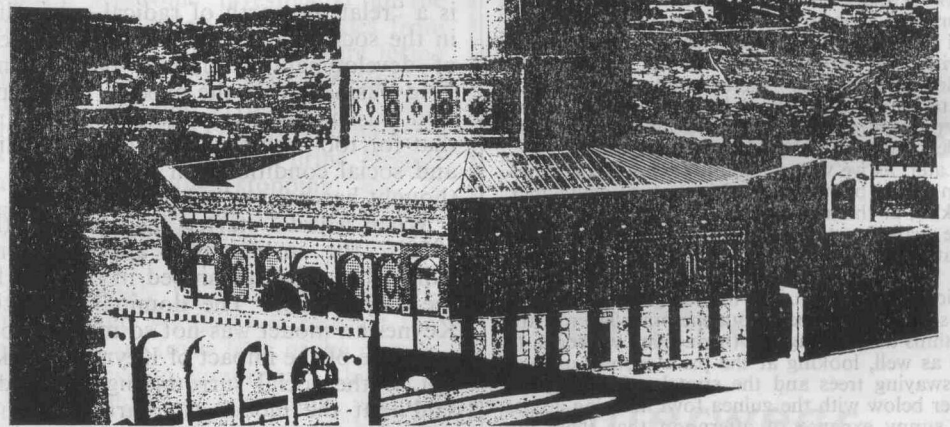
*O Reader, do not find fault with the cup,
But see the taste of the wine.*

It is interesting to note that the Soviet Academy of Arts and Science and its Institute of the Peoples of Asia, Moscow, have produced several publications on Iqbal. The publications of his poetical works in various Soviet languages testify to their serious involvement in the area. Soviet contributors to this international symposium form the largest contingent after the Pakistani contributors. Of course, their view of Iqbal's philosophy and politics is based upon Marxist-Leninist interpretation of history and philosophy, but this was to be expected. Nevertheless, one hopes the work may pave the way for better understanding of the life and philosophy of the spiritual godfather of Pakistan in the West.

A. R. Siddiqui

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"I am becoming aware of my position as a woman, both in society and in my own personal relationships, but awareness and commiseration with other women are not enough . . . So begins a leader in *Shrew Shrew* being the national magazine of the Women's Liberation Workshop in Britain. It comes out at random—every five or six weeks—and each issue is produced by a different Women's Liberation Workshop Group. For a rather shabbily produced eight-page tabloid the price (10p) may be considered a little too much. But if you are a Women's Lib fanatic the contents are worth the payment.

The lead articles usually deal with the history, objects and aims of the particular group responsible for the issue. From these autobiographical accounts emerge two vital facts. Firstly, the Women's Liberation Movement is predominantly a middle-class movement and many of its members cannot see the connection with their own problems and those of the working-class women. Secondly, in Women's Liberation Groups confusion abounds. No one is sure which way the movement is heading? Or what they finally hope to achieve? Or even what they are working for? For example, the Haverstock Hill Group talking about itself has this to say: "There was no one coherent radical ideology that was expressed. We had not sorted out the relationship between the class struggle and the Women's struggle. Our views were rather *vague*." (Vol 4, No. 1). Now when the movement is three years old, *vague* is still an oft-used word "We all wanted more *vague* changes to a radical restructuring of society". Radical but *vague*. One article (in the same issue quoted above) entitled 'Consciousness-raising and Collective Paranoia' concludes: "We need to look more critically at this longing of ours for liberation to make sure that we are not being seduced by our longing for flight from ourselves. This ultimately would be the worst betrayal."

Often *Shrew* carries articles on Gay Liberation. This is when the fun really begins. The three struggles, namely: Class, Women's Lib and Gay Lib, are hopelessly confused and what little sense the reader may have gathered from other articles is rapidly lost.

In addition *Shrew* offers up-to-date reviews of books (mainly on or about women) and films. There is a regular column of short articles from women in Holloway Prison: 'Notes from sisters to sisters'. There are letters—'*Shrew* to *Shrew*'—but most of them make for pretty horifying reading. And finally something which is becoming a must for all Women's Lib magazines: poems. These are usually

written in blank verses—sometimes in iambic pentameters—and quite often deal with the 'Male Chauvinist Pig'.

