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THE BUMPY ROAD TO NON-DEMOCRACY IN INDONESIA

(FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT)

The following 'classified' brief was prepared by the ideologue of the Indonesian Establishment. Apparently drawn up in 1970, it is meant for the high echelons of the GOLKAR, the functional group of civil servants and military personnel who have the task of 'guaranteeing' the NEW ORDER in Indonesia. The document has been slightly abridged, but care has been taken not to alter any sentences, in order to preserve the entire meaning of the original. Although our source is unimpeachable, we prefer the document to be evaluated strictly on its own merits—Indonesia goes to polls on 3 July.

A new era is unfolding in Indonesia. This is the era of the New Order, which has emerged in the wake of the Communist collapse precipitated by the abortive coup attempt in 1965.

The New Order represents a new national awareness and a new determination to correct, all the mistakes and deviations in the past that have characterized the old order, and which have brought about tragedy to the nation culminating in the outbreak of the Gestapu affair.

The new order strives after the authentic and consistent implementation of Pantjasila and the 1945 Constitution, on the basis of which the national struggle is to be carried on to give national independence its true content and meaning, to achieve the goal of establishing a just and prosperous society . . .

IDEOLOGY: RETURN TO PANTJASILA.

Pantjasila, the ideology of the State, as embodied in the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution, has been under constant danger. Efforts to undermine it were continuously made by the proponents of an Indonesian Theocratic State on basis of the Islam religion through constitutional means (the Constituent Assembly) as well as unconstitutional means (by armed rebellions DI/III). It was also under the threat of the Communists (Madium Affairs). And the Indonesian politics has in the past been characterised mainly by ideological struggle among various groups; the nationalists, the Moslems and the Communists.

All this seemed to come to an end with the issuance of the Presidential Decree of July 5, 1959 which dissolved the Constituent Assembly and decreed the return

to the 1945 Constitution, and thus to Pantjasila.

But although eventually the continued armed rebellions by the fanatical Moslems had been overcome, Pantjasila remained exposed to the mounting threat from the left, the Communists, who, having formally accepted Pantjasila as the ideology of the Indonesian State, succeeded in having Pantjasila interpreted as a mere symbol of national unity, and officially as an embodiment of the coalition between the Nationalists, the Religious group, and the Communists (Nasakom), of which the Indonesian society was supposed to consist.

The ascendancy of the Communists prior to the abortive coup through their manipulation of the Nasakom principle had its impact on Indonesia's foreign relations as well, which gradually deviated from the active, independent foreign policy, more and more towards leaning on Communist China and towards confrontation against the West, for the West was considered as representing imperialism and colonialism. And in its anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism (Necolim) Indonesia under the Sukarno regime was to occupy a leading position among the 'newly emerging forces' in the face of the 'Old established forces'. Hence the 'beacon policy' pursued by the Sukarno regime, which resulted in the isolation of Indonesia from the rest of the world except Communist China and its allies.

The New Order now strives to return to the authentic and consistent implementation of Pantjasila. Pantjasila is not to be interpreted and implemented in the light of any particular religious law or religious teachings, or any other ideology such as Communism.

PROGRAMME IN LIEU OF IDEOLOGICAL ORIENTEDNESS.

Having been unanimously accepted by all the socio-political groups in the country, Pantjasila is to be understood and to be implemented in the light of the 1945 Constitution, which is the embodiment and manifestation of Pantjasila. Therefore, there are to be no more disputes on the ideology of the State or on its interpretation, . . . ideological aspirations other than Pantjasila can only divide the nation, Pantjasila being the only ideology that can unite the nation and which can guarantee equal rights and equal opportunity for all groups whatever their ideologies, whatever their religions. Thus ideological differences and ideological orientedness are to be abandoned and programme-orientedness is to be promoted. And all the funds and forces of the nation are to be concentrated on the struggle for improving the lives of the people, on the development of the country.

With priority given to programme of development, the key of which is economic development, for the first time in the history of the Republics' economic problems, rather than political problems, receive primary attention. Politics is to be no longer in command.

In foreign relations, the beacon policy of the old regime is also abandoned. Indonesia under the new order now is trying to straighten out its active independent foreign policy, abandoning the policy of confrontation against *necolim*, for this would be unrealistic and would be irrelevant to the situation and the problems of the world today, as well as irrelevant to the domestic problems facing the country at present. Thus Indonesia has extricated

road to non-democracy?

itself from its isolation by putting an end to its confrontation policy against the Federation of Malaysia, and by entering the United Nations again... Implementation of development plans would need friendly relations with all countries and the creation of peace and security of the world which would be conducive to international cooperation.

RETURN TO THE 1945 CONSTITUTION.

Despite the Presidential decree of July 5, 1959 for the return to the 1945 Constitution, the introduction and development of Sukarno's 'guided democracy' which was supposed to be the true interpretation of Pantjasila democracy, gradually led to the abandonment of constitutionalism altogether and the creation of a dictatorship with all political powers more and more accumulated in the hands of the leader (Soekarno). Measures were taken that were in direct conflict with the provisions of the Constitution such as the installation of Soekarno to life long presidency, directives for policy being determined by the President instead of the legislative body (MPRS). *All these measures that were contrary to the constitution were justified by the pretext that the Revolution was not yet finished. Revolution was made the source of legal norms instead of the constitution and its preamble (Pantjasila), and was used to justify whatever measures taken to suit the whims of the leader.*

The rule of law was ignored, resulting in the violation of human rights: suppression of the freedom of speech and the right to dissent, banning the press, etc.

Now constitutionalism is being gradually returned... And the executive branch is only implementing whatever directives have been decided upon by the MPRS, which is the supreme governing body in the Indonesian system of government according to the 1945 constitution, and which is to exercise the sovereignty of the people. In other words, guided democracy of the old order has been abandoned and Pantjasila democracy is to take its place. It is for the upholding of democracy as one of the principles of Pantjasila that general elections are due to be held in 1971.

Likewise, in the framework of the struggle for the authentic and consistent implementation of the Pantjasila and the 1945 Constitution, human rights are more and more respected, which can be seen in greater freedom of speech and expression, and in greater freedom of the press than in any other period in the history of the republic.

A return to constitutionalism means a return to the rule of law. Indeed, the Gestapu affairs has revived the long suppressed idealism in the people; it has revived the people's ideals of democracy, of human rights, of the rule of law, etc.; but on the other hand, the reemergence of this idealism may give rise to excesses and anarchy if the long suffering and suppression of the people in general should lead to excessive and impatient demands for immediate and full realization of these ideals, and its lack of preparedness on the part of the people should lead to unbridled and irresponsible exercise of human rights to individual liberties, so that it may endanger the very ideal to uphold the rule of law. It is therefore precisely for upholding the rule of law and for the prevention of anarchy that the exercise of those rights is to be regulated by law. This explains the enactment of the basic law of the Press, the MPRS decision (No. XXII/1966) on political parties, functional groups, and mass organisations, and the introduction in the House of Representatives of the bill on political parties, functional groups and mass organisation with a view to simplifying the party system. This provision for the simplification of the party system has been introduced because past experiences

have shown that the ever growing number of political parties has only created confusion and continuous conflicts resulting in the neglect of the interests of the nation as a whole especially with the application of parliamentary democracy. It was also this situation that had given rise to Sukarno's guided democracy which was not, unfortunately, a proper remedy for the then worsening conditions, for guided democracy had eventually turned into a dictatorship. *But this does not mean that Indonesia is to return to parliamentary democracy. Instead, a healthy democratic life in accordance with Pantjasila—Pantjasila democracy—is to be upheld, which would correct the mistakes and the shortcomings of both Parliamentary democracy and guided democracy, both of which were deviations from the 1945 Constitution...*

Efforts to realize the ideals of the New Order have been embodied in various decisions of the MPRS to be implemented by the Government,...

However, in order to achieve the long-term objectives of the New Order strategy as embodied in the preamble to the 1945 Constitution, it is clear that the existing political structure, which has been founded on the basis of the Nasakom principle, thus ideologically oriented and ideologically compartmentalized, will have to be changed. Programme orientedness would never materialize until and unless the party system was founded on the basis of programme instead of ideology as at present. But dissolving and banning the existing political parties that have been based on ideology would be too undemocratic and therefore would be too unpopular. On the other hand, it would be near impossible to expect those ideologically oriented political parties to disband themselves. Accordingly there seems to be little hope for any radical change in the present political structure. Instead, a change in the present political structure will have to be effected in stages and in accordance with the principles of democracy, the upholding of which is part of the very ideals of the New Order.

In the first place, to achieve its goal, the strategy of the New Order must be maintained at least for the next decade. For this purpose, a strong government is continuously needed that will safeguard that strategy. During the period, the government may change in personnel, and this is most likely, but it must carry on the same strategy.

On the basis of political consciousness, the present Indonesian population consists of a vast majority (around 90%)—the 'silent masses' whose political consciousness is not far beyond the village level, and a very small minority about 10% possesses a political consciousness at the national level. This small group consists mainly of members of the Civil Service and of the Armed forces. But out of these, only few are really dedicated to the cause of their struggle, which is chiefly an ideological struggle involving a contest between Pantjasila, Islam, and Communism, while a large part of them are mere opportunists who engage in politics and join in with political parties simply for the procurement of influential and well-paid governmental positions as a way of earning a living.

For the safeguard of Pantjasila, therefore, the influence of the ideological diehards except those of Pantjasila, are to be reduced to the minimum and finally to be eliminated altogether. Hence the dissolution and banning of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), the continuous operations against the underground Communists, and efforts to prevent the revival of the Masjumi Party, which having failed in their efforts to have an Islamic State established by constitution means (the Constituent Assembly) substituting the Pantjasila State, has in the past assisted various armed rebellions staged by fanatical Moslems to realize their ideal. Ideological diehards such as these are barred from active participation in the socio-political life—they are barred from political party membership and from nomination to the

candidacy for the general elections.

Other ideological diehards, fanatical Moslems as well as crypto Communists, may indeed manage to infiltrate some political parties whose existence is officially recognized by the Government. Thus some of these may succeed in getting seats in the legislative bodies, the DPRGR and the MPRS, or at least to have their interests and aspirations voiced through representatives of these political parties to these legislative bodies. This may be seen, for instance, in the futile efforts in the MPRS at its draft decisions on Supplementary Explanation to the 1945 Constitution, and on the Rights and Duties of the Citizens, both of which were based on the Djakarta Charter rather than on Pantjasila. It may also be seen in the introduction of certain bills in House, such as the educational bill and the bill on Islamic Marriage, which have been worked out on the basis of the Djakarta Charter, and therefore in conflict with Pantjasila and the 1945 Constitution. All these have been part of the Moslems 'efforts to' put into effect the spirit of the Djakarta Charter through legislation.

It is to face these ideological diehards in the legislative bodies that the functional groups in the House of Representatives have been purified (to have them give up their affiliation to political parties) and that a new faction, the Development Functional Faction a big faction consisting of intellectuals, students labour leaders, etc. as members, has been created in the House to foil any attempts to undermine Pantjasila through legislation. It is also to safeguard Pantjasila in the face of such ideological diehards that in the coming general elections the ABRI and the non-ABRI functional groups are guaranteed a certain number of seats (100 of 460) in the House of Representatives and in the MPR (People's Consultative Congress).

However, the guaranteed number of seats in the legislative bodies would not in themselves constitute a majority needed to secure the strategy of the Order in the next decade, especially if such a provision for a number of appointments to the legislative bodies should eventually be abolished.

It is therefore necessary to develop further the functional group (ABRI and non-ABRI) as a mainstay for the creation of a strong government at least in the next decade that will carry on the New Order Strategy. This group is to become a socio-political force basing its struggle on programme for development, taking the initiative to leave behind ideological orientedness, taking the lead in the process of secularization of the political life in Indonesia. Efforts are to be made to make this functional group firmly rooted in the society down to the village level. It is to win not only the 1971 general elections, but also the subsequent general elections, to secure the election of a national leadership that will carry on the strategy of the New Order.

The development of the functional group, ABRI and non-ABRI, is also needed to have a State apparatus free from dual loyalty caused by the dominance of the political parties...

The functional group is to be developed also to correct this situation by abolishing political party loyalty in the State apparatus. In the meantime the Governments' regulation No. 6/1970, barring government functionaries from political party membership and from political activities, is also a step in this direction.

Support of the ABRI for the functional group is made possible (due) to the dual role of the ABRI, which has obtained recognition and acceptance in the Indonesian society owing to the fact that the ABRI has always served to save the Pantjasila State from various attempts to undermine Pantjasila and the 1945 Constitution... And in order to maintain national unity, political and economic stability, the dominant role of the ABRI in Indonesia is to be continued, at least until and unless the 1945 Constitution are secure, and until

the country is really ripe and prepared for democracy. Indeed the dominance of the ABRI may diminish in the political life in Indonesia when the civilians—political parties—prove capable of performing their functions, which they have in the past been unable to do, but *the dual role of the ABRI in the life of the nation is an established fact in Indonesia, and shall remain so in the future.* The ABRI has occupied a special and singular place in Indonesia, which it deserves, and which is indeed needed for the sake of stability and unity, and which is in accordance with the history of the republic, and with the provision of the Constitution for the role of the functional group, of which the ABRI is certainly a part.

