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Beneath the veneer of liberté, égalité & fraternité The French in Africa

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COLONIALISM AS SEEN BY AN AFRICAN IVORY CARVER

“They speak to us of courtesy, of hospitality. In this respect we are proud of our African, Arab traditions. But that is not the problem. For if some representatives of the French people come to see us under normal situations, we would welcome them with enthusiasm. Only the situation is not ‘normal’. France has always dominated us and the Mauritanian people must demonstrate to the world on this special occasion that it no longer wishes to be colonised.”

Such was the reaction of a wide cross-section of people in Nouakchott, the capital of Mauritania, on the occasion of the visit of the French Prime Minister, Mr. Pompidou, during part of his African tour earlier this year. The welcome was cold and even hostile. Massive security precautions were taken as tracts were distributed proclaiming: “Pompidou, out of Mauritania! Pompidou, out of Africa!”

Mauritania is just one of the former colonies of France in Africa which formed part of a vast overseas empire. Some four and a quarter million square miles of Africa, twenty times the size of France, came under French political control. The process started with the invasion of Algeria in 1830 and was accelerated in the closing decades of the nineteenth century when the scramble for Africa among European powers was carried on in deadly, cut-throat earnest. The chief contenders were the British, the French, the Belgians, the Germans and the Italians. Spain and Portugal had already staked their claims. While the British were thinking of a continuous British zone from Cape to Cairo, the French were moving from the Atlantic north of the Equator eastwards from Senegal in the hope of linking up with Somalia on the Indian Ocean. To her north African colonies, France added in this period a major part of West Africa corresponding to the present states of Senegal, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Togo, Dahomey, Mauritania, Mali, Niger; of Equatorial Africa corresponding to the present states of Gabon, Congo Braz-

The French in Africa . . .

zaville, Cameroon, Central African Republic and Chad, and of East Africa comprising French Somaliland or Djibouti.

This was the period of invasion which was undertaken with a violence and a destruction that many European accounts have naturally tended to play down. Then came that period of pacification which one renowned historian of Africa said was characterised by 'physical destruction' and exploitation. The explorer de Brazza returning in 1905 to the countries he had helped to win for France, observed bitterly that 'ruin and terror have been visited on this unhappy colony!' The military expeditions of the French from Senegal eastwards were seldom conducted with much respect for the 'rules of war'. The French Foreign Legion, often the dumping ground of French society, was noted for its atrocities and general lawlessness. (Rod Steiner, the infamous mercenary now on trial in the Sudan for various crimes, was a former French Legionnaire).

Despite these painful facts, there is a widespread impression that the French presence and influence on the continent has been largely beneficial to the Africans, bringing to them the civilising effects of a superior culture and bequeathing to them political forms, concepts and associations which were far superior to anything they had known or more advantageous to the colonies than the contribution of other metropolitan powers to their respective 'natives'. Despite its colonizing activities, despite the fact that it remains deeply entrenched in Africa—that it has at present its mini-Vietnam in Chad and still holds on to Djibouti, that it facelessly supplies arms to Portugal, South Africa and Israel—France still has moral standing in the Third World and enjoys more prestige, more *gloire* than other colonial powers.

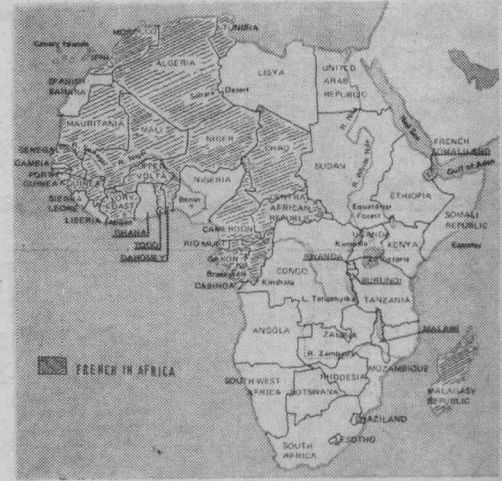
Why should this be so? Partly no doubt it is the result of the legacy and the romantic appeal of revolutionary France—*liberté, égalité, fraternité* and all that. Partly it is the result of a rather complex form of control over the colonies which was deceptively mild and which gave the semblance of preserving equality and freedom of choice for the Africans vis-a-vis Frenchmen.

This complex form of control began to show itself up particularly after 1870 when the colonial policy of the Third Republic saw France giving overseas possessions direct representation in the French National Parliament and pursuing the fiction of 'assimilation.' It has been argued that this policy was the result of the strong Roman tradition which has haunted France's all colonial enterprises and tended to make the extension of French citizenship a more consistent aim than any other. In this vein Marshal Lyautey (b. 1859) the greatest of all France's colonial servants could

boast that France was a nation of 100 millions. (It may be remarked that France's record on the treatment of her citizens of colour compares very favourably with that of Britain). The aim of 'assimilation' was that colonial peoples should absorb French culture and acquire French civilization so that they might become French citizens. With the conquest of vast new tropical and sub-tropical lands, 'assimilation' in terms of the Rights of Man, it has been observed, sank below the horizon and was replaced by a policy of 'association'. This policy had the limited aim of transforming a native *elite* into full French citizens and at taking this *elite* into partnership in administration. This elite, ingratiating and pampered by France, was pithily branded by the natives of French-held Morocco as the '*beni oui-oui*'—the tribe of yes-men. 'Association' had far-reaching effects on post-colonial Africa creating a large gulf between the culture, outlook and aspirations of leaders and administrators on the one hand and the people whom they governed on the other.