Across the Channel, in Paris, the confusion is much more organised. *Le Torchon Brule* operates in a similar manner to *Shrew*. In format, layout and production techniques, however, it is vastly superior. The sophistication of the whole paper is exemplified by its name: *Le Torchon Brule*. Literally translated it means 'the duster is on fire'. Colloquially the phrase indicates a domestic quarrel: 'Le torchon brule chez eux'. This sets the tone for the whole magazine.

There is a second twist which highlights the satirical trend of the periodical. It is stated that *Le Torchon Brule* is published 'in menstruel' a word which means menstruation. In other words the magazine comes out monthly. The real word for monthly is 'mensuel'.

The rest of the cover is littered with puns and poems about women's position in society. Inside too, there are plenty of jokes, cartoons and poems. In one issue, there is a whole page of jokes which play on the words used to describe women. While literally untranslatable, they obviously correspond to the words used for women in English: 'chick', 'doll', 'sweetie', 'bird', etc., etc.

The main contents are lengthy and serious analytical articles, many by Women's Liberation Groups. The themes explored are the role of women in society, the main aspects of relationships between the sexes and the ways in which women are oppressed. Every issue carries an article on an individual's experience of oppression and about the organisation of Women's Liberation Movement in France. Also included are contributions from the Gay Liberation Groups within the Women's Liberation and articles dealing with the problems of lesbianism. In this, the whole left-wing spectrum is represented.

Although *Le Torchon Brule* explores the question of Women's Liberation on a more academic level and illustrates their problem of oppression in concrete and agonising terms, it shares with *Shrew* the basic uncertainty of the Women's Liberation Movement. The crises of identity, confusion about the method of approach (campaign) and the absence of the vision of the ultimate goal all come out very clearly.

From USA, Washington D.C. comes *off our back* which describes itself as 'a women's news journal'. *Off our back* is a tabloid monthly. In technical standard it is slightly below *Le Torchon Brule* but in editorial content it beats both *Shrew* and *Le Torchon Brule* hands down.

Amongst the regular departments is

'culture culture': three pages of reviews. One has to search hard to find more thoughtful analyses of the 'art world'. Slightly coloured—naturally—but extremely well thought-out criticism. In reviewing films, for example, they will not merely criticise for not showing women in a dignified manner but they judge aesthetically too. Then we have 'Struggle'—six pages of news, notes, comments and analysis, a large portion of which concerns the movement. *Struggle* is interpreted as meaning 'struggling for life'. And as such this section deals mainly with the tactics of the movement. After 'Struggle' comes 'Survival'. This gives advice on how to pass time. When the kids are at school try Yoga, for example. Or pursue an academic issue: 'Women's Studies' gives details of lectures and courses. Also amongst the regulars is the poem section; the poems being pretty much of the same style and material as *Shrew* and *Le Torchon Brule*.

The remaining issue contains analytical articles on the problems of old age, those evolving from living with children, problems of social control and so on. But in general few solutions are offered. The January and February 1972 issues carried a special feature entitled 'Women Loving'. This explored the width and breadth of loving relationships between mother and child, sisters, sisters and brothers, wife and husband, etc.—on the whole making fascinating reading, although sometimes becoming a bit naive and over-simplified.

Off our back certainly gives the impression that a lot of thought has gone into its production. It seems to lend itself to more explicit and exquisite pronouncement on the 'feminine dilemma' and that this group of Women's Liberation in USA have had more decisive experience and have thought harder about their particular situation.

From a reading of Women's Liberation magazines we see that the debate in the women's movement centres around two points: what will move most women into activity and 'consciousness'. By consciousness is meant the realisation that there is something seriously wrong with society, crucial changes are needed in attitudes, a redefinition of sex roles and the relationship between men and women is required. The answer depends on two things:—(1) An objective analysis of women's oppression—at what point is it deepest and where does the attack create the greatest results? (2) The purpose for which 'consciousness' should be raised. The feminist and Marxist-Leninist analysis of women's oppression has created more problems than it has attempted to answer.