With the ascendancy of the functional group in the legislative bodies through a series of general elections, the election of a strong national leadership may be secured that will maintain national unity and stability, political and economic, and which will carry on the strategy of the New Order. Further steps may be taken through legislation to carry on the struggle not only to foil any attempts to undermine Pantjasila and the 1945 Constitution, reducing and eliminating the strength and influence of the ideological diehards; but also to further realize the idea of reforming the political structure; of simplifying the party system with a view to developing a two-party system through various stages of coalitions and alliances on the basis of programme instead of ideology, and to creating a healthy, modern democratic life; of improving the State apparatus; of having the dual role and the leadership of the ABRI more firmly established. Thus the enactment of MPR decisions as well as Parliamentary acts and Parliamentary rules of procedure may be made to proceed along this line. And finally the time will come when Pantjasila and the 1945 Constitution are firm and no longer disputed and ideological orientedness completely abandoned, and implementation of development plans may proceed smoothly towards improving the lives of the people and towards the ideal of establishing a just and prosperous society on the basis of Pantjasila and the 1945 Constitution which is the very ideal of the New Order. . .

CONCLUDING REMARK.

... the struggle for the authentic and consistent implementation of Pantjasila and the 1945 Constitution is still facing the ideological diehards. Efforts to return to constitutionalism is hindered by the fact that the present legislative bodies still represent the old political structure, in which ideological orientedness, and group and personal interests still prevail resulting in the continuous petty bickering among different groups.

This hampers the process of legislation and the process of democratization, . . . The New Order, . . . is a long process. . . There needs to be a change in the mental attitude of the nation. . .

It is true, it will likely take a long time to establish the New Order. But then there are no miracles in development. In the process there are bound to be ups and downs and even compromises between principles and realities, between what is desirable and what is feasible. All these are honestly recognized. . .

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Notes:

MPRS: Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakjat Sementara. (Provisional People's Consultative Assembly).

MPR: Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakjat. (People's Consultative Assembly).

DPRGR: Dewan Perwakilan Rakjat Gotong Rojong. (House of Representatives).

ABRI: Angkatan Bersendjata Republik Indonesia. (Indonesian Armed Forces).

DJAKARTA CHARTER or Piagam Djakarta was proclaimed on 22 June 1945 and signed by Sukarno, Hatta and seven other national leaders; the Charter *inter-alia* affirmed "belief in God" and the "duty to enforce *Sjariat Islam*."

Survey

Jerusalem, the forgotten

What exactly transpired at the recent meeting between King Faisal and President Nixon is not known. It is known though that the talks dealt with the holy places of the Middle East and in particular with Jerusalem. The meeting reflects the profound concern and the growing volume of protest against Israel's plans for Jerusalem and the actions it has already taken to change the character of the city—a city which has been described as constituting "not simply a home for people of many faiths but also a focus for the prayers and affections of many millions who think of it as a place uniquely beautiful and uniquely blessed."

The protest is now being couched in the strongest of terms by the most eminent of people: Israeli action in Jerusalem is "vandalism" and its present policies a threat to the beauty and the character of the city. The Catholic paper, *The Tablet*, wrote during the Easter of being forced to realise that the city is being "threatened by the claims of a jealous nationalism." Dr. Jamal Nasir, former Minister of Justice in Jordan, wrote of the defiance of Israel and its *ultra vires* action under international law in annexing territory which it occupied by force.

Israel's actions and plans do give grave cause for alarm. Regarding the status of Jerusalem, it has always been clear that Israel wants to have sole and unfettered jurisdiction over the whole of the city. And it wants also to have Jerusalem as the Jewish capital of Israel in such a way as to prejudice the existence and the livelihood of Christians and Muslims who live in the city and also to damage the religious foundations and places of worship of these people who form the overwhelming majority of its population.

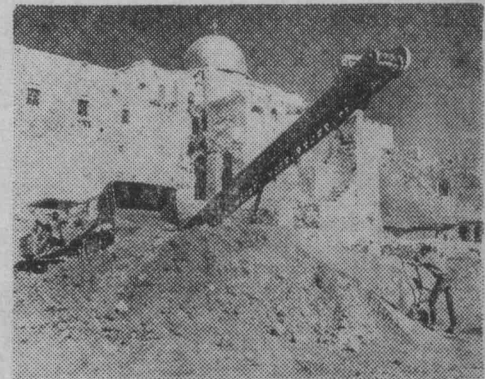
Ever since its defiant and illegal action in annexing Jerusalem immediately after the June war, Israel has maintained that there can be no compromise on this position. Towards this end it has repeatedly ignored all protests and all resolutions of the United Nations both of the General Assembly and of the Security Council. On 4 July 1967, the General Assembly passed a 99 to 1 resolution declaring any change in the status of Jerusalem as invalid. Israel paid no heed. Another resolution was passed on 12 July 1967 expressing deep concern over Israel's neglect to comply and asking Israel to refrain from taking any measures for changing the status of Jerusalem. Israel did not even attend the meeting. These resolutions were buttressed by a similar one taken by the Security Council on 21 May 1968. But Israel treated the Council with the same contempt with which it had treated the Assembly. On 4 July 1969, the Security Council passed unanimously a resolution censuring "in the strongest terms" all measures taken by Israel to change the status of the Arab area of Jerusalem. Israel immediately indicated that she was unlikely to heed the

demands. On 30 April 1971, the Israeli Municipal Council of Jerusalem reaffirmed its declared position that the whole of Jerusalem "is the capital of Israel for ever and ever" and that "the policy of the municipality has been put into practice."

It is noteworthy that no member state which owed its legal existence to the United Nations has disregarded its resolutions more than Israel. And also that no member state has to its discredit so many resolutions by the Security Council condemning its conduct.

While disregarding these resolutions Israel has gone ahead with its plans to change the character of the city. Immediately after the June war almost the whole area surrounding the Muslim Haram ash-Shareef was forcibly evacuated and bulldozed to the ground. On 15 June 1969, the Israeli Ministry of Religious Affairs began destroying the nine houses immediately behind the Masjid-al-Aqsa. Even the American backers of Israel protested that this was "contrary to international law". Israeli archaeologists have been excavating under the Masjid-al-aqsa in the hope of rediscovering the temple of Herod, the alleged site of the throne of David, under centuries of "accumulated debris". There is now feverish activity by the Israeli authorities in pushing ahead with building plans in those parts of the city which are predominantly Arab. This is in line with the Israeli tactic of creating facts to put itself in an unassailable position if negotiations do take place.

The development plans have been condemned on aesthetic grounds by a group of the world's leading architects and town planners who met in Jerusalem recently. Even some Israelis have observed the haste of their government to stake a Jewish claim to the Arab sector of the city and that the apartment blocks being built would turn Jerusalem "into a kind of Los Angeles."



An Israeli excavator close to Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem

Survey

JERUSALEM THE FORGOTTEN • THE 'PRESS' CHOLERA IN BENGAL

Jerusalem . . .

Only now has there been some measure of protest on the part of Christians against the policies and actions of Israel. But still it is noted with astonishment the very little protest in the Christian world against "a policy of desecration so deliberately undertaken and on such a scale." The fact that this desecration and vandalism has not registered on the Christian conscience may be due to the recent and sedulously cultivated concept of a common Judeo-Christian heritage. It may also be due to the stereotype of the Arab and the Muslim as uncouth and impious who by their very presence defiled the holiness of the sacred places of the Christians and were not worthy of the place let alone of being responsible for administering it.

The facts of history, however, regarding the administration of Jerusalem on the basis of enlightenment and tolerance are on the side of the Muslims. From the time of Caliph Umar to Saladin, from the Turks to the inhabitants of Jerusalem right up to the June War, the Muslim record as compared to that of Nebuchadnezzar, to the Christians at the time of the Crusades or to the Zionist of modern times is one of remarkable tolerance and humanitarianism. An example of trust in this tolerance is that the Christians themselves had agreed to place the keys of the Holy Sepulchre in the custody of the Muslims. The Muslims' respect for the city too has been attested to on numerous occasions right from the beginning of their interest and participation in the life of the city.

In modern times, this respect was shown by the Turkish High Command at the time of the First World War when on the British advance on Jerusalem, they expressed the wish to save the city from the horrors of war and the Turks retired without fighting near or in Jerusalem. The Jordanians in 1967 also did not fight within the walls of the old city where all the holy places were located. This contrasts with Israeli action both in 1948 and in 1967, when, in the latter case, the old city was shelled even when no resistance was being offered. With the growing awareness of the Israeli threat to the Jerusalem, most people have been calling for the internationalisation of the city with freedom for the various religions guaranteed by the international community. They see this as perhaps the only course open in the face of Israeli intransigence and lawlessness. If this internationalisation is brought about, one could be justified in being sceptical about its results. So far the United Nations have shown itself singularly impotent in making Israel heed or comply with its most strongly worded recommendations. Can they succeed in the future? Can they succeed in putting a halt to Israeli confiscation and destruction of Arab property, both Christian and Muslim? Can they succeed in guaranteeing that holy places are not desecrated?

Internationalisation indeed may lead in fact to further strife and erosion of the sanctity and the overall religious character of Jerusalem. Jerusalem could become another Lebanon in the Middle East devoid of any specific religious, ethical or cultural importance. It could then become a breeding ground of smuggling and international intrigue and cease to be a place uniquely beautiful and uniquely blessed.

These are some of the inevitable dangers of internationalisation. The dangers of Jerusalem becoming the capital of any state in the Middle East, whether squatter or legal, are also obvious and should be clear to all. What then are the alternatives to internationalisation or the claims of a jealous nationalism? The answer is to be found in the record of history.

The Cholera Scoop

The recent outbreak of 'refugee cholera' must go down in medical history as uniquely man made and uniquely controlled.

It all started on 1 June with an exclusive

and scoopy report in *The Times* (Peter Hazelhurst) under the heading: "Plea to world by India as cholera epidemic goes out of control". "According to the official records 350 persons (had) died of cholera" and "another 5,000 collapsed yesterday". No other national paper on 1 June spoke of cholera and even Hazelhurst's despatch on 31 May mentioned not cholera but the "hundreds" who had died of starvation. One may, therefore, conclude that it was an overnight outbreak which instantly went out of control.

Next day on 2 June, *The Daily Telegraph* said that more than 1,000 had died of cholera, the *Financial Times* put it at 800 and *The Times* reported an "official total of 900" with a hint that many more *must* have died.

On 3 June, Peter Hazelhurst reported an official death toll of 1,300 but put the unofficial count as 2,000. *The Financial Times* said they were 1,000. Although Peter Hazelhurst had also computed the death rate at 10 an hour, *The Guardian* on 4 June reported only 1,000 dead. *The Daily Telegraph* (4 June) said it was a 'cholera crisis for Mrs. Gandhi'.

Fifth of June was an important date: Ian Ward (*The Daily Telegraph*) said that cholera was out of control, the death toll ranged from 500 to 5,000 and that "60m were so threatened". *The Guardian* found the world awakening to the cholera disaster and mentioned a mortality figure of 2,550. Significantly, the same issue of *The Guardian* carried two other reports: one from Inder Malhotra and the other from Lee Lescaze of the *Washington Post*. Both discussed the refugee problem but there was no hint of the raging epidemic. *The Economist* (5 June) too failed to catch up and gave an estimated range of 400 to 1,000 dead. Hazelhurst, however, wrote not about cholera but "persecution by Muslim troops".

On Sunday, 6 June the 'press' cholera was in full rage. *The Sunday Mirror* and the *News of the World* estimated the death toll to have gone up to 8,000. *The Sunday Telegraph* in two separate reports quoted two different figures of 2,000 and 5,000 dead, and said that "nothing can now prevent India suffering her worst cholera epidemic of the century. *The Observer* spoke of a "particularly savage form of cholera", and published a photograph of "a woman dying of cholera", she looked more asleep than dying. *The Sunday Times* published a full page report from Godfrey Hodgson on "The Great Plague of Bengal". It dealt not much with the raging cholera but, that which "has been endemic in Bengal for at least a century" and killed 2,000 people every year in Calcutta". It said that "up to 2 June about 1,300 had died. . ." Hazelhurst (*The Sunday Times*) wrote that the "raging cholera continued (to rise and) kill thousands". The monsoons are coming and without "a massive injection of inter-

national aid" he said, "they are going to die in millions". The emphasis had shifted from cholera to monsoon and the certain famine.

On Monday, 7 June, Hazelhurst reported that the "death toll. . . approached the 5,000 mark". *The Guardian*, however, said that "more than 8,000" were already reported dead. The front page summary in *The Daily Telegraph* mentioned 5,000 killed but Ian Ward's report referred to a "total of about 6,000 cases. . . (and) more than 3,000 deaths". The news of the day, however, was that the "aid gets airborne" (*The Guardian*).