As with other European imperialists, the colonial enterprise of the French saw the triumphant alliance of the three C's—Commerce and Christianity bringing Civilization to Black Africa. (The phrase recalls the title of the missionary radio station, ELWA—Evangelical Love Winning Africa). So far as commerce was concerned the French in their equatorial territories for example, 'applied the same frantic system of exploitation by concession companies that had made such havoc in Leopold's Congo'. Brazza, mentioned above and after whom Congo Brazzaville is named, officially employed as an explorer by the Ministry of Public Instruction became the high-souled agent of ruthless commercial exploitation.

The economic development of the colonies was conditioned by the needs of the colonizer. A classic case is Algeria. Before its intensive occupation by the French, the fertile coastlands had produced valuable food—cereals and mutton—needed for an expanding population. The French settlers has no interest in growing food for the home market and turned to producing wine for export. The area under vines rose from a mere 4,000 acres in 1830 to no fewer than 750,000 acres in 1953. This change has produced a distortion in Algerian life which even now it is difficult to rectify. In other parts of Africa the interest in raw material and minerals was paramount. The colonial economic circuit can be schematised thus: African raw materials and unskilled labour, European capital and high level personnel, Europe receiving the raw materials and profits and exporting the finished goods to Africa. In the case of former French colonies this circuit has not been broken and continues to be characteristic of post-colonial Africa.



A classic case of how the needs of the Africans were forgotten and their culture sublimated by the European economic circuit can be seen in the import of 'booze'. The old cultural order especially in the towns was liquidated in the literal sense of the word. In 1951 French West Africa was importing fifteen times more alcoholic liquor than in 1938; alcohol accounted for 8% of the Ivory Coast's imports in 1953 and 9.6% of Dahomey's and this was not exceptional. Perhaps the booze formed an essential element of French *haute culture* and had the effect at the same time of drowning local cultures and values. It may be noted that Muslims form the vast majority in all the colonies of French West Africa, and also of French equatorial Africa with the exception of Gabon (24%) and Congo Brazzaville (20%). Muslims make up more than 70 per cent of the inhabitants of Africa formerly or at present under the control of France. The drive to make Frenchmen out of this population had a damaging and disastrous effect on the language and education of Africans, particularly of the Muslims. Strict measures were taken to curtail the teaching of Arabic for example, so that we have the spectacle of many North African leaders and citizens not being conversant with their own mother tongues. In many areas the Muslim population remained deeply suspicious of French education.

While then France had a largely negative influence on the 'development' of Africa, Africa has often proved to be of immense benefit to France. In the military sphere, for example, the black troops of Senegal have played a popular and 'honourable' role in the French army. French North Africa served as a springboard for the liberation of metropolitan France during the Second World War at a time when one tenth of the French Army was recruited from her overseas colonies.

Beneath the veneer of *liberté, égalité, fraternité*

At the end of the Second World War, changes in French colonial policy began to appear. The French Empire was converted into the *Union Française*. But this did not point to the road of rapid 'decolonization'. The tenacity with which France, her professional colonial administrators and settlers held on to the idea of Empire is best seen in their bitter, bloody and protracted struggle to retain Algeria as *Algérie française*.

By the beginning of the fifties, the *Union Française*, that liberal-minded successor to the *l'Empire Française* had lost its sheen of hope and promise. French administrators, backed by the soldiers and the *sûreté* were gravely misunderstanding the political realities of changing conditions when ordinary people were beginning to take a hand in the control of their own affairs. The imperial frame of mind was beginning to reassert itself. The year 1951 for example saw violent clashes in the Ivory Coast in which many Africans were killed. Hundreds of 'agitators' were thrown into jail. The unrest and the hostility to France were characteristic of much of French Africa in the fifties.

A major attempt to mitigate abuses and placate the Africans came in 1956 when Guy Mollet, the socialist premier of France who was party to the British Suez adventure, took two Africans into his Cabinet and tabled the *loi cadre* which aimed at reviving the spirit of Brazzaville. In 1944 de Gaulle, Felix Eboué the thick-set African from Cayenne, the French South American pepper port, and other African leaders had met at Brazzaville to make a blueprint for a new economic and political structure of a greater France-African community. The Brazzaville Declaration although it specifically ruled out any definition of French Africa without France, yet spoke of decentralization of administration, of economic development in which the needs of the African territories would receive equal recognition with those of France, of the abolition of forced labour and of the *indigénat* (the legal differentiation between French citizens and French subjects) and the conferring of French citizenship to all those living within the boundaries of the French Empire.

The *loi cadre* went some way in placating the political grievances of the Africans but it did little to solve its economic problems: for every £3 worth of goods Equatorial Africa imported, she sold £2. Moreover it had no say in the pricing of its two main products, wood and cotton. It remained poorer, despite the greater political freedom, than the neighbouring Belgian administered colonies.