Ziauddin Sarda

Briefing

Workers Self-Management in Algeria

by Ian Clegg
Allen Lane, £3.25

Treats mainly of the workers councils during and after the defeat of the French in the early sixties. The opening chapter deals with the imperial beastliness of and the devastations caused by the French whose occupation reduced the Algerian population by over one half between 1830 and 1852. The book is hailed by the Marxist for its purpose in illuminating the debate on workers control.

Peasant wars of the Twentieth Century

by Eric Wolff,
Faber & Faber, £3.

An account of peasant involvement in six cases of rebellion and revolution in the twentieth century—the Mexican, Russian, Chinese, Vietnamese, Algerian and Cuban.

The Basques

by Kenneth Midhurst from the *Minority Rights Group*, 36 Craven Street, London W.C. 2.

Examines inter alia, the root causes of the local nationalist movement against the Franco regime; the position of Basque language and culture

and of the Basque country's economy, the part being played in the controversy by the Church which has always been great (Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuit Order was a Basque).

Concludes that Basque hostility to Franco remains deep and widespread and that some elements within the Spanish government and army have doubts about the present policy of repression—particularly concerning its effects on international opinion in relation to any future Spanish association with the EEC.

Intransigence leads to Escalation

from the Arab League office, 1/11 Hay Hill, London W.1.

A collection of reports in British dailies covering 1971 on the Arab-Israeli conflict meant for the record and to answer the question: who is responsible?

- Facts and evidence concerning the acts of horror committed by the Israeli forces in the Gaza strip are collected in the "**Black Book on the Occupation**" published as a special issue of the "*Information Bulletin*" of the Communist Party of Israel. The oppressions, the booklet says, consist of curfew, beatings, torture, deportations, breaking of extremities, concentration camps, demolition of houses, shootings and killings.

- China has decided to replace progressively the existing Chinese script by the Roman alphabet.

- A Centre for Sinological Research has been established under the Italian Institute for the Middle and Far East. The Institute has previously published an 8-volume series on China and promoted international congresses on Sinology.

- The 5 February issue of the *Far Eastern Economic Review* was banned from distribution in Malaysia.

- The Tbilisi Institute of Oriental Studies has compiled a ten-volume Arabic-Georgian dictionary containing 200,000 entries covering both classical and modern Arabic.

- The Uzbek Academy of Sciences is to publish *Muhtasar* a treatise on Uzbek prosody by Uzbek poet, scholar and soldier Babur (1843-1530).

- Several recent issues of the opposition dailies *Al Alam* and *L'Opinion* were seized by the Moroccan police.

- Sheikh Zayd Bin Sultan al Nahyyan is to finance establishment of the Chair of Islamic Studies after his name at the American University of Beirut.

- A new university known as King Faisal Islamic University is proposed to be established in Riyadh.

ESSAY COMPETITION

on

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Closing date: 31st July, 1972.

Letters

Le Roy Jones and Islam

In *Impact* No. 21 the article entitled AMERICAN POLITICS AND THE UNDERDOGS by S. S. Mufassir related some facts that could be very misleading.

1. Referring to Amiri Baraka (Le Roy Jones) as "nominally a Muslim" is inaccurate. It is true that at one time he declared his faith in Islam by Shahada, but afterwards it has been made absolutely clear that he has recanted. I had the opportunity to travel with the leader of the Islami Party in North America, Mr. Muzaffaruddin Hamid, to Newark N.J.—the home and headquarters of Baraka's activities. There in Newark we talked with the Imam who gave the Shahada to Baraka. This Imam informed us that Baraka had come to him and made it clear that he was no longer a Muslim following Islam. Also note that this was much more recent than the Jan. '69 references in *Negro Digest* quoted by Mr. Mufassir. You should note that the comments about Islam were made at a time when Baraka had not a clarified national political strategy. Since emerging as a Pan-Africanist leader he has not only made further comments about his faith in what Islam can do for black folks, but has established his own cult called Kuwaida by plagiarizing other faiths and ideologies including Islam. We visited Baraka's headquarters seeking to talk with him, but he was not there. However in talking to his representatives we were told that Baraka teaches them the necessity of his followers saying "All praise belongs to Imamu Amiri Baraka". Need I say more?