Tuesday, 8 June: Hazelhurst said the officials had no precise figures but the dead "could be as high as 8,000". In *The Daily Telegraph*, while Balram Tandon spoke of a further spread of cholera, Ian Ward reported arrival of the Oxfam team in Calcutta and said the "epidemic is abating" *Simon Winchester* (*The Guardian*) saw headway in the cholera battle but reported serious doubt among the doctors whether in fact this was cholera.

On 9 June there was a "Cholera Aid Jam at Calcutta" (*The Daily Telegraph*) and *The Times* carried an interesting article: Aid is big business now".

There is no need to add any comment to the above diary of the epidemic except to pray with Coleridge:-

'God save thee, ancient Mariner!
From the f(r)iends that plague thee thus'.

For the moment, the 'epidemic' appears to have subsided but who knows: it's not only the bacteria, there are vectors too!

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On the dogma of "Sovereignty of the People"

A. K. BROHI²

There are, to be sure, many naive and therefore dangerous political dogmas in circulation in our times and some of these have been given a great deal of currency in the course of the last election campaign in Pakistan. But of these the most pernicious one is the one relating to the uncritical assumption made by our half-educated politicians about what is called the "Sovereignty of the People". It is being said everywhere that the **people are sovereign** and they can do whatever they like and simply by putting a cross-mark on the ballot paper, they can give a *mandate* which cannot be avoided at any cost by the elected representative. It is believed that the people, that is to say the body of adult voters, is sovereign. It is said the voters can decide *finally* questions touching and concerning even the basic principles and foundational matters relating to the life of the State regardless of what is intrinsically right and reasonable.

One may well ask of those who talk so glibly about the people being sovereign in the sense described above, to tell us who, if the people are to be treated as sovereign, are to be treated as "subjects" in relation to the exercise of their sovereign authority?

"Sovereignty" is a term which is incomprehensible without a clear conception of its correlate, namely, its corresponding subject. After all, "sovereign" and "subject" are relative terms. Just as you cannot understand what the term "husband" means without correlating it to the concept of "wife" so you cannot intelligibly talk of the "sovereignty of the people" without correlating it with its corresponding subject. The "People" cannot at one and the same time be "sovereign" and "subject".

It is not the present day people, understood as being coterminous with the historical community reflected in the adult voter, who is the sovereign. When we talk of the People being sovereign, even within the frame-work of a secular society, the term does not refer merely to the present day living representatives of that species but is wide enough to cover not only their fore-runners who, as pioneers of the nation-state made a commitment to some specific national ideal, but also the future generations of the community still to be born. It is the people in this larger sense, understood as a sort of juristic corporate personality which is the sovereign. And if that be so then our forefathers and our children, although they cannot conceivably vote in the elections, are entitled to maintain the claim which would be a sort of limit on the decision-making leader of today's adult voter that the state, as originally conceived, should not be trifled with but it should endure. The "People" is that stream of individual, connected generations of changing persons that Burke was talking about when he invoked the partnership not only between those who are living "but also with those who are dead and those who are to be born". The People are a Corporation, an entity that is to say, which lives on, while individuals come into it and go out of it.

To be concrete, as applied to the state of Pakistan, those who gave up their lives for Pakistan

and laboured for its emergence, worked for its solidarity and its glory are an ever present element of that ever-increasing community of mankind called "The People" that is currently tenanted the landscape of Pakistan. It is this vast body of men and women and not merely the present-day adult voters who are entitled to lay the claim that Pakistan should continue in the image in which it was conceived by those who were responsible for the establishment of the State of Pakistan. This is also true about the claim of the future of the race, of the ages that are as yet unborn, and they too are entitled to have a say on the essential question affecting the life of the State.

Lest this should appear an extreme view, I would like to point to the expression "We, the people of United States" with which the Preamble of the Constitution of the United States begins. It may be recalled that on September 17, 1787, about 40 members signed the draft constitution of the U.S.A. on which they had been working since May 25 for 116 days. In Article 7 of their text, they stipulated that if and when conventions in the nine states had ratified it, then for those nine states "The People" of the United States would have ordained and established the Constitution. In this context, a majority of delegates elected to nine states' conventions were deemed to be entitled to act as "The People" of the United States.

In any case, the real concern, here, is not so much the disenfranchisement of the citizens as to hope that both liberty and democracy can be preserved before one destroys the other. And if this is to be done then we must adopt the habit of thinking as plainly about sovereign people as they do about the politician they elect. It will not do to think purely of the politicians and to talk with bated breath about the voters. No more than the kings before them, should the people be hedged with divinity. Like all princes and rulers, like all sovereigns, they are ill-served by flattery and adulation and they are betrayed by the servile hypocrisy which tells them that what is true and what is false, what is right and what is wrong, can be determined by their votes. . . . The people have acquired power which they are incapable of exercising and the government they elect has lost powers which they must recover if they are to govern. What then are the true boundaries of people's power? The answer cannot be simple but for a rough beginning let us say that the people are able to give and to withhold their consent to being governed—their consent for the government asked of them and as done in the conduct of their affairs. They can elect the government, they can remove it. They might approve or disapprove its performances, but they *cannot administer the government*.³

The People, rightly understood, cannot be identified with prevailing pluralities who vote in order to serve their pleasure and their securities, and if we do that where and what is the Nation and whose business and duty is it to defend the public interest? Without the invisible and transcendent community to bind them, why should they care for posterity?

Why should posterity care about them and about their promises? Yet without these engagements to the future they could not live and work, without these engagements the fabric of society is unravelled and shredded.

All that is stated above is a consequence of the view of popular sovereignty which obtains in the writings of publicists who think in secular terms. Of course, in Pakistan, we are all agreed ever since the day the *Objective Resolution* was moved and passed by the First Constituent Assembly that "Sovereignty over the entire universe belongs to Almighty Allah alone and the authority to be exercised by the people of Pakistan *within the limits prescribed by Him* is sacred trust". Therefore the concept of popular sovereignty, as it is understood in secular society, does not so much as arise for consideration. Such is the character of our State that the people of Pakistan are not *sui juris* but can act only as the delegates of the Almighty who alone is Sovereign and the authority they exercise is of necessity to be within the limits prescribed by Him. As there is no such thing as the *concept of limited sovereignty* known to jurisprudence, in our State the people are not and cannot be "sovereign". They cannot, by a simple majority vote in the popularly elected assemblies be able to undo, for example, the principles upon which the State of Pakistan is founded or do anything directly or indirectly to injure the solidarity of the nation or destroy the integrity of the State.

Regardless of these limitations upon the electoral competence of the people, we have become somewhat used to all kinds of *time-worn shibboleths* and meaningless slogans. We talk about the mandate of the people which the leaders are supposed to receive even on constitutional questions on the eve of the elections that are held in the country from time to time. It is then said that this mandate is binding and however atrocious and dangerous the implications of the mandate be, it is to be carried out in the name of the People, simply because they are supposed to be sovereign. This is how a false concept of popular sovereignty can destroy a nation. The process by which the degeneration can set in is well known. The "competition in the electoral market works like Gresham's Law; the soft money driving the hard money out of circulation. The competitive odds are heavily against those who, like Burke with his electors of Bristol, promise to be *true to their own best reason and judgement*. The odds are all in favour of a candidate who offers himself as the agent, the delegate, the spokesman, the errand boy, of the blocs of voters.

Even in secular societies, the elected members sitting in Parliaments are not to be treated as *delegates* of the constituencies that have voted for them. They are to be regarded as *representatives* and as such are free to travel outside the scope of the alleged mandate they may have received from the people even on socio-economic issues. A leader even in a democracy must lead and not *follow slavishly the opinion of those he is called upon to represent*; for to blindly follow their opinion

... the dogma of Sovereignty

regardless of its merit would convert the democratic process into something which, for want of a better term, may be called a *mobocracy*.

When the history of our own time is written the way we, as a nation, have misconducted ourselves politically would come in for a sharp criticism at the hands of posterity. Any one who has pondered over the political problem of Pakistan would be struck by the air of extreme irresponsibility with which men, who ought to know better, have been conducting the operations of Government. The fate of political society is sought to be decided by the electoral vote and although we show lip-loyalty to the sovereignty of God and claim that the authority to be exercised by the People of Pakistan within the limits prescribed by Him is a sacred trust, the fact remains that neither has the voter been educated to understand what all this means, nor, again, is the politician much concerned about its implications. Indeed, the politician in Pakistan never ceases to be a person engaged in an election campaign; even after the election, his speeches and utterances are so politically manoeuvred that he is all the time busy evoking the popular applauses although, in a Shakespearean aside, often enough, he acknowledges that what he does in the process is something at which, in the long run, would be detrimental to the interest of the State.

A close study of the grammar of religious politics throughout the course of human history would highlight the fact that unless the *will* of the wielder of power in the State is made subservient to the sovereignty of some supra-human order, of what Confucius called, *the mandate of Heaven*, all kinds of complications set in.

We, in Pakistan, ought to realise that western democracies conduct election campaigns simply for the purpose of finding out what sort of socio-economic programme is acceptable to the people and this exercise is confined within the constitutional limits. To that extent party-politics are not half so dangerous as they can become if they are allowed to be conducted without any such constitutional limitations in mind. The extension of the franchise in the history of western democracies took place only after the constitutional limits on the powers of parliaments in the name of the Right of the Individual had taken place. It is not possible, therefore, to subscribe to the political philosophy which says that we give a blank cheque to the politician to promise anything he likes to the voter under the sky and even beyond. The politics of bluff cannot be practised if election campaigns are confined within the conventional constitutional limitations.

I submit that within the framework of our own polity where sovereignty lies with the Lord of the Creation and the authority to be exercised by the people is circumscribed by the limits imposed upon them, such a blank cheque cannot be issued. But all that, I concede, lies in the realm of the pure theory of our politics; in actual practice, all the time we are teaching the ideals of secular politics—as crudely understood by us—with results that are now posing a threat to the survival of our State.

Jean Bodin, who has been considered as father of the modern theory of sovereignty, said that the king cannot possess a supra-mundane sovereignty which has nothing above itself. God was above the king and the supreme power of the king over his subjects was itself subservient to "the law of God and Nature", to the requirements of the "moral order". Similarly, whenever Jean Bodin says that the sovereign prince is the image of God, this phrase must be understood in its full force as meaning that the sovereign transcends his political society just as God transcends the sovereign. Either sovereignty means nothing or it means supreme power, *separate* and *transcendent*. In this sense of the term sovereignty, the people can never be sovereign; it would be nonsensical to conceive of the people as governing themselves *separately* from themselves and *above* themselves. All one could say is that they have a natural right to full autonomy, that is, to a comparative independence and power with regard to any part of the whole itself which is composed of them and in order to bring this whole itself into existence and activity.

The idea of sovereignty as propagated by religious philosophers like Jean Bodin underwent a metamorphosis at the hands of Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau. It would be too long to state the precise variations on the theme of sovereignty offered by them; suffice it to say that it was Rousseau whose writings became the foundation of the urge behind the French Revolution, and the historians have seen in his writings a notion of sovereignty which was to be destructive of democracy since it paved the way to totalitarianism. Says Jacques Maritain "Instead of getting clear of the *separate* and *transcendent* power of the absolute kings he carried, on the contrary, that spurious power of the absolute kings to the point of an unheard of absolute in order to make a present of it to the people. The transferring to the people of this mythical and inalienable right of the kings to transcendental supreme power resulted in making the elected representatives of the people mere instruments deprived of any power to govern; whereas in truth they are, in the words of Jacques Maritain "possessed—vicariously, and by participation, really—of this right with responsibility involved, since having been put in charge, within the fixed limits by the people exercising their right to full limits by the people exercising their rights to full autonomy, they have been, to the same extent vested with authority, by virtue of that very choice of the people, and, first and foremost, by virtue of the order through which God maintains nature and societies and through which alone men can be made bound to in conscience to obey other men".

Did not Rousseau say that the State has a right of life and death over its citizens? When the Prince says to him: it is expedient for the state that you should die, he must die, since it is only on this condition that he has safely lived up to that time and since his life is no longer nature's boon only but a conditional gift of the state. Could protagonists of totalitarianism go any further?

Rousseau's state was "but the Hobbesian Leviathan crowned with the General Will instead of the crown of those whom the Jacobian vocabulary called "*les roi et les tyrans*". There was to be no *mandate of Heaven* limiting the authority of the state—which in effect was the authority of the people. And if in such a state the people are sovereign, God cannot be sovereign—instead of people exercising power within the limits of Divine Law—or within the limits of natural law as conceived in secular democratic societies—they are ascribed the omnipotence and omniscience of God with the result that their representatives instead of governing the affairs of the state in the light of reason and conscience cannot afford to take their eyes away from the mirror of their constituencies. And what is the consequence? A repeated failure to govern is bound to lead to counter-revolutionary measures for the establishment of a strong government. The most notable of the variants of totalitarianism in the recent history of mankind are—communism, fascism, national socialism, etc. etc.