In 1958, major events seemed to have taken place. France turned, in the summer of that year, to de Gaulle to restore her stability and her honour which meant the closer identification of French Africa with

France. De Gaulle, noted for his rule by referendum, in September 1958 presented Africa with the choice of independence with an end to French financial aid or autonomy within this French Community and continued economic 'assistance'. One month before the referendum he made one whirlwind trip through Africa promising more schools, roads, dams, a better standard of living for the people and holding out that a vote for the Community would not bind a territory to France indefinitely. "In effect," said a Frenchman in Gabon, "de Gaulle said 'Take our money as long as you need it; if ever you want complete independence just drop me a postcard.' "Later, independent states began to realise that independence involved infinitely more than the 'dropping of a postcard'. For the moment however *la Communauté Française* dominated by France was to retain control of foreign affairs, defence, currency matters, overall economic planning and higher education. After this what was left to the promise of autonomy was obviously very little but the offer was made to sound benevolent and generous. "On the day of the referendum, bare-breasted Bakongo women and Ubangi damsels with plates in their lips jostled with pale Arab bedouins, Frenchmen with existentialist beards and sallow mulattos from Libreville to cast their votes." The Gaullist victory was decisive and overwhelming. Only Guinea exercised the right to opt for independence which it received in October 1958. Such was the solicitude and benevolence of France towards her colonies, that even telephones and office equipment were taken away by its administrators from Guinea when it decided to 'break' with France.

Most of the colonies then, as a result of the referendum remained tied to France and the constitution of the community laid down that a member State of the Community may become independent and thereby ceases to belong to the community. But amendments added in June 1960 provided that 'A member State of the Community may also, by agreement, become independent without ceasing to belong to the Community by reason of that act,' and that 'An independent State not belonging to the Community may, by agreement join the Community without ceasing to be independent.' Article 1 of the Constitution stated that "The Community is founded on the equality and solidarity of the peoples composing it."

African States showed readiness to take full advantage of the amendments of 1960. A series of separate agreements made during 1960 and 1961 produced two results: Madagascar, Chad, Central Africa, Congo, Gabon and Senegal won independence but remained within the so-called "Second Community" (*Communauté renouvelée*). The four States of the *Conseil de*

l'Entente—Dahomey, Niger, Upper Volta, and Ivory Coast—asserted total independence and in April 1961 entered into agreements with France outside the Community. Mali (formerly Soudan) separated from Senegal in 1960 and also left. In June 1961 Mauritania followed suit.

The year 1960 which officially marked the end of colonial rule in the political sense for many French African countries was also the very year (according to Paul Robert's *Dictionnaire de la Langue française*) when the term 'neo-colonialism' was born. Did this year really mark a watershed in the relationship of France with her African colonies and how does independent Africa now regard the Gallic fatherland? The questions are not yet resolved as can be seen from this dialogue from the book *Dramouss* (translated into English as *A Dream of Africa* by Camara Laye of Guinea, described by the B.B.C. as the first writer of genius to come out of Africa. He had just returned from Paris to Conakry, the capital of Guinea.

"I took the bus into town; it very soon reached the suburbs. There, poverty was common as dirt. At Madina and Dixinn in particular, dwellings were very rickety; they seemed to keep up by some sort of miracle; they displayed more of the art of the equilibrist than that of the architect.

"So these are the outskirts of Conakry!" my neighbour in the bus said in a low voice.

"Yes," I replied in the same low voice. "You don't seem too pleased about it."

"No. There's nothing here. Absolutely not one single presentable dwelling or building! For that matter, the *colons* never wanted us to have anything presentable. They only think, and always did, of lining their wallets, in order to be able to spend delightful leaves in Europe. That's all the *colons* think of, not the welfare of the African."

"I don't agree with you," I replied.

"What? You mean to say you're on the side of the *colons* now?"

"I'm not on anyone's side. I'm concerned with the truth. And besides I don't think the moment has yet come in which to condemn or blame the *colons*. That moment will come when we are able to prove, through our abnegation, through our work, through our concrete achievements, that we are superior to the *colons*."

"No, no!" my fellow-passenger repeated. "Those people never did anything for us."

"You must admit, all the same, my dear sir, that colonisation has given us a great deal."

"No! It has kept us back."

"Kept us back! . . . Well, certainly, there were some negative aspects, I admit, in colonialism. But when everything's taken into consideration, the influence of colonisation on this country was beneficial."

He fell silent, and from that moment never spoke to me again."

Survey

PALESTINE LIBERATION ● SOVIET-INDIAN ENTENTE ● VIA S. AFRICA

Palestine Liberation: settling their own scores

The outbreak of hostilities between Jordan and Syria came after the Jordanian government's military campaigns which dealt crippling blows on the 'Palestine Resistance Movement'. The fighting between the two countries was the upshot of a wave of condemnation of King Hussain and the Jordanian government by the Arab states. There were calls for direct intervention by force, the isolation of Jordan by expelling it from the Arab League and the severing of diplomatic and economic relations with it. An Arab summit meeting was called in Tripoli especially to discuss the situation and the measures to be taken against Jordan. A joint Saudi Egyptian delegation has been visiting Amman and having talks with the various parties. Their formula for resolving the situation was reported to have been accepted by Yasir Arafat but rejected by the Hussain government.

In its clashes with the guerillas the Jordanian government employed heavy artillery and even its Air Force to liquidate their bases and to ferret them out. It was reported that the Government's forces used various types of bombs including napalm and phosphorus incendiary ones. It followed this up with a vigorous search for arms caches out of alleged concern for the citizens security and safety.