2. The comment on the National Black Political Assembly that "To just what extent Islamic principles will be applied to this new American political organisation is also uncertain at this point, but what is significant is that their value and relevance are recognised and commended" is misleading. Note the time and tone difference between the comments of Jan. '69 and the Assembly meeting in March '72. There are no known statements from Baraka or anyone else on the convention platform about the projected role that Islam should play in shaping the future of that organisation.

3. I commend the writer for his comments about The Islamic Party in North America, for I'm also aware of the unique Islamic work that it is doing in America. However, it should be made clear that the Party is not a "function" of The Federation of Muslim Communities (not "Islamic" Communities) although many of its members come from the Federated communities. The Party is a national Islamic organisation designed to establish its own independent platform for fulfilling the mission of Islam as a movement in America with its initial strategies having nothing to do with ballot box political procedures of America.

SALIM ABDUL-MUTAKABBIR
Washington, USA

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WORLD OPINION WORLD OPINION WORLD OPINION WORLD OPINION

“They are not people, they are animals”

If you were a farmer who wanted to put a piece of rich but hitherto uncultivated land under the plough, but knew that in order to do so you would have to eliminate the few remaining specimens of a rare plant or animal, what would you do? Perhaps you have a scale of values that would enable you to forgo the prospect of immediate profit—but, in our kind of world this would make you, too, a rarity. And it is only by looking at it in this way that one can begin to understand the attitude of the vast majority of Latin Americans, in spite of all the efforts of the Church and of a few enlightened humanitarians, towards their aboriginal races. One doesn't have to travel far in Brazil, for example, to hear: 'But they are not people—they are animals'—dangerous animals which must be killed, or enslaved if it's more profitable, if they stand in the way of 'progress'.

Inexorably—if with a number of Gallic journalistic flourishes—Lucien Bodard charts the successive stages in a genocide which has been going on since the arrival of the first Portuguese settlers. Only the objectives and the techniques have changed over what he calls 'the centuries of blood'. Indians are still being tortured and murdered by old-style prospectors for gold, rubber or diamonds. But nowadays they are more likely to be organised by mysterious tycoons—some of whom, Bodard claims, are American—and provided with more sophisticated methods of destruction. Thus when it was discovered that *lei*—a rare wood used in cabinet-making—grew in the jungles inhabited by the Cintas Largas tribe, they were reduced by gifts of poisoned candy for the children, and by machine-gunning and dynamiting from the air, then finished off by squads of specialist 'Indian killers'. Just as serious for the Indians have been the building of the new capital of Brasilia and the construction of new roads, among them the Pan-American Highway—resulting in further extermination, often, according to Bodard, under the supervision of CIA agents, especially if there is also the possibility of discovering in the process deposits of radio-active minerals. The building of the road between Cuiaba and Porto Velho in Mato Grosso, for example, meant the reduction of the Pacaas Novas, between 1950 and 1968, from 30,000 to 400 . . .

Lucien Bodard's book (Massacre on the Amazon, *Stacey* £3.80) is a best-seller in France, and it ought to be as widely read and pondered over here. But will that save a single Indian life? It is no use putting the blame on the Brazilians. Brazil is only the aggressive drives and greeds of our so-called civilised world writ large.

(Gilbert Phelps: "Genocide", *The Listener*, London, April 13, 1972)

The Empire—desire or design?