We, in Pakistan, have no need to follow that long and arduous path of criticism to which the 'concept of the sovereignty of the people' has been subjected, for, with us the irreducible minimum requirement of an Islamic state is to acknowledge the Sovereignty of God over and above that of man and to treat all power to be exercised by Him as being limited and as being a *trust* reposed in Him. Without this limitation on the authority of human institutions of power you cannot have an Islamic polity. If the authority of the people is limited and is to be exercised as a trust, they become accountable to some supra-human norms—to the mandate of Heaven in the Confucian phraseology, to the law of God in the language of Islamic ideology.

Of course the theological class of politicians, the so-called *Ulema* in Pakistan do not understand either theology or politics and although they have been parrot-wise referring to these fundamentals of a Muslim polity to which I have made a reference, they themselves have no clear understanding of what they are talking about. The younger generation of men and women who are educated in the mysteries of western politics can only be expected to know what they are taught by their professors most of whom—honourable exception apart, do not know what they are talking about. In the meanwhile, an ideological state of Pakistan was believed to have been launched into existence in 1947 and after 23 years of its career in history we are left wondering what has happened and what has gone wrong: if only political power in Pakistan had been used by the politicians in His Holy Name, within the limits of the Divine Law and above all as constituting a *trust* and not as their *personal property*, the history of the country would have been different.

1 An address to the University of Peshawar, Pakistan.

2 A former Law Minister and diplomat, Mr. A. K. Brohi is an eminent Pakistani jurist and thinker.

3 Walter Lippmann: *The Public Philosophy* (1955)

ISLAM IN TURKEY

Reflections & Perspectives

NURETTIN GOTTLOB

Two contradictory tendencies have always been discernible in human society: one centripetal where every individual in spite of being independent and self-contained is obliged for various reasons to give up part of his independence and associate himself with others—in couples for married life, in families, in class, in tribes, city-states, states and empires. The other centrifugal, where individuals born of the same parents, brought up under the same roof yet separate themselves to lead independent lives, away from their former natural associates.

The first arises from an instinctive understanding of self-interest and is narrow and short-term; the second is based on a rational understanding of the social self-interest and is wider and nobler. I may take just one example from the contemporary scene. Despite differences of language, religion and economic interests, Western Europe is trying to integrate itself into a single European Community. On the other hand, the people of Pakistan are showing symptoms of division and disunity.

It goes without saying that Islam was the first and so far the only—real and positive factor which enabled man to overcome narrow and petty differences of race, language and nationhood. One can easily sub-divide the human race on the basis of colour, language, birthplace or even blood relationships but, to bring people together is infinitely more difficult. It can only be done if there is present a community of outlook. Two real brothers may be enemies, but two strangers who share the same outlook on life, the same principles of conduct will be friends in weal as well as in woe. Today, this may all seem to be platitude but, Turkey is suffering from these very tensions and conflicts between the centripetal and the centrifugal, between the short-term and narrow, and between the wider and long-term.

Turks were the least race-conscious when during their struggle of life and death at the time of the First World War, some paganised Arabs stabbed them in the back. The Turks were not only defeated, but also lost the greatest existing Muslim State. One may blame them for going too far in their resentment against the Arabs, but it can also be understood. The enemies of both Arabs and the Turks exploited the situation, and extended the resentment of things Arabic to include the religion of Islam also. People who rallied to this idea came to power and suppressed ruthlessly everything that was Islamic: teaching of Islam in schools—be that general or specialised, Arabic script was forbidden (with the result that the literature built up in one thousand years was lost in the course of a single generation); thousands of mosques were closed to prayer, Islamic law was discarded even in the personal sphere (inheritance, marriage, etc.) and many such things were done which are now a matter of common knowledge.

A quarter of a century passed over it, when suddenly a change came. Before talking of it, I may refer to an amusing aspect of the situation. Ataturk wanted to exclude Arabic words (almost 60 per cent were they) from the Turkish vocabulary.

I am sure that he is cursing from his grave the members of the *Dil Kurumu* (academy of language) because no Turk understands today the speeches and writings of the Ataturk even when transcribed in Latin script: they are in fact “translated” into the new Turkish, since the language of the time of Ataturk has now become a foreign language.

It was about the year 1950, when the Turkish papers published a small news item: in a certain village nobody could be found to perform a funeral service, and so the poor Muslim villager was buried without this last act of spiritual solidarity. The Turkish public revolted over the situation. The government was obliged to open immediately a school for training imams and Khatibs for the mosques (the Imam Hatub Okul). The number of such institutions had gradually to increase, particularly because all the 30 and more millions of Turks are Muslims. Later the need to train the teachers became so pressing that several institutes of Higher Islamic Studies had to be established. If the okuls are of high school standard these institutes are of college (university) level. They teach not only Quran, Hadith, Muslim law and the like but also subjects of general culture such as history, mathematics, Arabic, some West-European languages etc., a list of some 20 subjects. In other countries, if a Muslim has aptitude for absolutely nothing, he becomes Imam of a mosque. In Turkey one requires not only a good knowledge of *tajwid* (art of reciting the Holy Quran (but, practically it is indispensable that he should be a *hafiz*—one who remembers the Quran by heart. There are numerous schools for training *hafiz*, and several cater even for girls. The number of *hafizes* at present in Turkey is estimated to be nearly half a million.

Formerly there used to be a faculty of Muslim theology in the university of Istanbul. This was abolished by the Central authorities. After a long while, it was reopened but, this time in the Ankara University. Istanbul is always jealous of its rival, Ankara, the new capital. When Islam was recognized as worth studying in Ankara, Istanbul university also opened an Institute of Islamic Research as part of the faculty of letters. The Institute has now been active since the last 19 years and has produced some promising young and youthful Islamists.

There is the central administration of Religious Affairs (*Diyanet Ishleri*). Not only waqfs and mosques fall under its jurisdiction, but it has a large area of literary activity: books, brochures, magazines and journals. These publications are of good standard and quality and hence very popular.

When the one-party system introduced by Ataturk was replaced by his successor Ismet Inonu, the Republican Party soon had a rival in the shape of the Democrat Party. During the first election under the new constitution, the Democrat Party promised religious liberty to Muslims (formerly all other communities, Christian, Jewish etc. were free, Muslims alone were denied that right). In spite of 30 years' anti-Islamism, people were so much attached to their spiritual heritage, that Democrats swept the polls. Promises had to be

fulfilled in view of the next elections. The first act was the permission to call *azan* in Arabic. It was only a permission, but in no time *azan* in Turkish became a thing of the past. Another promise was the teaching of religion in government schools. The new rulers really did not want that, but they had committed the “mistake” of promising that precisely. They tried to take refuge under a device which they thought could save their face: they said that the parents of school-going children will decide by plebiscite whether they really wanted that. The government thought that the big westernised centres like Ankara and Istanbul would vote against this and the opinion of the illiterate villagers would have no consequence. Istanbul voted for religious education by over 80 per cent and Ankara by over 90 per cent, and thus it was no more possible to ignore the demand. First in primary schools and later in middle schools, religious teaching became “optional” but it was taken practically by the totality of the Muslim children, both boys and girls. In the beginning there were not enough qualified teachers, therefore, often an atheist or a communist teacher would take charge of the period and teach the class that God did not exist, and so on. Now, there are numerous Quranic schools spread all over the country. Boys and girls in thousands throng to these courses and naturally learn the Arabic script. This incidentally brings within their reach at least part of their heritage, which is in the Arabic script.

In the national archives of Turkey there are some 90 million documents, almost all in Arabic script. They are so important for the study of European, African and Asiatic history that there is always a great rush of foreign scholars who come to consult these documents. Besides for certain areas and regions like Georgia, these Turkish documents are the only source material on their history, culture and politics of the past three to five hundred years.

Turks have always been bibliophiles. In the British Museum Library (one of the biggest collections in Europe) there are about ten thousand Arabic MSS, in Cairo about a hundred thousand, in Istanbul alone there are half a million Arabic MSS. Then there are scores of other collections in the provincial towns, each possessing several thousand MSS in Arabic. Turkish Museums are also the richest in the world for things Islamic.

But times change, and the following interesting fact of history will perhaps illustrate how profound this change has been.

In Istanbul, by the side of the Faculty of Letters, there is an old hammam, dating from the time of the Turkish conquest in 1453. I never cared to know why it happened to be there and what for. The other day, a member of the Parliament told me what its history was: over the centuries this hammam was used to bath the ambassadors from the European countries before presenting them to the audience of the Sultan. In those days, in Europe they never washed themselves.

Religious Education in Britain today

JOHN HULL*

School children in England and Wales are taught about religion as part of their normal school experience. The law requires that each child in every school owned or maintained by the state shall receive regular teaching about religion. These lessons are not given by visiting priests or ministers but, in junior schools, by the ordinary class teacher and in secondary schools, by a teacher who is a specialist in teaching religion.

All schools begin the day with a school assembly, which usually consists of a short service of Christian worship. This assembly is also required by law.

Parents who do not wish their children to receive the religious education lessons may write to the headmaster of the school and ask that their children should be withdrawn from the lessons. They may also request that their children be excused from attending the daily school assembly. The headmaster is obliged by law to honour all such requests.

Of course, before any parent decides to take this action, he should find out what sort of religious education is actually being given in the school to which his children go. He can ask for information about the syllabus by writing to the headmaster of the school, or he can attend a parents' evening at the school and meet the class teacher or the religious education specialist teacher for himself and talk about it with him or her. Teachers are usually pleased to think that parents are interested enough to come and meet them and are glad to talk about their work in the religious classes.

The 1944 Education Act, which is still the main legal framework for education in this country, lays down very clearly what is to be taught in the religious classes. The teaching is to be according to an Agreed Syllabus of religious education. It is the responsibility of each Local Education Authority to draw up an Agreed Syllabus or to agree to adopt an Agreed Syllabus already drawn up by some other LEA. If a LEA decides to compile its own syllabus, a special Conference has to be called. This Conference

must consist of four committees, representing the Church of England, the other Christian churches, the teachers' organisations and finally the LEA itself. Every part of the new syllabus must be agreed to by every one of these four groups.

These Agreed Syllabuses were originally intended to give guidance to the teacher and also to ensure that no one Christian church could control the teaching. Indeed, the Act actually forbids the teaching of anything distinctive of any particular church.

The Agreed Syllabus of the past usually consisted of bible study, church history, and in the sixth form of the secondary school, study of the ethics and social teaching of Christianity and study of non-Christian religions.

So far we have been considering the general legal position of religious education but now we must go on to look at some of the changes which are taking place. Religious education is not standing still but is developing in all sorts of ways.

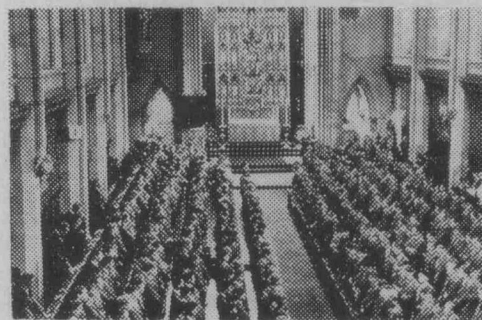
The aims of teaching religion are changing. In the past religion was taught mainly because it was thought that it would have a good effect on the moral character of the child. Today, although we continue to believe that understanding religion can contribute to moral character in an important way, it is recognised that all teachers have responsibility for moral education and all subjects should build up character in the pupil.

Religious education in the past was clearly Christian education. It was based on study of the Christian scriptures and it was hoped that pupils would in this way be encouraged to live the Christian life and to believe in its truth.

Today, this is changing rapidly. The object of teaching religion in our schools is now to create an awareness of religious issues and an understanding of religion. We do not seek to make up the child's mind for him, nor to decide beforehand what in fact he will believe, but rather we seek to help him to make an intelligent choice about religion for himself, based on



STARTING WITH MORNING PRAYERS IN AN INFANTS SCHOOL



MORNING SERVICE IN A PUBLIC SCHOOL CHAPEL

knowledge of the facts and insight into them. Some pupils will decide that religion is not for them, others will be attracted to a faith other than Christianity, yet others may remain or become Christian: the task of the teacher is to help the pupil in this process of discovery for himself.

Of course this change in the aim of the subject is not taking place without controversy. There are Christian teachers, parents' and some church men who are puzzled and unhappy. But in the last year or so there has been a growing consensus on the part of leading religious educators, both Christian and humanist, in Universities and colleges of education, that the new aims are the right ones for a pluralistic democracy such as Britain is today. More and more teachers of religion are accepting these new aims.

Another important change, which follows from the change in aims, is that more attention is being given to non-Christian religions. In the Junior school, children are studying the lives of the great founders of several faiths, and

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learning about the festivals, and customs of various religions. In the Secondary school, pupils are studying Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism with a view to understanding and appreciating the religions of other men, and indeed the religions which are rapidly becoming an accepted everyday part of British culture. Representatives of Hindu, Buddhist, Islamic, Sikh and Jewish faiths now sit with Christians and humanists on the Agreed Syllabus Conferences, working out together ways in which all children can receive an education into religion which will foster community relations and deepen religious understanding.