Despite the condemnations, the Jordanian King, and his government have persisted in their stand. They maintain that Jordan will not relinquish its sovereignty and stress that they are all for giving freedom to *real* fida'i action. The government is committed to fight against all those fida'iyeen who assert that the road to Tel Aviv is through Amman, that besides the task of liberating Israel, there is now the task of liberating Jordan. Such fida'iyeen, the government says, are not real and are more intent on bringing down the Jordanian government and causing disorder and chaos in the country than on carrying out the struggle against Israel.

The Jordanian government claims that the Palestine movement is riddled with Israeli agents and saboteurs and that many of those who crossed back into Israeli held territory and 'surrendered' to the enemy after the recent clashes were in fact Israeli agents. In the propaganda war that is being waged it is difficult to know how true this is in fact, but it indeed would be surprising if there were no Israeli agents working among the 'Fida'iyeen'. Since these agents have been able to infiltrate Arab governments and pass unnoticed for years, it is a comparatively simple matter for them to operate among the Palestinians. Indeed among many Palestinians there is a naive and trusting acceptance of many or any who claim to champion the justness of their cause and are prepared to offer assistance to 'The Revolution till victory'. These are mainly from among those who advocate a secular, socialist Palestine and identify themselves with the leftist or specifically the Marxist-Leninist elements among the Palestinians. These sympathisers have been admitted among the innermost ranks of the resistance movement.

Ultimately such sympathies are against the Palestinian Arab cause. The actions of the Jordanian government unwittingly help these sympathies to proliferate. By its ferocious attack on the movement, it has killed or caused to be killed a great number of fida'iyeen and citizens of the country. It has to be castigated and cannot escape the charge of helping and fulfilling the task of the Israeli government—the liquidation of the resis-

tance movement which can serve the purpose of wearing down the enemy.

But the Jordanian government is not the only one to be blamed. Many people tend to forget that the trouble really started with the acceptance by the late President Nasser and King Hussain and others as well of the American Roger's Plan as a basis for coming to terms with Israel. Nasser, it is now known, sanctioned the plans of Jordan to quell or get rid of the fida'iyeen since they were likely to be the main party opposing the Roger's plan. But when the campaign became more protracted than was envisaged, Nasser himself started calling for the fire brigade. He gained political capital just before his death by his 'success' in bringing Arafat and Hussain together to sign the Cairo and Amman agreements which were to provide a working formula for cooperation between the resistance movement and the Jordanian government. Since then there have been constant charges of the agreements being broken by both sides, and sections of the resistance movement who are a law unto themselves.

There is no easy solution to the problem. The professed aim of all parties is the struggle against Israel. This remains only a wish, often an insincere wish which is given the full treatment by vociferous propaganda machines. If history is anything to go by (take for example the period of Nureddin and Salahuddin in the time of the Crusaders) the battle will not really be joined unless there is coordination in tactics and consensus in ideology in all the lands surrounding the occupation power. There was tension and conflict before that coordination and consensus was achieved and that took almost one hundred years.

Soviet umbrella for India

The idealism and fervour which forced the hands of the British and the Indian National Congress to concede the demand for Pakistan was the idealism and fervour of the common man and not that of the majority of the civil servants who actually came to be the masters of the new country's destiny after the achievement of independence. It is, therefore, not surprising that by and large the conduct of its foreign relations has lacked conviction and equipment. Such a non-policy has brought her to the point where it can claim very few dependable friends. At the same time its enemies have been able to coalesce and join up.

A recent manifestation of this movement is the signing on 9 August of the "Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation" between the Soviet Union and India. Speaking after the signing ceremony, Mr. Gromyko, the Soviet Foreign Minister said that, "the Soviet Union wants to see a lasting peace in Asia, Europe and all other parts of the World".

Fine words indeed, but as a *Pravda* columnist wrote on the very next day of the signing, "the sincerity of any statement naturally, is tested only by practice". Of course the context was different: it related to President Nixon's forthcoming journey to China.

Viewed against the background of recent developments in the Pak-Indian subcontinent, the treaty would appear to give the USSR only one advantage and that is enlisting India as an additional satellite, but that too is much uncertain an achievement. There is certainly more than a grain of truth in the U.S. view that the new treaty is "more a formalisation of relations than a change in Russian-Indian relations". The treaty may also in a way be an irritant to Peking but it is certainly not a riposte to the 'may-be' US

rapprochement with China. Because, despite all the outward differences, both the US and the USSR have been working on a common policy in the subcontinent.

It is obvious that the treaty does not advance the cause of peace by a single millimeter. On the contrary, it would exacerbate an already difficult and explosive situation. If India continues to organise and promote insurrection in Pakistan, it would neither lead to the creation of what the joint Soviet-India Communiqué termed as "conditions of safety for the return of the refugees... nor... answer the interest of the *entire* people of Pakistan and the cause of the preservation of peace in the area". The Communiqué also acknowledged that there can be no "military solution" and "that urgent steps be taken... for the achievement of a political solution". However, by providing a cover to Indian chauvinism, the Soviet Establishment should hope to achieve nothing but vietnamisation of the region and further alienation of the Muslim World.