It is satisfactory, as far as it goes, that the officials of India and Pakistan are, according to Mrs. Gandhi, "in direct contact". Mrs. Gandhi has so far been unwilling to meet Mr. Bhutto for personal talks. Now at the height of her prestige and power, following her success in Bangladesh and her sweeping victories in the recent local elections, she can surely afford to meet Mr. Bhutto without further delay. It cannot in any case profit her to seek to impose a Carthaginian peace on the rump of Pakistan. It may be that one day the arrangements of 1947, now beginning to look mistaken, will be undone and the Indian sub-continent reunited. Meanwhile, India has much to gain and nothing to lose from encouraging a viable Pakistan. President Bhutto, faced with urgent domestic problems, badly needs help. He is doing better than any probable substitute would do . . .

(“Delhi's Move”, *The Daily Telegraph*, London, 6 April, 1972)

Not normally altruistic

The first Englishman to head the Food and Agriculture Organization's Industry Cooperative Programme is Mr. J. A. C. ("Tony") Hugill managing director of Tate and Lyle who will serve a two year term. His election comes at a time when that 87 company body is expanding into new kinds of activity . . .

In Mr. Hugill's words, the programme "is unique in that it represents an attempt to fuse into the body of the UN agencies a group of people whose aim is not normally thought to be altruistic".

What then is the incentive to a company to join? "I do not think many of us belong because we expect an immediate boost in our sales or turnover", Mr. Hugill states. "I think most of us find the contacts we make useful but not necessarily quantifiable in terms of money."

He felt he could do no better than repeat the remarks of his predecessor, Mr. Paul Cornelsen, "We belong because we wish to preserve and improve the situation of firms such as ours in an increasingly nationalistic world."

"We belong, not to safeguard the interests of our present share-holders, but to safeguard those of our share-holders' children and grandchildren.

(John Earle: "How private industry views its mission in the Third World", *The Times*, London, April 6, 1972)

“A slightly more sophisticated version”

. . . It is unlikely that any Western people, and certainly not the Americans have the moral resources needed to accomplish the deep and mighty transformation which is all that can save them. Such a trans-

formation involves unimaginable damage to the American ego; would reduce all the American religious ceremonies, including the Fourth of July and Thanksgiving to the hypocritically bloody observances many of us have always known them to be; and would shed too unsparing a light on the actual dimensions and objectives of the American character. White Americans do not want to know what many non-whites know all too well, e.g. that "foreign aid" in the "underdeveloped" countries and "anti-poverty" programmes in the ghetto are simply a slightly more sophisticated version of the British policy of Divide and Rule, are, in short simply another means of keeping a people in subjection.

(James Baldwin: "Malcolm and Martin", *Esquire* magazine, New York, April 1972)

Manifestations of self-worship

When people began to challenge my faith, I had no defense. In fact their challenges were so natural and so practical that I started doubting my own beliefs.

Once I realized that my faith was shallow, I decided to go back home to study; go to church, and build my faith more. As I studied my religion, I began to realize that not only was my faith shallow, but so was my religion.

Christianity didn't deal with the economics, political and judicial problems to any extent. The fact was that Christianity functions within a man-made economic system called capitalism. It did not seem right that a divine revelation should have to look to man for such a practical necessity as economics.

This realization of weakness destroyed my faith in my religion and I proceeded to live six of the most confused years of my life.

Everyone was saying: "Do your thing," "This is my Bag," "I'm going to get it together" and all of these sayings were only manifestations of self-worship.

(Anonymous, "A New Muslim speaks", *Al-Islam*, Spring 1, Vol. 1, Washington)

Heads I win, tails you lose

1. The council of the Race Relations Institute have decided to close the Institute's journal, *Race Today*, and the decision has to be ratified by Institute members.

2. If the members overrule the council, the firms who finance the Institute could well withdraw promised funds, thus bankrupting the Institute.

3. The assets of the Institute, including its library, would then pass to the "next of kin."

4. The next of kin in this case is likely to be the Runnymede Trust another race relations research body.

5. Mr Michael Caine, chairman of Booker, McConnell, the sugar planters, is chairman of the Race Relations Institute Council.