Another important change is that teachers of religion now include much material which is not based on the bible or indeed on any particular faith, but which contributes to the pupil's social and moral education. Studies of the great problems of the world today, of war, of over-population, of hunger, of the homeless and the underprivileged form a part of most religious education syllabuses today. Many religious education teachers are specially concerned with community relations and with international relations, seeking for a world where men of all faiths will live together in peace.

What are the problems? One of the most serious is the shortage of properly trained teachers. We need many more young people who will study theology in university or college and then take up teaching religion in school as a career. We also need members of other faiths, particularly Muslims and Sikhs, who are trained both in theology and in education, so that in the future, the religious departments of our large secondary schools may be able to deliberately include representatives of various faiths who will provide expert understanding of the different religions.

Religious education is certainly one of the most crucial aspects of inter community understanding in Britain today. It is much to be hoped that we will not evolve a system of religious education 'apartheid' but will seek to provide a common religious education in the state schools (which will be supplemented by the religious communities out of school hours) for all our children, regardless of colour or creed.

Nota Bene

'SCRIBE'

To be fair to both love and war, it's now all kicks.

America is faced with its second 'My Lai'. This time it relates to a certain form of self-affliction. Casualties inflicted by North Vietnamese have been great but, greater is the toll from heroin. Several reports have been published which reveal the real state of affairs. A survey of the GI's in Vietnam shows that in late 1970 between 27,000-41,000 of the troops have taken heroin. Another survey shows that 15 to 20 percent of returning draftees have acquired this habit which is strong enough to drive them to crime and consequent early death. Around 20,000 'Junkies' are being discharged every year from the U.S. Army and about 4,000 a year from the Navy.

A U.S. Congressional report says that there are about 250,000 heroin addicts in the United States and confirms that highest incidence is in the rebellious youth and the American soldiers, particularly those who are or have been to Vietnam. If American G.I.s have given brothels and illegitimate children to Vietnam, Vietnam has paid back by giving her benefactors the love for heroin. There is this mutuality between love and war.

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The Narcotic Bureau of the U.S. estimates that the cost of crime committed in America by drug-addicts is estimated to be \$8,000 million a year "at a minimum" This minimum is just \$2,000 million more than the yearly total of public and private aid and loans which America extends to the entire 'developing' world.

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President Nixon appears to be very much disturbed and has strongly pleaded before the cadets the need to observe 'Military ethics'. But more interesting thoughts are coming from the academics. Professor Stefan T. Possony, director of International Political Studies Program of the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford University has come forward with an interesting and revealing theory developed in an article in the *Twin Circle*. He claims that the Chinese Communist regime is waging a drug war against the 'free world' in general and the U.S. in particular. His statistical studies show that the drug industry on the Chinese mainland has made "astonishing progress" since mid-1950's. "Since 1955 or so", the Professor asserts, "the area under poppy cultivation has doubled and stands now at 1.5 million acres". The major expansion, he adds,

"took place since 1965".

Prof. Possony says that the production of raw opium "has risen from some 6,000 to an estimated 23,000 tons". His thesis is that "the increase in poppy cultivation was not due to initiative of the profiteering peasants but was ordered by the Communist government of Mao Tse-Tung". A large proportion of this production is destined for exportation". Over the recent years American consumption of the Chinese opiate has accordingly increased 2.5 times. Prof. Possony further says that as a rule these "special products" are distributed where the Maoist intelligence services maintain proper connections. Two-thirds of the proceeds are used to finance Maoist "espionage and subversion" overseas. The operations in America and Canada said to be financed from these special products, exceed \$100 million a year.

Professor Possony is a specialist on Chinese and Communist techniques. His study (*A Century of Conflict*) about the downfall of Koumintang contained a large grain of truth—something not usually to be found in many scholarly works. His latest researches need therefore, to be taken seriously.

At least two points deserve to be considered: a new mode of warfare should be added to the already impressive and proliferating list of war-types: nuclear, biological, chemical etc., and now the drug-war. The second point which should worry both the economists and the strategists of capitalism is that the Communist anti-profiters seem to have beaten the capitalist enterprisers by their own tools. They have reaped enormous profits by producing and exporting opium to the capitalist world—paying them in their own coins.

The West has for long branded China as the land of opium-eaters. Now it is becoming the land of opium-suppliers. Instead of bullets, they are sending bouquets of poppy. Bullets may kill but, poppy converts.

American youth in general and the G.I.s in particular stand at the threshold of a newer spiritual experience. The age of the liberals and the New Left radicals seems to be over. The age of 'pot-romanticists' is about to begin. The world has nothing to lose but its teeth. Romanticists of the world unite. They have a world to win.

24th CONGRESS OF THE C.P.S.U.

Quiet flows the Don

K. B. NAZIR

The Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has become something of a ritual for the international communist movement. The 24th Congress was earlier scheduled to be held in 1970 but had to be postponed twice. The Congress ultimately met in Moscow from 30 March to 9 April 1971, with all the usual pomp and show.

The 24th Congress is unique in one respect: it has not produced any surprises. Ever since the 20th congress in 1956 which repudiated Stalinism and the Stalinist past, the world had been looking for some surprises in every congress. The 1961 Congress was noted for its ebullient Khrushchevism, promising transformation of socialism into communism within the next decade and heralding the Third Programme.

But Khrushchev had to quit before the way could be paved for the promised new era.

In 1966 the Congress met under the shadows of Khrushchev's fall, nonetheless, it brought to fore the new economic reforms which introduced an element of liberalisation and decentralisation in the Soviet economy.

The 24th Congress, however, has not raised any new flag. It has tried to play normal—something that has disappointed all those who were looking for some surprises. They can't believe that things could really be normal—if they appear normal, they must mean stagnation! In a world where abnormality is becoming the norm, normality must look queer.

The Congress was attended by 4,963 delegates from the Soviet Union and 104 delegations from 91 other countries—the number of foreign delegations exceed the number of the countries because in many countries the Communist parties are divided in two or even three independent factions.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the second largest communist party of the world (China, although a latecomer is the first but she did not send any delegate). Its membership now stands at 14.455 million; 3 million more than what it was on the occasion of the last Congress in 1966. Although the CPSU has the monopoly of political and economic power, its general membership comprises only 5.8% of the total and 9% of the adult population of the Soviet Union. It is claimed that 44.8% of the membership comes from officials and the managerial cadres, 40.1% from workers and 15.1% from the collective farmers. Mr. Brezhnev has emphasized the need for greater worker participation in the Party and has called for the efforts to be redoubled "in order that the working class should occupy the leading position in the social composi-

tion of the party" (*Pravda*, March 31, 1971). This deserved to be stressed because of the 4,963 delegates only 1,195 (24%) came from the working class.

A major issue that emerges from discussions at the Congress relates to the future pattern of the Soviet economy. The classical socialist road to economic development is founded on heavy industry complex. The bulk of the resources in almost all the earlier five year Plans has gone into heavy industry, on which rests Russia's entire economic and military structure. In the last two Plans some efforts were made to expand the light and consumer goods industries. Their relative position has improved but the overall strategy continues to favour heavy industry. Sovietologists believe that heavy-industry—military—axis has grown into a kind of 'vested interest' and this powerful lobby stands in the way of any meaningful change. The rank and file of the Party on the other hand, feel that problems of the consumers should now be given enhanced priority. These differences in approach reflect in the speeches made before the Congress. Although no one chose to make a direct reference, the recent unease in Poland caused by insufficiencies in consumer goods was always there in the background of the discussions. The official line given by Brezhnev and Kosygin plays up the proposed expansions in the light industry sector and the resulting rise in standard of living. The Ninth Plan (1971-75) visualises the growth of industrial production at 42-46% as against 47-50% planned in 1965. There is a shift from group 'A' (heavy industry) goods to Group 'B' (consumer) goods. In the previous plan, growth target in Group 'A' was set at 49-52% and 43-46% in Group 'B'. The target is now 41-45% for Group 'A' and 44-48% for Group 'B'. Although it may not be sufficient for eliminating chronic shortages in consumer goods, particularly in respect of food, clothing, footwear, crockery, furniture items etc. but, it does represent a shift in emphasis.



— And these fellows will applaud my Report
From *Krakodil* (Moscow), No 25, September 1967

It may however be pointed out that the heavy industry lobby is not happy over this shift and it has been reported that at least two paragraphs from the speech of none other than Brezhnev, although broadcast earlier from radio, were deleted from the version published in the *Pravda*. It is said that these paragraphs were not welcome to the heavy-industry-military-axis.

In the economic debate, there is remarkably very little reference to the economic reforms which were the dominant theme of the 23rd Congress. In Brezhnev's report there is not a single word about these reforms. There is no indication as to whether these reforms have been completed and with what results. The issue is, however, raised both directly and indirectly by others and the impression that is left is that the results were not as expected. A sample statement is from the First Secretary of the Byelorussian Communist Party P. Masherov.

"It must be said that the economic reform, which was generally on the correct lines of socialist management, has so far hardly acted as a stimulus for production based on the latest scientific and technological methods. This is one of the greatest defects. In improving the system of accounting it is evidently necessary to devise a whole range of measures which would provide maximum stimulus for raising labour productivity, for enterprises to work out higher plans providing for full and rational exploitation of all internal resources and potentialities, and for the active utilization in production of science, technology and progressive methods." (*Pravda*, April 1, 1971). This would suggest that the reforms are still incomplete and a "whole range of measures" is needed to set the economy in order. What is conspicuous, however, is lack of that original enthusiasm about economic reform which had earlier promised a millenium round the corner.

Another important issue that figured during the Congress is the nationality question. The nationality question came to the fore at the 12th Congress of the CPSU held in 1923, when Lenin was on his death bed. Ever since the policy-debate has lingered between the two poles of centralism and regional autonomy. Himself coming from a mixed racial background, Lenin adhered to the principle of centralism but granted extensive rights to the republics. He also promised better treatment to the languages of the non-Russian minorities. The 12th Congress adopted a middle-of-the-road policy but this was reversed in 1929 when Stalin was firmly in saddle. Nationalities which have been most discriminated against are the Georgians, Ukrainians, Caucasians, Crimeans, Tartars and Latvians. In the Central Asian republics, Muslims had a predominant political position up to the mid-twenties, but the local populations in

many of these republics now stand reduced to a minority status viz in Kazakhstan they now comprise only 30% and in Kirghizia 40% of the total population. People from Crimea and the North Caucasus were deported from one end to the other. All these have been the products of centralism or "Russification".

Of late there has been quite an unrest about this policy. This disquiet is reflected in the proceedings of the 24th Congress, but in an interesting way. A large number of delegates went out of their way to express their gratefulness to the Russian "big brother" for helping their "younger brothers" and suggesting that threat to the Soviet "friendship of peoples" comes from internal enemies, the "bourgeois i.e. nationalists" and "revisionists". One after another, the delegates spoke in similar reassuring vein. This did indicate at least some degree of uneasiness about the problem. The problem of minorities under the Soviet rule has acquired an added significance in view of China's understandable interest in the situation, hence this over-emphasis on the "brotherly co-operation" by the delegates from the Asian republics. D. Kunaev of Kazakhstan spoke of the success in his republic, which he attributed

to the aid coming "first of all from the great Russian people" (*Pravda*, April 1, 1971). G. Aliev of Azerbaijan stressed on the aid given by the peoples of the U.S.S.R. "headed by our elder brother—the great Russian people" (*Pravda*, April 2, 1971) Shaikhu Rashidov (Uzbekistan) emphasised on the "ties of international unity with the great Russian people" and said "the Russian people is the elder brother and the true friend of all Soviet people. It has deservedly earned their ardent love and profound respect. The peoples of our country are for ever fused in a sacred union with the Russian people" (*ibid*). The Kirghiz delegate, Usubaliev, rejected allegations made by the "underlings of imperialism" that the Soviet Asian republics are in an unequal position and that the Russification of all the peoples is being persued. Usubaliev condemned all "attempts by imperialists and their ideologists to weaken the unity and friendship of the Soviet peoples" (*Pravda*, April 2, 1971). The Turkmen delegate, M. Gapurov also warned against imperialist propaganda which has "stepped up its attacks on the unity of the Soviet peoples" and which "does everything it can to fan nationalist feelings" (*ibid.*) When so many

honourable men say that the nationality problem does not exist in the Soviet Union, one must accept it without demur!

This naturally brings us to the third major issue: the Brezhnev doctrine. Between the 23rd and the 24th Congress, the fraternal armies of five socialist states had acted to uphold the principle of 'limited Sovereignty' in respect of nations joining the Socialist camp. The tone, on the subject was set by Dr. Husak who expressed his "gratitude to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Government and people, for their assistance" (*Pravda*, April 2, 1971). The discordant note came from Enrico Berlinguer who politely suggested that the Italian Communists act independently of other parties and believe that there are many roads to socialism. The Rumanian leader, Ceausescu, also pleaded "respect for the independence and national sovereignty, equal rights and non-interference in the internal affairs of other parties" (*Izvestia*, April 3, 1971).