Mirage for S. Africa

A small and mostly unnoticed news item appeared in the press recently: The Government of South Africa has entered into a contract with the French aircraft Company Marcel Dassault, manufacturers of the Mirage fighters, to build Mirage jets in South Africa. This is expected to make South Africa self-sufficient in armaments production.

This development is important in more than one respect. South Africa, along with Portugal, is the most important colonial power, in Africa. Its military build-up is aimed, not merely at 'self defence' (which in itself is a misnomer in respect of a racist power), but to enable her to continue her imperialist thrust into Africa and to crush the movements of national liberation. Flow of arms to South Africa continues unaltered despite the December 1963 resolution of the Security Council calling all states to "cease forthwith the sale and shipment of equipment and materials for the manufacturers and maintenance of arms and ammunition in South Africa". The supply of arms and ammunition to South Africa was perhaps giving the arms suppliers a kind of moral unease and the establishment of Mirage-building industry would besides, allaying some weak hearts also enable the arms-supplying nations to abide by the Security Council resolution. Supplies of arms would no more need be made.

There is one more aspect of the deal. Israel fought in 1956 and 1967 wars on the wings of the Mirage. Supplies were stopped by Gen. de Gaulle in 1967 and have not been restored so far. Despite the supply of the US Phantoms, Israel very much needs the Mirage and it went to the extent to steal its blueprint from Switzerland. South Africa is Israel's best friend in Africa and if she starts manufacturing the Mirage, it would solve Israel's problem too.

Religion and State in the Christian and Muslim Worlds till their confrontation at Malazgird in 1071

PROF. MUHAMMAD HAMIDULLAH

Introduction

Christianity had a history of one thousand odd years when it encountered the four and a half century old Islam at Malazgird (near the Lake Van, in Eastern Turkey). The story is well-known. The Seljuqid sultan Alp-Arslan, deputy of the Abbasid caliph of Baghdad, had to face the Byzantine invasion led by emperor Romanus Diogenes. The victorious sultan treated his prisoner Romanus so well and so generously that the latter forgot all prejudices and hate against Islam.

The sultan let him return to Byzantium. Could he maintain himself on the throne and had he not been rejected by his own people, a new and fruitful chapter would have begun in the relation of Christianity with Islam. Of all the old and new religions of the world, Islam is the only religion to accept the "impossible" that Jesus Christ was born without a father, and that he was the Word of God and His messenger. Instead of finding in Islam an ally and a friend, the Christians unfortunately took it to be their foremost enemy. Even the experience of Malazgird did not serve to improve the relationship. But now that the church is seeking dialogue with Islam, let us hope that a better understanding of the teachings of Muhammad, the messenger of Islam, would be able to usher a new and happy era in the history of humanity. A comprehensive study of their individual developments may be useful in this connection.

Life of Jesus

Jesus was born in a Jewish family of carpenters in Palestine. The country was then a Roman colony, and the loyalty of the Jews was suspected. At the age of 30, Jesus began preaching reform among Jews. His frankness was such as to pose a challenge to the vested interests of the Jewish leadership. They denounced him to the local "police" and accused him of political subversion and blasphemy. Although the governor Pontius Pilate wanted to grant amnesty and release him on the occasion of a feast, the Jews clamoured: release the brigand "Bar-Abbas and not Jesus" (Matthew 27/16-26, Mark 15/6-13, Luke 23/15-25, John 18/22-40). He was condemned to crucifixion when he was not yet 33 years old. Some Christian sects believe that it was the "double" of Jesus, someone resembling him who was by mistake crucified, and that Jesus himself mounted to heaven. But the majority of the sects now say that it was he himself who was "crucified, he died, was buried, descended to the hades, was resuscitated after three days, (after forty days) mounted on the heaven, where he sat on the right hand of God, therefrom he will come back to judge the living and the dead". Obviously Jesus himself did not teach this creed. According to the Gospels (Matt. 28/19-20, Mark 16/15-17), Jesus appeared after his "resurrection" to some of his disciples and told them: "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world".

Life of Muhammad

Muhammad was born on 17 June 569 in Mecca in a merchant family. The country was idolatrous.

A section of the Arabs claimed descent from Abraham through Ismael, but nothing had subsisted of the monotheistic Abrahamism. The pilgrimage of Ka'ba, the House of God, had become a trade and fun-fair, and lost all its original spirit. At the age of 40, Muhammad declared having received the Divine mission to call for a comprehensive reform, spiritual as well as temporal. For 23 years he struggled, was even obliged to take refuge in Medina, and to face military invasions launched by the Meccans. In order to give "a model to imitate", he founded a State in a place where no such institution had ever existed. When he died in 632, he was effectively ruling over 3 million kilometres of territory, of Arabia, Southern Palestine and Southern Iraq; and he had completed the building of a whole system of human conduct; religion, morality, law, politics, social behaviour, economic relation and all else, and left a living and practical example of a prophet of God, of a king, a commander, a judge, a legislator, a husband, a father and a friend. Since he based all that he ordered on Divine revelations, he took measures to compile these revelations, under the name of the Qur'an. The Qur'an has come down to us *in toto*, in the original language. It is a miracle of this language that since 1400 years it has changed neither in grammar, nor vocabulary nor even spelling and pronunciation. The Arabic of the Qur'an is the same as we hear on the radio or read in the Arabic journals of today. All its MSS, from the first to the present century, in hundreds of thousands of copies have no variants. From the time of the Prophet, many a Muslim have learnt it by heart, and the millions *hafizs*, from China to Morocco have no differences either between themselves or with the written text.