6. Lord Campbell, President of Booker McConnell, is a director of the Runnymede Trust.
(*Private Eye*, London, 7 April 1972)

“Because they are, what they are”

This is it. This is the problem of the militant, or left-winger, or whatever he calls himself. They don't ask themselves, 'How do I want to run the country? This means I must get rid of this or I must change that.' They don't think it through. They think they should have their way because they are what they are.

If the system is going to confront them, if the democratic process (meaning not just Parliament, but the law which imposes the will of Parliament) is going to prevent them getting their way, then they want to sweep it aside. Some of them just because they don't like thinking it through, others maybe because they have thought it through, arrive at the same vague conclusion: 'once we have got rid of the present system, it will be possible to put something more amenable to our purpose in its place.' That's about as far as they have got . . .

(Lord George-Brown speaking to Kenneth Harris, *Observer Review*, London, 16 April 1972)

The New Class in Poland

The present system of distribution of incomes in Poland is revealing that capitalist conditions of a special type have been created. The new bourgeois and revisionist class is getting richer and richer and sucks the blood of the workers like a leech. Minimum wages in Poland are from Z.830 to Z.1,000. It is difficult to keep a family on such a sum of money. Yet millions of people have to live and make do with it. What the ordinary workers are not getting flows into the pockets of directors and chief engineers at large industrial enterprises, who are earning from Z.10,000 to Z.30,000 per month. This is equal to the annual wage of a qualified worker.

(*Tirana Radio*, Albania, 13 April 1972)

Dealing with the rights of women under the new dependents scheme, Mr. Britton pointed out that women were more expensive to pension than men, partly because they retired earlier and partly because they lived longer.

(NUT Conference, Blackpool, *The Teacher*, London)

. . . In addition to a foodgrain shortage, Bangladesh faces a beer famine. All the breweries were located in West Pakistan and nowadays no more is being imported. The stocks are drying up and a bottle of beer now costs two dollars . . .

(William J. Drummond: "Bangladesh Peril . . .", *Daily Star*, Beirut April 1972)

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

ALBANIA. Albanian leader Enver Hoxha has raised the question of "incorrect relationship between Communist and non-Communist people" in administration and production whereby Communists occupy comfortable posts while the others do the most difficult jobs. The Communists give directives and the others implement them. They exercise control, but are immune to criticism. This leads to apathy, mutual distrust, arrogance, arbitrariness and many other material and moral evils.

ALGERIA. To mark the 10th anniversary of Algerian independence and the 1000th of the Algerian capital, an international cultural seminar on Islamic thought is to be held in Algiers in July 1972.

BANGLADESH. Sheikh Mujib told an *Algamhouria* correspondent that he was angry and disappointed with the Arab countries who have failed to recognise Bangladesh. ● Sixteen members of the Constituent Assembly have been expelled from the Awami League and also the Assembly. ● Sheikh Mujib has called upon the Labour leaders to ensure peace and discipline in industrial units and warned traders to bring down prices, otherwise their licences will be cancelled. He said the country will continue to depend on its own resources and not seek foreign assistance at the cost of national interest. ● The Commerce Minister, said they were considering a proposal to eliminate custom barriers with India. ● Bangladesh has been admitted as a full member of the Afro-Asian People's solidarity Organisation in Cairo and the British Commonwealth. ● About 30% vacancies in all government and semi-government offices have been reserved for freedom fighters. ● Cabinet of ministers extended from 15 to 23. ● The next international conference of the World Peace Council will be held in Dacca. ● Horse racing has been abolished.

EGYPT. An agreement for financing the \$330m Suez-Mediterranean oil pipe line project has been made with a group of West German banks represented by the Banque de Suisse and the Union of Arab French Banks. ● Import and sale of all foreign produced goods will be banned from 1 May. ● Under a 2-year plan for scientific and technical co-operation, Soviet and Egyptian scientists will work jointly for developing the manufacture of antibiotics, water purifying plants, and in the field of electronics, metallurgy, construction and fishing industry etc. ● For the first time in September 1972 boys and girls in Cairo will be taught at a model co-educational school set up in Heliopolis with the assistance of East Germany.

FINLAND. Seven member unions of the Federation of Finnish Trade Unions (SAK) have decided to opt out of the collective labour agreement.