Another important question to come up again and again was the question of strategy of the Soviet Foreign policy. At the very outset Brezhnev had laid his six point programme:

1. Political settlement in South-East Asia and in the Middle-East involving repudiation of aggression and use of force.
2. Recognition of post-war frontiers in Western Europe and convening of European Security Conference for developing a common East and West strategy.
3. Prohibition of nuclear, chemical and germ warfare, stoppage of nuclear tests, establishment of nuclear-free zones and agreed nuclear disarmament.
4. World conference to consider disarmament in general and prevention and control of deliberate or accidental warfare.
5. Abolition of colonialism, racialism and apartheid.
6. International cooperation to fight pollution, to preserve environment, to develop natural resources, to conduct research on fighting cancer and disease and to organise joint space exploration.

The whole tone of the debate on questions of foreign policy was suggestive of the Russian desire to devote more of its resources to internal development and seek some *modus vivendi* in international relations with the West. This does appear to be in the best interest of the two super-powers but that would also be treading in the same steps where Bismark failed in the 1870's.

Lastly the problem of leadership in the Soviet hierarchy: all observers seem to be agreed that Brezhnev has emerged as the top boss. The leadership, however, is still collective, but it now seems to be collected around Leonid Brezhnev. That does not mean any revival of personality cult. For the time being no such signs are discernable. Only the dust has begun to settle, and it is safer not to predict!



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FIFTH OF JUNE

Footnotes for the Book of the Setback

NIZAR QABBANI* translated from Arabic by M. Adil Salahi.

Friends!

With grief do I announce to you
the death of the old diction, the old books,
I announce to you
That our words are dead; holed like old shoes
Dead is our vocabulary,
the vocabulary of promiscuity, abuse and
swear-words,
I announce to you. . . . I announce to you
The end of the ideology which led us to
defeat.

(2)

Salty taste the poems in our mouths,
So are the plaits of women's hair,
So are the nights, the curtains and cushions,
All things have gone salty.

(3)

My sad motherland,
In a moment you have changed me
From a poet who wrote about love and
longing
To one who has taken a knife for a pen.

(4)

Because what we feel
Is far more than the pages would take,
We should feel ashamed of our poetry.

(5)

If we have lost the war . . . no wonder
Because we entered (into) the War
With all the might of oration, the Easterner
has fiery, heroic speeches which would kill
not even a fly,
With all the logic of the drum and the flute.

(6)

The secret of our tragedy is, that
We shout louder than our real voice,
And our swords are taller than us.

(7)

The whole issue
Can be summarised in a sentence:
We have put on a skin of civilisation,
While the soul is a soul of ignorance.

(8)

**
With the fire and the music
A victory cannot be achieved.

(9)

Our dis-organisation has cost us
Fifty thousand more tents.

(10)

Do not curse Heaven
If it leaves you to your fate . . . Do not curse

the circumstances,
Allah gives victory to whom He wills,
He is not a blacksmith in your employ to
forge swords.

(11)

It pains me to listen to the news in the
morning
It pains me to hear the barkings.

(12)

The Jews did not come through our borders,
They came creeping
Like ants, into our eyes.

(13)

For five thousand years,
We have lived in a cave,
Long beards and wealth unknown,
Our eyes are ports for the flies to land
My friends,
Try to read a book,
To write a book,
To plant the letters, pomegranates and
grapes,
Try to sail the land of snow and fog,
Outside the cave,
They do not know who you are, people think
You are some species of wolves.

(14)

We are insensate
Our souls complain of bankruptcy,
Our days are spent in hysterical dances,
chess. . . . and drowsiness,
Are we really "the best nation ever raised
for mankind"?

(15)

Our oil flowing in the deserts could have been
Made into a dagger of flame and fire,
But. . . for the shame of the nobleman of
*Quraish!
For the shame of the free men of *Aws and
*Nizar!
It is spilt under the feet of the concubines.

(16)

We run in the streets,
Carrying ropes under our arms,
Dragging others. . . careless
Smashing glasses. . . and breaking locks
We curse like frogs,
We praise, like frogs
Making heroes of our dwarfs
And making our noblemen rogues.
We speak extemporily on heroism
We sit in the mosques,
Careless. . . lazy
Discussing poetry, or composing proverbs
And beg for victory over our enemy,
From Him, the Almighty.

(17)

We need an angry generation
We need a generation to fill the horizons,

To uncover history from its roots
To uncover thought from its depths;
We need a new generation, different in
characteristics
Which does not condone mistakes, is not
forgiving,
Does not bow, and does not know hypocrisy;
We need a generation to take the lead,
And is, in itself, a giant.

(18)

Children,
From the Ocean to the Gulf! You are the
plants of hope;
You are the generations which will break
the chains,
And kill the opium in our heads;
And kill the fancies.
Children! You are still good,
Pure like dew, like snow.
Do not read about our vanquished gen-
eration, children
We are a failure,
We are worthless, like the peel of melon
And we are worn out . . . worn out like shoes.

(19)

Do not read our history,
Do not follow our footsteps,
Do not accept our ideas,
We are a generation of vomit, VD
and phlegm,
We are a false generation, rope-dancers.

(20)

If someone would guarantee my safety:
If I could meet the *Sultan*
I would say to him: My Lord, the Sultan
Your hounds have torn my clothes,
Your intelligence men are always following
me:
Their eyes in my back,
Their noses in my back,
Their feet in my back,
Like Destiny, like the inevitable fate
They interrogate my wife,
And right in their notebooks are the names
of my friends.
And Lord, the Sultan
Because I came near your deaf walls
Because I tried to explain my sorrow and
suffering,
I was beaten with shoes.
My Lord, my Lord, the Sultan
You have lost the war twice
Because half our people are without tongues
Of what worth are tongueless people?
Since half our people are enclosed like,
ants and rats,
Inside the walls. . . .
If someone would guarantee my safety
From the soldiers of the Sultan
I would say to him: You have lost the war
twice
Because you have cut yourself away from
the cause of man.

*Qabbani is a former Syrian diplomat and noted for his poetry about love and women, and this poem appeared just after the June 1967 debacle.

**Refers to evenings passed by the side of fire lighted outdoors and playing pipe and music.

*Quraish, Aws & Nizar were the noblest Arab tribes

Books

The Russian threat

Aaron S. Kliemann, 1970

SOVIET RUSSIA AND THE MIDDLE EAST

106 pp. *John Hopkins*, Baltimore, U.S.A., \$6.50

It is a thoroughly one-sided survey of the expansion of Soviet influence in the Middle East with the result that the historical "first line of defence against the threat of Russian expansion" seems to have, in the view of the author, receded from 'Turkey, Iran, and Afghanistan' to somewhere around the borders of Israel. The 'whole' story of Soviet ascendancy is told without mentioning the blunders of American and European diplomacy which pushed the Arabs towards Russia.

What could be the American *riposte* to Russian activism in the 70's? First, a determination of whether Soviet primacy is worth contesting. And second, to force the current Russian advance to a standstill; and third, striving for an accommodation with Soviet Russia in an era of negotiation. *This arrangement would welcome Russia's triumph over history and geography, while safeguarding American national and international interests.*

This study, sponsored by the Washington Centre for Foreign Policy Research of the John Hopkins University, fails to make explicit what is implicit as a crucial assumption in its conclusion: that the national and international interests of the U.S. are synonymous with the national and international interest of Israel. What is explicit, however, is the poser that should it decide to politically contest the Soviet primacy in the area "at the price of Israel, the United States runs the double risk of alienating one confirmed ally without any guarantee of winning over the Arabs to its side . . . If this happened American isolation would be more pronounced than at any time since 1967." (p. 97). (K.B.N.)

Mental Revolution

Senu Abdul Rahman *et al* (Editors), 1971
REVOLUSI MENTAL (in Malay)

473 pp. *Utusan Melayu*, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysian \$10.00

The outbreak of racial violence in Malaysia on 13 May 1969 seems to have shaken many Malaysians and since then there has been a continuing debate on the ingredients, quality, aspirations and limit-

ations of Malay entity. Certainly things do not seem to have gone the way the Malays thought they would, and the dilemma is still there. On the one hand, there is nationalism, secular and territorial, banding each one under one passport but paradoxically enough this has not conferred any security or given any confidence to either the majority community or the minority groups. On the other hand, there is the traditional feeling of being Malay, being Muslim, but in the realities of today, there is no question of going to Islam in seeking answers to problems of a multi-racial polity.

Malays have been small land holders and unlike the Chinese not given to economic and industrial enterprise. This has created a disparity, the political implications of which have only recently begun to be manifest.

This book edited by Senu Abdul Rahman former Minister of Information and ten others, seeks to present ways and means of breaking the Malay inertia. There is general agreement on the need to change the old and orthodox views and ways to those which are dynamic and progressive. This is termed '*Mental Revolution*' without which, it is felt the Malays would not be able to progress.

The book is divided into 4 sections. The first section deals with the background of the Malay community, and the second with the need to have mental revolution. The third discusses the problems of change in attitude, while the last section deals with the principle and methodology of progress. (M. D. Arshad)

Islam, by the way

Philip K. Hitti, 1970

ISLAM: A WAY OF LIFE

198 pp. *University of Minnesota Press/OUP*
£2.25

This book is based on public lectures delivered at the University of Minnesota, Department of Middle Eastern Languages, in spring 1967. In compiling these lectures the author has used material already worked out in his earlier works, particularly in his "*History of the Arabs*" and "*Makers of Arab History*".

Writing of Islam the religion, Hitti describes it as a system of beliefs and practices, initially revealed by Allah to Muhammad (Peace be on Him), en-

shrined in the Holy Koran, supplemented by tradition, and modified through the ages in response to changes in time and place.

Islam the state, he shows, is political entity with an aggregate of institutions based on Koranic law, enunciated by Muhammad (Peace be on Him) in Medina, developed by his successors (Caliphs) to a height unattained in medieval or ancient times, and then fragmented into splinter states in Western Asia, Northern Africa and South Western and South Eastern Europe.

Islam the culture, he explains, is a compound of varied elements: synthesized under Caliphate and expressed primarily through the medium of the Arabic language. It holds the distinction of having been, from the mid-eighth century to the end of twelfth century, unmatched in its brilliancy and unsurpassed in its literary, scientific and philosophic output.

The more useful discussion relates to the confrontation of Islamic culture with modernity. Hitti feels that under the impact of the West the social fabric of the Islamic Community is being transformed at the same time as the economic life. In this context he specifically mentions the part played by the Western-styled educated Christians, mostly Lebanese, who were responsible for the introduction of nationalism into the Arabic-speaking world. The Protestant Missions, mostly American, however, chose to implant their ideas through the medium of education.

Hitti is a well-known orientalist and Professor Emeritus of semitic literature at Princeton University. This brief study is an index of most of the merits and prejudices of orientalism.

(A. R. Siddiqui)

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MUSLIMS & THE WEST

Matters of perennial interest

IMPACT REPORT

One does not have to be a supporter of Women's Lib to write truthfully about the injuries and ill-treatment of women. There are abuses enough—in the industrialised West as in the supposedly tradition-bound East—for any campaigner on behalf of humanity to keep on shouting about. But an activist (or propagandist) often needs to draw bold, hard lines to capture attention.

Take for example these opening paragraphs from an article on Women in the World of Islam appearing in the South African paper *Scope* (April 16, 1971):

"Woman is sinful, inferior, impure. She has fewer brains than man and will, therefore, forever remain in his care. Before a court, her voice carries only half as much weight as the testimonial of a man. Before God, the same applies. A woman is not forced to say prayers or to visit the mosque. It is quite sufficient if she worships her husband, the mediator between her and God.

"Her impurity is a peril to man, just as is the dirt from dogs and pigs. No man must touch a woman. If he cannot resist natural desires he must clean himself afterwards from head to toe. Only thus thoroughly cleansed may he again say prayers and stand before his God.

"These are the conditions under which millions of Islamic women are forced to live from Morocco to Pakistan."

On the title page of the article is spread a flimsy clad night club entertainer with the caption: "In the traditional world of Islam men and women never dance together. Only pleasure girls are allowed to show themselves to men."

The rest of the article deals with the enlightened efforts of the Shah of Persia and President Bourguiba of Tunisia to emancipate women and with such things as the hypocrisy of Muslim men and various manifestations of this which result in women being "locked up, veiled, terrorised". Half-truths, fabrications, innuendos are placed side by side with grains of truth and fact. And on top of this, the assertion of injured self-righteousness on the part of the author: "I should not like to be accused of attacking the Mohammedan religion."

The *Scope* article is characteristic of an age-old genre of most Western writing on Islam and Muslims.

Even now it seems true that an elementary knowledge of Islam does not form part of the stock of information required even of the 'educated' in the West. The increasingly pluralistic nature of western societies has not changed this fact appreciably as one might expect. So that an English Muslim scholar and university lecturer could say in this long but apposite quote:

"One element in Islam which has attracted a great deal of negative and one might say deliberately negative, comment and attention in the West is that of the position of women in Islam. The western attitude on the position of women in Islam tells us much more about the West than it does tell us about Islam. Many of the repressed fantasies and desires of the West have at various times—sometimes guilefully, sometimes without guile, sometimes with longing, been projected upon the Muslims. And possibly the best known concept of Islam, at least outwardly, is that of polygamy.