Consequences of the Disparition

When Jesus disappeared there was no problem of succession to his very small community, of perhaps less than a hundred converts. There was no Book left by him to conform to. His birth without a father, however, was creating problems. There was no recognised head, and every faithful was left to his private initiative.

Muhammad of venerated memory had said: "No prophet after me". He had left a comprehensive code, the Qur'an, destined for the entire humanity for all times. Before even his burial, in no time, the community elected a caliph and resolved to continue the work of the master, to preach Islam unto all nations, existing and those yet to come. All the governmental institutions functioned as before.

Attitudes of the Respective Reforms

Jesus was living in a colony and was not the member of the ruling community. From the Bible it appears that he did not want to create political troubles. So he said (John 18/36): "My kingdom is not of this world", and went so far as to say (Matt. 22/21, Mark 12/17, Luke 20/25): "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's". To avoid friction with non-Jewish communities, he ordered the missionaries he sent (Matt. 10/5-6, 15/24-26): "Go not into the way of Gentiles and into any city of the Samaritans enter ye not: but go rather to the lost sheep of the House of Israel. . . I am not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel.

Then came she (a Canaanite), and worshipped him, saying, 'Lord, help me.' But he answered and said: 'It is not me to take the Children's bread and to cast it to dogs'. It is interesting to note that, during his earthly life, Jesus had publicly said that he was sent only to the Israelites, and asked his missionaries not to go to other communities. We have also seen that according to his Gospels, after "resurrection", he ordered his apostles to preach his teaching unto all the nations. In spite of the conflict between the living and posthumous words of the master, the Christians have decided in favour of unrestricted preaching, though with accentuation in favour of people of non-Jewish origin, converts from Judaism alone being "full" Christians.

As to the future prophet of Islam, he was born in the City-State of Mecca, as a full citizen. The country had not known a foreign colonial occupation with the psychological handicaps that it entails. His ancestor was Ismael son of the Iraqi patriarch Abraham, born of the Egyptian princess Hagar, and then Arabised through settlement in Mecca. In later generations, the mother of Qusa'iy was from the North Arabian tribe Quda'ah; the mother of 'Abdul-Muttalib was an Ansarite of Medina, who hailed from the South Arabian Tribes. His maternal uncles were found in Ta'if also, and were related with many a tribe all over Arabia. From the first day he intended a religion unto all nations of the world, and he promised his audience: "obey me, and the kingdoms of Byzantines and Iranians will fall on your feet". The Qur'an said in clear terms (34/28); "And We have not sent thee if not as bringer of good tidings and as warner unto all the nations", or (21/107); "And We have not sent thee if not as a mercy unto all the worlds". Among his companions we see the Abyssinians, Persians, Greeks (like Suhaib ar-Rumi), and even Indians if Indian legends are to be believed, not to speak of the tribes of the whole Arabian desert continent. He addressed letters to Heraclius, Chosroes, Negus and other foreign rulers, inviting them to embrace Islam and to have same rights and obligations as the rest of the Muslims.

Preservation of Teachings

Jesus spoke to assemblies, but neither wrote nor dictated his message of good tidings (gospel) for the posterity. St. Mark (5/41, 15/34) quotes Aramean words of Jesus, and he must have preached in that language, but the biographies written by his disciples and their followers under the name of gospel have not survived in the original, but in Greek translation. Of the 60 odd Gospels, four have been canonized, and the rest considered as apocrypha. Their early history is not known: who compiled them, who translated them, how had they transmitted the text, by whom and on what authority or criterion the four alone were considered as authentic. One hears of them for the first time three to four centuries after their compilation. According to the *Introduction à la Bible* by Robert and Feuillet, in the Greek MSS of the four Gospels alone, there are about two hundred thousand variants. As to the message of Jesus there is no source other than the memories of his disciples and their followers who recorded what they knew and remembered long after the events. That too was insufficient to the needs of the community, since Jesus could not preach for more than two to three years; the community was left to its own discretion and reasoning.

Religion and State . . .

The Qur'an, on the contrary was dictated by the Prophet to his secretaries; moreover he ordered his disciples not only to learn the Qur'an by heart for recitation in the service of worship, but also to study it under authorised teachers. The habit continues down to this day, the certificates mentioning the chain of all the teachers up to the Prophet. As to MSS, we possess for all centuries, from the earliest, with no variants. As to the description of the words and deeds of the Prophet (the Hadith and the Sunna), its codification began in the very lifetime of the Prophet by some of his disciples, and continued after his death. More than one hundred thousand (of several millions) of his companions have left to posterity more or less lengthy narrations of the Prophet, of what they were personal witnesses. Both these sources of the original teachings of Islam have survived to this day in the original.