INDONESIA. At the directive of President Suharto four Muslim Parties—NUM PSIL, Parmusi, and Perti have formed themselves into a confederation to be called Kelompok Persatuan Pembangunan—Development Union Group.

IRAQ. Kurdish is to be the official language together with Arabic in the Kurdish areas.

ISRAEL. Abba Eban said that this year Israel has been quieter and more secure, its military strength has been enhanced in a manner without precedence. This was because the US had arrived at the conclusion that it had an interest in maintaining the balance of power in the region, not only for the sake of Israel but for her own sake as well. ● The US Senate Foreign Relations Committee has authorized spending \$85m to help resettle Russian Jews emigrating to Israel and elsewhere. ● Israel's Jewish population registered an increase of 22,000 during 1971 reaching a total of 2,634,200. ● The Labour Minister said labour shortage had reached an all-time high and last year they lost about £100m due to absenteeism. ● Dr. Nahum Goldman, President of the World Jewish Congress said in Jerusalem that Israeli views are becoming so extreme that there is no place for the voice of reason. ● Vicker's of England have contracted to construct 3 small coastal type submarines for Israel.

JORDAN. DESCO International, a Canadian company has signed a 40-year agreement to explore oil in North and North-East Jordan. Shallow depth explorations earlier by a Yugoslav company were unsuccessful.

LIBYA. Libya has decided to withdraw its Ambassador from Baghdad because the recent Soviet-Iraqi Treaty was a violation of the Arab League Charter. ● Libya is to cooperate with Egypt to build near Benghazi the first nuclear power station in the Arab world. ● About 3,920 teachers are to be brought from Egypt, Sudan and Palestine. ● Libya has protested to USA on police attack on Afro-American Muslims praying in a Harlem mosque.

MALAYSIA. Prime Minister Razzak refuted the US argument that vessels must have freedom of passage through the Strait of Malacca. He said part of the strait lies within the Malaysian territorial water boundary. ● Malaysian armed forces are to have a women's corp attached to the clerical, signal and medical units.

PAKISTAN. Feasibility study for the establishment of a 500 Mw nuclear power station in the northern region has been initiated by the Atomic Energy Commission. The AEC also proposes studying establishment of a dual-purpose nuclear desalination plant in Karachi area. ● Algeria has

offered to supply iron-ore should Pakistan wish to establish the proposed steel mill. ● Lenin Prize Winner and Presidential Adviser for Arts, Faiz Ahmad Faiz announced that the government plans to set up a National Council for Promotion of Art and Culture of the various regions of Pakistan. ● Mr. Bhutto has been sworn in as the President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan under an interim constitution adopted on 17 April. ● Supreme Court ruled that assumption of Martial Law by Yahya Khan and all actions taken thereunder were illegal. Altaf Gauhar, Chief Editor, *Dawn*, Karachi detained under Martial Law Regulation 78 was released and re-arrested under preventive detention regulations. ● Former rulers of the former princely states in Pakistan are to be given a maintenance allowance instead of a privy purse. ● Donations totalling SR 400,000 were collected in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia to help war-sufferers in Pakistan.

PHILIPPINE. Four Muslims were killed when a grenade was thrown into a mosque near Basilan city in Southern Philippines.

RHODESIA. Steps are being taken to alleviate the shortage of labour for cotton picking. ● Sir Albert Robinson, former African High Commissioner in London told the Bulawayo Chamber of Commerce that the Rhodesian population statistics are frightening in that the African population will double in the next 10 years and reach the 10m mark.

SAUDI ARABIA. During the last five years Saudi Arabia has contributed SR 150m to the various Muslim educational and welfare organisations all over the world.

SOUTH YEMEN. Soviet specialists are to help draw up a 10-year plan for the development of the fishing industry. They will provide 3 fishing boats and training in modern fishing techniques.