"These things have perennial attraction for the Western mind and evidently the Western mind is determined not to be robbed of these fantasies, and values these much more highly than any accurate information about Islam."

Dealing with another case of misrepresentation on the matter of public health and personal hygiene, the President of the Islamic Gemeinschaft in South Germany, Mr. Fazal-i-Yazdani, wrote to Dr. Fuhner, the Health Officer of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg thus:

"According to our observation the advice of a specialist is held to be essential in every field in

the West, which is praiseworthy. In the case of Islam, however, our impression is that anyone can write anything without seriously referring to its sources, which is extremely regrettable."

Mr. Yazdani, was making a pointed reference to the Health Officer's circular to all food stores regarding customs and usages of Muslims and (alleged) dangers resulting therefrom, and to a report in the daily *Bild* of Hamburg under the title "Where does Jaundice come from?" The article reads:

"Do not employ orthodox Muslims in provision stores or canteens! This advice was given yesterday by the Health Office authorities in Hamburg. The authorities presume that Muslims are guilty of spreading intestinal diseases and hepatitis infectiosa occurring increasingly at the moment in the Hanseatic City. Examinations showed that colic bacteria were present on the hands of orthodox Muslims. Reason for the lack in hygiene: There are Muslims who do not always use paper after going to the toilet *This is the order of the Qur'an.*"

Mr. Yazdani in his note described Dr. Fuhner's letter as "mischievous" in that he referred to surah five of the Qur'an but avoided stating that "it is incumbent of Muslims to 'bathe the whole body in case of uncleanness' and to 'wash themselves after using the closet' with running water. He pointed out that out of all the groups of foreign workers in Germany—Italian, Greek, Spaniard, Yugoslav and Turk—the latter were singled out for a so-called check up. Since no comparative results were therefore available, it was discriminatory to state that Turkish workers were responsible for the miserable sanitary and hygienic conditions which prevailed in dwellings not only in Hamburg but in other cities of Germany.

In attempting to set the picture in perspective, Mr. Yazdani quoted the Hamburg paper *Hoeren und Sehen* (March 20 1971) describing public hygiene in Germany: "The towels put at the disposal of the public in restaurant toilets are play grounds for different kinds of bacteria. Scientific examination of such towels showed up to 16,000 bacteria per square centimetre. They included intestinal bacteria causing inflammation. It should, therefore, be of no surprise if diseases like typhoid, dysentery, bronchitis, pneumonia, tonsillitis, influenza, poliomyelitis and those of the skin were spread." He also quoted from the weekly *Stern* which recently wrote of filth floating in the swimming pools of the country and that specimens of water taken from basins throughout Germany showed a mixture of urine and excrement. He asserted that neither the Qur'an nor the orthodox Muslims had anything to do with the situation described in both papers.

Briefing

Everyday Life in Ottoman Turkey, by Raphaela Lewis, *Batsford/London*, Illustrated £1.70 (Description of life at the hub of a long-enduring and vast empire).

Intelligence, Psychology and Education: A Marxist Critique by Prof. Brian Simon, *Lawrence and Wishart*, £3.00 (A collection of articles revolving around the fight for the comprehensive school and against the 'phoney' nature of intelligence testing and 11-plus selection).

The English and Immigration by John Garrard, *Oxford*, £3.25 (The result of a thesis on Jewish immigration into England at the turn of the century; deals with attempts at assimilation and anti-alienism; also with various campaigns like that against the Aliens Bill of 1905; shows the divisive effects of the issue of 'racism' on the Labour movement. A pointer to the present drama of Commonwealth immigration?).

The Future of Work and Leisure, by Stanley Parker, *Macgibbon and Kee*, £2.25. (About soul-destroying labour and the impoverishment of leisure pursuits).

Lewis Namier: A Biography by Julia Namier, *Oxford*, £4.25 (Esteemed as a pioneer and one of the truly great historians of English history, Sir Lewis Namier is the subject of his wife's writing. Shows that his religious experience was more important than his intellectual achievements; eastern warmth of feeling and Calvinist rigour of thought merged with the active Zionist in Namier to make incarnate the recent 'common Judeo-Christian heritage' concept. A close friend and colleague of Chaim Weizmann).

My Odyssey: An Autobiography by Nnamdi Azikiwe, *Hurst*, £3.50 (An Ibo wanting to become a 'wealthy philanthropist', inveterate foe of tribalism and firm Nigerian nationalist—the story of the life of the first President of Nigeria told up to the beginnings of national party politics).

Hope against Hope by Nadezhda Mandelstom, *Collins/Harvill*, £3.15. (Memoirs of the widow of a Russian-Jewish poet giving a picture of what it was like to live and die under the Stalin regime).

Confessions of an Indian Woman Eater by Sasthi Brata, *Hutchinson*, £2.00. (The sexual exploits and indignities of a reporter from the New Delhi "Statesman" running wild among matrons and girls, western and willing, from Rome to Chelsea).

Writers against Rulers by Dusan Hamsik, *Hutchinson*, £2.00 (Deals with the conflict between the Czech writers journal *Literarny Noviny* and the censorship authorities before the fall of Novotny).

Primitive Marriage by John F. McLennan, *University of Chicago Press*, £3.80 (A reprint on anthropology written in 1865 when the theory of evolution was very new by the coiner of the terms 'endogamy' and 'exogamy').

Ali and Nino by Kurban Said, translated from the German by Genia Graman, *Random House*, 237pp. \$5.95 (A love story in historical setting: Ali of a Caucasian Muslim family meets Nino, a Georgian princess at the Imperial Russian Humanistic High School of Baku. Through love and marriage (not without difficulty) and war, Ali dies behind a machine-gun defending the short-lived republic of Azerbaijan against the advancing Red Army. The author Kurban Said was a Tartar who fled Communist rule to Vienna and thence from the Nazis in 1937 to Italy where he died).

Superstar by Janet Sue Mary Hoffman, *Blond*, £2.50 (Against the 'straight' world, a transparent novel giving a grim picture of the American underworld of sex, pop and drug. Transparent because the characters are identifiable like Andy Warhol).

Forthcoming Publications
Portraits of Power by S. E. Ayling, *Harrap*, Fifth edition to be published in July. (Includes Nasser and Salazar).

The Art of the Possible: the Memoirs of Lord Butler, Hamish Hamilton, £3.75 (Memoirs of a high ranking conservative minister known as 'Rab' Contains interesting inside accounts of Suez, the blackmail and the intrigue; "Wherever I moved... I felt the party knives sticking into my innocent back).

Next issue on 9 July

THE PRICE OF A SLAVE

MUSLIMS AND CHRISTIANS

enemies?/neighbours/partners?

AID—A NEW FORM OF
IMPERIALISM

World Opinion

ECSTASY AND THE AGONY

Today's figures from the Registrar-General show that the number of legal abortions among girls under sixteen has risen from 386 during the last three months of 1969 to 544 for the same period last year.

The chief reason for the girls under 16 being given abortions is the risk to their physical and mental health if they have a baby.

But what of the equal risk of having an abortion? The end of the foetus may be only the beginning of her real mental anguish.

One day she'll want to marry. And whether or not she decided to tell her husband about her experience, it could leave a scar of fear—fear of not being able to have another baby, even by the man she's married to. Fear of love-making that might lead to pregnancy.

So if an unwanted child is a tragedy, and an abortion is an emotional, if not physical, hazard, what is the solution?

It's not the tightening up-of-abortion laws. . . It's not only sex education. . . And it's certainly not indiscriminately doling out the birth pill to every girl who reaches menstruation.

Only by building up a warm home atmosphere so that our children don't go searching for love in other directions can we hope to prevent our daughters, and our friends' daughters, from having to choose between an abortion or a bastard. (Patsy Kumm in *Daily Mirror*, London, 4 June, 1971).

NOT JUST FOR TRUTH'S SAKE

The outside world does not even yet know what horrors have taken place in East Bengal. . . I cannot speak of the American and the European Press, but the British correspondents have failed in their job. . . Their reporting of East Bengal events raises fundamental questions of journalistic competence and honesty.

. . . their first responsibility was to the readers. . . to give them a correct idea of what was happening, or if they were prevented from seeing things by themselves to send out only those secondhand reports which could be assumed to be reliable. Instead, they picked up every rumour and even deliberately false reports current in India and transmitted them to London. By mixing these with such first-hand reporting they created a wholly confusing and contradictory picture, which was likely to lessen sympathy for the Muslims of East Bengal instead of strengthening it.

But unreliable reporting is not the only failure of the British correspondents. They carried much further the tendency that is being seen today, for newspaper reporters to mix opinions with descriptions of events, and even doing worse by making predictions for which they had no qualification whatever, and which were proved false in a matter

of days. . .

My concern over the accuracy of the reporting of the situation is *not just a concern with the truth for truth's sake*. Correspondents also showed a surprising unawareness of the possible consequences of their inaccurate, uncritical, and often obviously partisan reporting. The playing up of the Bengali resistance was itself likely to provoke the armed forces of Pakistan to even more cruel reprisals. . . (Nirad C. Chaudhry in *Humanist*, London, June 1971)

NEUTRAL LANGUAGE: RECIPE FOR BALANCED PEACE

My blueprint for a balanced peace in the sub-continent and Ceylon would be to see the whole of it, that is India, Pakistan and Ceylon united politically in a single confederal super-State, consisting of a number of member States corresponding to linguistic groups, not to religious groups, "with some neutral language presumably English, as the official language of the federal Government". (Arnold Toynbee speaking to *Asahi Shimbun*, Tokyo, reported in *Hindustan Standard*, Calcutta, 28 May 1971).

WHO WOULD BE THE SUSTAINING SUPER POWER?

What of the future? No one is prepared to make any firm predictions but is three years too long a time to allow before Pakistan splits into two nations through sheer economic factors alone? When this happens, the future of West Pakistan is easy enough to surmise. It could join a federation of Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran, with the last named being the dominant partner. Internationally such a combination could be useful for it would form a Graeco-Aryan counterweight in the Semitic-Arab Middle East. The super-powers with China influencing Pakistan, the Soviet Union strong in Afghanistan and the USA as Iran's friend, could hardly raise any objection. On the other hand, they could well find it useful. The grouping would not be particularly warm to India but relationships would be better than they are with Pakistan today.

The future of East Pakistan is much more difficult to define. Despite the present euphoria about Bengal and the Bengalis, somehow it is hard to imagine the two Bengalis joining up to form a nation. The scars of partition seem still too deep for this to happen in a democratic way. In a more authoritarian manner or in a well planned "peoples' struggle" some attempt at unity could be made and yet, we Bengalis are a highly individualistic people. Also who would be the sustaining super-power? (General J. N. Chaudhry in *Hindustan Standard*, Calcutta, 27 May 1971).

TASK BEFORE THE BENGALI LEFT

We see the struggle in Bangladesh and the struggle in West Bengal

linking up in a bid to unite the Bengali nation and unless we want further defeats and the loss of unlimited number of lives of Bengali peasants, workers and students, we have to prepare for this struggle. We have to create one revolutionary front of revolutionaries in both East and West Bengal and pave the way for a United Socialist Bengal. We, therefore propose today the immediate opening of discussions between all the different revolutionary groupings on the possibility of setting up a RUFBS (Revolutionary United Front for a Socialist Bengal) and discussing the strategy for the Bengali Revolution. We separate the struggle in Bengal from the rest of the Indian peninsula quite deliberately, because the different conditions in the different parts of the sub-continent mean that Bengal could light the spark which will determine the course of the Indian Revolution. (Tariq Ali in *Hindustan Standard*, Calcutta, 29 May 1971).

POLITICS OF CHARITY

● In six short months, the politics of charity have become much more complex. . .

The problem for Britain is how to combine humanitarian commitment with expedient politics. . . However, there are two options. First, we should insist that the relief be internationally administered. . . however, the West Pakistanis are determined to resist any such terms. . . there is a short-term alternative. The rich countries could take on—via government grants, UN agencies, and charities—the job of feeding the five or six million people now in refugee camps. India cannot cope alone. It might also be possible, at the same time, to allow some supplies to be taken across the frontier by supporters of—let us stress it once more—the democratically elected Bengali government. (*New Statesman*, London 4 June 1971).

● It is no longer acceptable for a civilised Government merely to allot a sum of money for aid and then to leave the work to the traditional relief agencies. . . Old conceptions of the role of the statesman need to be reviewed; the customary patterns of diplomacy do not take adequate account of the new sense of public involvement in such catastrophes as that of West Bengal (*Sunday Telegraph*, London, 6 June 1971).

● On the longer term prospect of enabling the refugees to return home—which means. . . withdrawal of the West Pakistan army. . . and a large measure of autonomy for the eastern province—there is a strong argument for withholding foreign economic assistance. . . until the military rulers. . . see reason. This is the only substantial lever available. . . at the moment. . . (it) could really be made to bite (*The Sunday Times*, 6 June 1971).