Later Development of Christianity

The handful of the companions of Jesus dispersed and preached Christianity in different places, each according to his own light. To solve ever-increasing divergences, the early companions (the apostles of Jesus) and some new converts (particularly St. Paul) met in Jerusalem in the year 47 or 48. No unanimity could be reached; a party led by St. Paul decided to relax in order to attract. We read in the *Acts of the Apostles* (15/28-9, in New Testament) the "resolution": "It has appeared good to the Holy Ghost and to us not to load you with anything except the following necessary things: You shall abstain from the meat of animals offered to idols, from blood and from meat of strangled animals, and from fornication". Pork and all else was legalised, and the Thora was abolished. Later the weekly holy-day of Sabbath was abolished to be replaced by Sunday, dear to the sun-worshipping Europeans. The cross was the instrument of torture and death of the "God" of Christians. Apparently in the second century it was adopted as a symbol of adoration, perhaps on account of the saying of Jesus (Matt. 5/44, Luke 6/27, 35): "Love your enemies".

Constantine of Rome (306-37) was the first ruler ever to embrace Christianity, but he wanted neither to cede his political powers in favour of the pope, nor the pope was willing to forego his spiritual privileges for the sake of the emperor. Separation of Church and State became definite and *de jure* after having been *de facto* since the beginning of the religion. Constantine transferred the capital from Rome to Byzantium, naming it Constantinople and Christianity became more and more Hellenized and Romanized. Even the dates of the birth and resurrection of Jesus were transferred to seasonal feast of winter and spring in Europe. In 325, a Council was convoked in Nicaea (Iznik, near Istanbul), and a formula of creed was elaborated, and the unity of God was replaced by trinity: "I believe in One God the Father. . . and in One Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, begotten of his Father before all worlds, God of God, light of light, very God of very God, begotten not made, being of one substance with the Father. . . and was crucified also for us. . . was buried, and the third day he rose again. . . and ascended into heaven and sitteth on the right hand of the Father. . . and I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord, the giver of life who proceedeth from the Father and the Son. . ." Many priests like Arius and others protested, and said that Jesus was a human being, not God. But they were expelled and excommunicated.

It was later realised that birth, death and resurrection could not be attributed to the eternal God, so they propounded the theory that Jesus had two natures, Divine as well as human, and that it was in his human nature that he was born, and died etc. (But they forgot to retouch the creed "sits on the right hand of God", because one cannot sit on one's own right hand). Even this formula did not satisfy all the trinitarians—not to speak of unitarians—and some said Jesus had two natures but only one will (monothelism); others affirmed he had only one nature, and this was divine (monophysism), and so on. The Council of Chalcedon (Adiköy, Asiatic part of Istanbul) of 451 condemned the Monophysite doctrine. One now passes in silence the Council of Macon of 585, which had opined that women have no souls.

This was the situation in the contemporary world of Christianity when the Prophet of Islam was born in 569. At the age of 40 he began preaching the oneness of God, and in 628 he addressed a letter to Haraclius, Byzantine emperor, inviting him to Islam. One of the Muslim ambassadors was assassinated on Byzantine territory entailing war. In 633, the caliph Abu-Bakr sent an embassy to Constantinople, to renew the invitation to Islam and peace, but in vain. In no time, Palestine, Syria, Egypt, Armenia etc. were "liberated". De Goeje writes, "the disposition of spirit was such that the Christian inhabitants of these countries received Muslim armies not as invaders but as liberators from the tyrannical yoke of the Byzantines". Fifteen years after the death of the Prophet, in 647, the armies of caliph 'Uthman reached on the one side Andalusia (Spain) and on the other Transoxiana, controlling territories in between. Constantinople had already had the first Muslim siege. Emperor Leon III Isaurian (713-41) was successful in saving the capital from the attack led by Maslama (717-8). Fourteen years later, Muslim advance was checked again at Poitiers (France) by Charles Martel, because of the assassination of the commander, 'Abdar-Rahman al-Ghafiqi. Nevertheless Avignon in 734, Lyon in 743 and Narbonne in 759 became Muslim territories, showing the fallacy of thinking that Charles Martel had saved Europe from Muslim advance. The religion of Islam proved still more formidable. In 726, Leon Isaurian ordered that icons (statues), which had penetrated into Christian cult, should be banned. The Succeeding Byzantine emperor, viz. Constantine V Copronym (741-75) showed a greater rage against the cult of images. In August 766 alone 16 high functionaries and officers were executed for "idol-worship". Earlier 754, even the synod of Hierca had theologially consolidated the iconoclasm, and sanctioned severest penalties for making, possessing and the venerating icons. The idol-lovers, however, did not give in, they fomented political trouble. Leon, the Khazar captured the throne of Byzantium, to be succeeded by Constantine VI, at the age of 10, with her mother Irene as regent. She was a fervent, iconophile, appointed a layman Tarasius as patriarch, and convoked a new Council at Nicaea (Iznik) in 787, which rescinded the earlier decisions of 754. The resolution read: "It is permitted the representation of image of Christ, of the Mother of God, of angels and saints; in fact this incites the spectator to recall the person of the representation and to imitate him". For personal reasons, the pope of Rome and the patriarch of Constantinople were getting ever-more estranged, and each was suspicious of the other. Thus Rome always rejected vehemently the idea of iconoclasm, and affirmed that "the images are the books of the laymen". In 869-70 a Council took place in Constantinople "to smooth down the schism", but Greece and Rome never reconciled. In Constantinople, the patriarch depended on the emperor, and owing to

the pressure of the neighbouring Muslims of the 'Abbasid caliphate, and isolated from the rest of Europe, he saw his influence waning day by day. In Rome, because of historical reasons, the popes were independent of the emperor, but in 800 the pope Leon III asked Charlemagne to assume the title of Holy Roman Emperor, thus establishing a sort of diarchy wherein the popes began having a greater say in politics.