SYRIA. Soviet Union is to help in the construction of a 135Km railway line between Dayr az-Zorr and Abu Kamel. Extended to Baghdad by Iraq, it will provide a transit line linking Jordan and Saudi Arabia as well as an outlet to India. ● According to *Jewish Observer*, London, Horst Brasch, a Jew is to represent East Germany at Syria's forthcoming celebrations marking the 25th Anniversary of the Arab Bath Party.

TURKEY. A group of 300 immigrants arrived in Turkey from Bulgaria bringing up the total since 1968 to 23,580. In 1950-51, 154,394 Bulgarian Turks arrived in Turkey; during 1972 about 10,000 are expected.

UGANDA. Gen. Amin refuted the Israeli propaganda that he threw them out because of advice given by

Arab countries and said he had decided that in January. ● A government spokesman said that the returning Israelis have taken with them large quantities of equipment belonging to Uganda.

UNITED ARAB AMIRATES. A new currency named Dirham is to be introduced before the end of 1972. The national Assembly has also approved an emblem represented by a hawk with a circle in the middle enveloping the drawing of a ship. ● Sharjah-Ras-al-Khaymayh, road built by Saudi Arabia has been opened to traffic.

UNITED KINGDOM. Dr. Margaret White, Executive member of the Society for the Protection of Unborn Children told a Society meeting that about 9 girls under the age of 16 are having abortions in Britain everyday. If the present rate continues figures would double this year. She blamed big money marketing techniques and a so-called enlightened minority for a situation where one found a long line of pathetic school girls who are not having a lesson to-day because they are having abortions. ● Preston local authority has refused a request by Muslims to establish a mosque and a religious school at Holmrock Road. ● Pakistan Unity Circle celebrated Iqbal day on 22 April.

PEOPLE

Chinese diplomat, Tang Ming-Chao, 62, appointed Under Secretary-General for Political Affairs and Decolonisation at the UN. ● Prof. C. H. Phillips, Director, School of Oriental and African studies, elected Vice-Chancellor, London University, 1972-73. ● George Habash, held briefly by Beirut Police for carrying a gun with an identity card. ● Aleksey Zakharov, new Soviet Ambassador to Uganda. ● Mr. Katenga Kaunda, new Malawi High Commissioner in London. ● Jack Winocour, Director of Information, World Jewish Congress and editor, *World Jewry* resigned alleging pressure from Israel. ● Rev. Wilfred Wood, a West Indian tipped Chairman Institute of Race Relations.

VISITS

Amir of Kuwait to France in 1973. ● President Qadhafi to Algeria. President Amad to Kuwait. ● Moroccan Home Minister, Gen. Oufkir to Algeria. ● Abdul Khalid Hassouna Arab League Secretary General to London. ● President Tombalbaye of Chad to Senegal. ● M. Shafiq, Afghan Foreign Minister to Peking. Egyptian Foreign Minister Murad Ghalib to Tunis and Algeria and later to West Europe. ● Jean de Lipkowski, French secretary of State for foreign affairs to Bahrain and Kuwait. ● Iranian Senator Abbas Massoudi Ettela'at Group to Romania. Kazemzadeh Hosein, Iranian Minister for Science and Higher Education to Moscow. Mr. Siddiqui, Bangladesh Trade Minister to Budapest. ● Ramiz Mustafayev, Azerbaijane Composer to Mali, studying musical life of the country. ● Tariq Ali to North Korea. ● President and Mrs. Nixon to Persia on May 30-31, after Moscow. ● Prof. J. K. Galbraith, the US economist to Hungary on invitation. ● Golda Meir to Romania. ● President Sadat to Moscow. ● Sir Alec Douglas-Hume to Bangladesh end May or beginning June. ● Tunka Abdur Rahman to London.

DIED

Mohammad Ismail, President Indian Union Muslim League in Madras on 4 April. ● Yasunari Kawabata, 72, novelist and first Japanese to win Nobel Prize in 1968 committed suicide, 15/16 April. ● L. Gen. B. M. Kaul, 59, India's Corps Commander in the Sino-Indian War of 1962, in Delhi on 18 April. ● Farid Jafri former Pakistan editor in London on 15 April.