● . . . something more than quiet diplomacy is called for. Two complementary courses of action are possible: first, to warn Pakistan that her foreign aid. . . might be suspended until such time as it is agreed by a UN observer that the refugees can

return to their homes. . . second, to get the Security Council to adopt a resolution allowing a UN mission to move between Pakistan, India and Bangla Desh to negotiate between them as the Jarring Mission has done in the Middle East. (*The Observer*, 6 June 1971)

JERUSALEM, ARABS AND ISRAEL

Israel has been drawing up long-term plans as if it were the indisputable owner of Jerusalem. . .

What have the Arab states done to recover Jerusalem and liberate the occupied Arab territory? How long shall we hear news from Israel about foreign tourists arriving to visit the unified city, as Israel calls it? What have the Islamic states done to liberate the first of the two places to which Muslims turn in prayer and the third of the holy mosque?

It is interesting to note that during Roger's visit to Israel and his talks with the Knesset Security and Foreign Affairs Committee, all references to Jerusalem were dropped despite the fact that Rogers had gone to the Committee premises directly from a visit to Arab Jerusalem. It is evident that the Israeli authorities are putting the final touches to a plan for Judaisation of the Holy City, despite the several UN resolutions to put an end to this aggression.

We in Jordan have made it clear that if Jerusalem has to be internationalised, this should cover both parts of the city. Otherwise we insist on Arab sovereignty over Jerusalem. (*Radio Amman*, home Service, 25 May 1971).

MILK AND THE STATE MUM

While they go ahead with their plans to hand out more money to the Queen and her hangers-on, the Tories are simultaneously doing their damndest to prevent Britain's school-children over seven from getting free milk.

So determined, are the Tories to prevent any child over seven getting even a teaspoonful of free milk that their Bill will make it illegal for local authorities to supply it out of the rates.

There should be a great united campaign to compel the Government to restore free school milk, to abandon the increased charges for school meals—which have already resulted in a million less meals being taken daily—and to spend more on all the social services. (*Morning Star*, London, 3 June 1971).

"Karl Marx was a Jew. He was allowed to be buried where he wanted. Do you not think that the Jews in Russia should be allowed to live as they want and follow their religion?" This was the message of a crowd of Jewish demonstrators to a party of Russian visitors to Marx's tomb at Highgate cemetery. (*Way of the World*, *The Daily Telegraph*, London, 3 June 1971).

To obtain a gaming licence it is necessary for an applicant to have led a virtuous life and have the necessary capital to run the premises efficiently and properly. (*What's On In London*, 14 May 1971).

NEWS BRIEF

Afghanistan. A Chinese aided poultry breeding farm was inaugurated on 30 May.

Bahrain. Work has started on a 10m Bahrain Dinar project to build power houses and desalination units.

The Gulf. A Gulf Committee for the 'Liberation of Iran, Iraq and the Arabian Peninsula' has been formed in London to give moral and propaganda aid to the revolutionary movements in the area. The Committee is led by Fred Halliday, of the *New Left Review*.

India. The Council of the 2nd Socialist International meeting in Helsinki has demanded an immediate cease fire in 'East Bengal'. According to Indian press reports and the Israeli daily *Maariv*, representatives of "Bangla Desh" met Mrs. Golda Meir at the Conference. It was earlier reported that Israel was inclined to consider recognition provided it was no embarrassment.

Mr. Gholam Yazdani, former minister in the West Bengal Government and Syed Badrudduja, former Mayor of Calcutta and Member of the Indian Parliament have been detained under the Maintenance of Internal Security Ordinance. They were accused of spying for Pakistan by the former staff of the Pakistani Deputy High Commission in Calcutta who recently defected to "Bangla Desh".

Indonesia. General Nasution, Chairman of the Indonesian Congress has called upon the members of the armed forces to refrain from involving themselves in the elections. President Suharto and Mr. Mintarejda, Minister in Charge of Relations between the Government and the House of Representatives (DPRGR), on 29 May discussed the status of the DPRGR after the elections due to be held on 3rd July. The new Parliament will be inaugurated on 28th September and the Minister told the press that they had discussed the problem of parliamentary procedure, and the idea of modifying the present structure of factions within Parliament, in the hope that their number might be reduced from the present 13 to four: the functional group faction; the armed forces faction; the unity faction and the development faction. The development faction will include the PNI (Nationalist Party), the IPKI, the Murba, the Catholic and the Christian Parties, while the unity faction will be composed of the four Islamic parties—the Partai Muslimin, the PSI (Partai Serikat Islam), the NU, (Nahdat al Ulama) and the Perti. □ The Partai Muslimin Indonesia intends to nominate President Suharto in the Presidential election in 1973. □ Gramophone records believed to have been smuggled from China were confiscated in North Sumatra. □ A number of Communists believed to have taken part in the abortive coup of 1965 were recently arrested in Jakarta. □ A Jakarta home service commentary has criticised broadcasts from Moscow radio made by the Indonesian communist refugees. □ The police in Wonogiri,

Central Java, raided on 23 May, the houses of the leaders of the PNI (Indonesian Nationalist Party) and confiscated a number of illegal arms. President Suharto has set up a National Committee for the celebration of the International Ramayana Festival from 31 August to 9 September.

Iran. Iran has placed an order worth £15m for the supply of 140 chieftain tanks from Britain. □ Diplomatic relations have been established with Mongolia.

Iraq. Mr. Mehdi Ammash, Vice President and Member of the R.C.C. has declared that delay in Arab Unity would be a blow to Arab Nationalism and its slogan of freedom and socialism. He emphasised the importance of increase in population and coordination of communication lines. □ The Oil Minister warned oil companies that they would endanger their interests if they boycotted Algeria or tried to harm Algerian interests.

Israel. The Israeli cabinet is considering a report, asking for 100 per cent increase in the 30,000 strong Arab labour force in Israel. This has been necessitated because of industrial development and the need to construct more houses for the immigrants. □ In 1970, 207 Israelis were converted to Islam, most of them Jewish girls who had married Muslims. Religious Boards have been ordered to speed up conversion of immigrants to Judaism.

The South African Jewish Board of Deputies and the Zionist Federation have condemned Israeli decision to contribute £10,000 to African terrorists through the O.A.U. The Israeli Foreign Ministry later denied having made any contribution and said that only an offer of food and supplies was made through the UN.

Jordan. The Soviet Cultural Centre in Amman is to start a three year free Russian language course from the middle of June.

Kenya. Kenyan Government has decided not to register any more citizenships except under special circumstances.

Libya. The Mufti of Libya has declared that the consumption of imported meat not slaughtered in the name of God is forbidden.

Morocco. The Rabat conference of Islamic Centres which ended on 3 June recommended to the Islamic Foreign Minister's conference in Kabul: (a) To charge the Islamic Secretariat to work to activate Islamic culture and research; (b) to set up a consultative committee; (c) to charge the secretary-general to study and report on the condition of the Muslims in non-Muslim countries; (d) to charge the secretary-general with coordination between the cultural centres, giving them assistance and publishing a monthly bulletin on their activities; (e) to establish an Islamic University. The

conference also put on record the proposals of the secretary-general on setting up a relief fund and an international sports union among Islamic countries.

Pakistan. Dr. Sajjad Husain, Vice-Chancellor of Rajshahi University is to head a seven-member Committee for the reorganisation of University education in East Pakistan. □ President Suharto in a message to President Yahya has said that no country should interfere in the Pakistan's affairs. He expressed confidence that the unity and integrity of Pakistan shall be preserved. □ The East Pakistan authorities have set up twenty camps to receive refugees from India.

Rhodesia. Prof. Philpott of the University of Rhodesia has drawn attention to the problem of decrease in the quality of the Rhodesian population because of increased birth rate amongst the Africans.

Somalia. Major Abdulrazak, Secretary for Education and member of S.R.C. has urged Somali teachers to be a revolutionary and to recite quotations from President Siyad's speeches.

Sudan. The regime has banished 15 prominent Sudanese Communists to Fasher, 200 miles west of Khartoum. They include the Party Secretary Mahojub, his Deputy Ibrahim Mu'kkad and Tijani At-Tayyib. The T.U. secretary Shafi Ahmad Ash-shaykh is also probably included. □ President Numayri has announced that he would set up and lead a 20 member committee to prepare for a National Congress of Popular Forces to be convened in January, 1972.

Turkey. The Deputy Premier has refuted rumours and allegations regarding the maltreatment of people taken into custody by the martial law commands. □ Police in Izmir raided a house in the Yesilyurt quarter and seized 264 banned religious books. The Police also raided the Quran course in Yesilyurt and found 31 students engaged in Quran studies. The owner of the house and two teachers were detained.

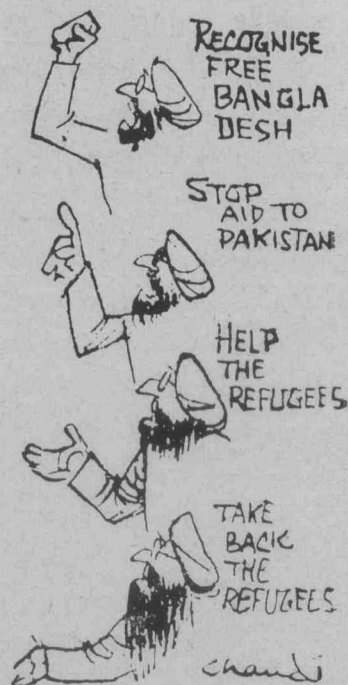
United Kingdom A report issued by the British Council of Churches has highlighted the alarming dearth of secondary school teachers with any kind of specialist qualification for imparting religious education. This is responsible for the poor quality of the R.E.

● An IMF publication ranks Britain as having the highest rate of inflation — 8.5 per cent — amongst the developed countries. Figures for some other countries are: Sweden 8 per cent, U.S.A. 4.6 per cent, Australia 4.4 per cent, and Canada 1.9 per cent.

● Middle East countries which have bought hundreds of British Centurian tanks have been told that they cannot have any more anti-tank ammunition for up to next 4 years.

● Mr. John Stonehouse, M.P. and a former Labour Minister, told a meeting in West London that a group had gone to Calcutta to study ways and means of sending 'Biafra Type' aid to Bangla Desh supporters in East Bengal. The meeting also heard Mr. Jayprakash Narayan and Mr. Bruce Douglas-Mann, M.P. A three-point plan for supporting Bangla Desh was presented: (1) Intensification of political campaign through Press and TV, MP's and the HMG (2) Direct support (3) Col-

Third eye view



(Courtesy 'Hindusthan Standard', Calcutta, 27 May 1971).

lection of funds through the charities. U.S.A. Doctors working in Atlanta, Georgia have discovered frightening links between VD and cervical cancer. □ A study of prostitution by the American Social Health Association has revealed an alarming increase in Lolita-age prostitution. While the number of illegal brothels has gone down, there are now far more 'amateurs' in the profession.

PEOPLE

Premier Hoveyda of Iran paid an official visit to Bulgaria. ● Shaykh Khalifah Bin Hamad Al Thani, the Deputy Ruler and Premier of Qatar paid an official visit to Egypt early in June. ● Shaykh Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jaber, Foreign Minister of Kuwait paid a brief visit to Cairo early this month. ● Smirnov, Deputy U.S.S.R. Foreign Minister visited Afghanistan early in June. ● Mr. Abdullah Malik, Vice-President of Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists has been sentenced by a Military Court to one year imprisonment and a fine of £5,700 for fanning parochial feelings. ● Mr. M. Abdullah, editor of *Utusan Melayu*, Kuala Lumpur is being tried on a charge of publishing a heading "Abolish Tamil and Chinese medium schools". ● Prof. Abdus Salam of Pakistan has been awarded Oppenheimer Memorial Prize. ● Former Vice-President of Indonesia Mohammad Hatta, arrived in Netherlands for medical treatment. ● Metropolitan Pimen has been elected as the new Patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church. ● Sir Duncan Wilson, who is retiring as Britain's Ambassador to the Soviet Union later this year is to be new Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. ● Herbert Muhammad Jr, grandson of Elijah Muhammad has been indicted on a charge of refusing induction into the U.S. armed forces. ● Mr. M. Aslam Malikis to be Pakistan's new Ambassador in Cairo. ● Qari Miftah alatrash is to be the new Libyan Ambassador in Paris. ● Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi has been appointed as the new Algerian ambassador in London.

Diad. Prof. Reinhold Niebuhr, 78, most influential of American Protestant theologians; on 31 May at Stockbridge Massachusetts. Mr. Zakir Husain, 73, Minister and Governor of East Pakistan under Ayub Khan; on 24 May. George Lukacs, 86, Hungarian born, Jewish aristocrat, banker eminent Marxist philosopher and critic, and Minister of culture in the short-lived Nagy Government; on 4 June. Sasson Khadouri, 91 the Chief Rabbi of Iraq; in Baghdad on 24 May.