The Development of Islam

The development of Islam is less sensational. The prophet had himself dictated the Quran, revealed to him. During his 23 years of mission he not only taught but he gave a practical example by his own practice, in both spiritual and temporal affairs. After his death, 'sects' came into being. But curiously these sects differed on questions of persons and politics and not principles or dogmas. The three principal sects are Sunnī, Shi'as and Kharijis. Sunnis say that the Prophet died leaving no decision as to his succession; the community elected a caliph. The Shi'as say that the Prophet left a testament, even if implicit in favour of Ali his son-in-law to succeed. The Kharijis believe in an utopian anarchy, where there is no need of a ruler. The sub-sects also differ as to persons to succeed: the Hasani, the Imanī, Isma'ili etc., among the Shi'as are examples.

Schisms on issues of dogma never took roots. First it was a certain Jew, Ibn Saba, who declared his conversion after the death of the Prophet, and proved more royalist than the king; he propagated the idea that Ali was not only the best of Muslims but was actually the incarnation of God. During his caliphate, 'Ali imprisoned him and practically no trace of the dogma has survived. The other sect, the Mu'tazilites plunged in curious discussion: since God alone can be eternal and all the rest must be created beings, so even the word of God, the Quran must be a created thing. In his history *al-Bidaya* (IX, 350, X, 11) Ibn Kathir traces the origin of this schism. Logos and says: "Al-Ja'd ibn Dirham was the first to talk of that, and he had learnt it from Bayaan ibn Sam'aan; Bayaan had learnt it from Taloot the son-in-law and nephew (sister's son) of Labeed ibn A'sam, the Jew who had once practised black magic against the Holy Prophet; and Taloot had learnt it from Labeed, and Labeed from some Jew of Yemen. The teaching of al-Ja' was later taken over by al-Jahm ibn Safwan al-Khazari (a Jewish convert?)". A third sect practically the last at the time of the battle of Malazgird, was esoteric, and wanted to interpret Qur'an and other Islamic laws, not literally but symbolically. As this sect succeeded in occupying Egypt etc., its influence on the masses has been greater. The founder of the sect is a certain Maimun who, according to several classical historians, was a Jew. The crusades have known this sect under the name of Assassins, (Hashashis) because of their addiction to hashish and other drugs. They exist still and their chief is called the Agha Khan. The grandfather of Karim Aga Khan had tried to bring his disciples closer to the rest of Islam, and had ordered them to go to Sunni Mosques and pray there along with other Muslims. Until his death, whenever he came to Paris, he came regularly to the Paris mosque for the Friday prayer.

Now very briefly about mysticism in Islam. The mystics say that the present world being transitory, it is the everlasting next world to which one must attach importance; hence one should not quarrel on who should succeed the Prophet. By leaving aside the caliphate for the transitory

... in the Christian & Muslim Worlds

world, there is no jealousy in the spiritual realm, and there could be as many immediate successors of the Prophet as were gifted thereof. The Qadriya fraternity, for instance, is linked to the Prophet through 'Ali, and the Naqshbandiya through Abu-Bakr; and one could be simultaneously Qadri and Naqshbandi! There is no jealousy and no antagonism. Again they emphasise on the celebrated saying of the Prophet: "God says: if any of my slaves (men) tries to approach Me by means of supererogatory piety, I begin to love him, and when I love him it is by his tongue that I speak, by his ear that I hear, by his hand that I seize". This annihilation in God, this absorption of the human will in God's will deserves thought of those who for instance believe in a "son" of God, not in the biological but spiritual sense. It is to point out, that this annihilation in God (*fanaa fi'llah*) is accessible to any and every human being, whereas the quality of the messenger of God is only a divine gift, and is by far superior to the annihilation in God. Abraham, Moses, Jesus, Muhammad and many others were messengers of God, and not merely 'annihilated in God'.

POLITICS UP TO MALAZGIRD

The Christian World

We have seen above that Jesus had affirmed "My kingdom is not of this world", and had commanded "To render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's", implying the division of Church and State. Yet he had also clearly said, "I have not come to abolish the Thora of the books of the Prophets", and since Moses had tried to found a State, and that his successors (Joshua, Saul, David, Solomon etc.) had in fact succeeded in the attempt, it can be said that Christianity too could have States. However, it was not until Constantine that a king embraced Christianity or a Christian should become a king. That was during the decadence of the Roman empire. Soon after, its eastern (Byzantine) and western wings fell asunder, and the western Roman fell prey to Germanic and other Barbarians. These States gradually converted to Christianity, and we shall speak of them later. The Eastern Roman (Byzantine) empire was one of the biggest empires of the world. Its hegemony was disputed only by the neighbouring Persian empire. When the Prophet of Islam was still at Mecca, the Persians had reached as far as Syria and Egypt; then came the swing and the defeat of Persians at Nineva at the hands of Haraclius. Then Islam arose to submerge them both. Virtually overnight the Muslims took over Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Armenia from the Byzantines, but it took four centuries to expel Byzantines from Asia and four more centuries to conquer Constantinople and close the Byzantine chapter. Up to the time of the Saljuqid encounter of Malazgird (1071), not much had changed constitutionally in the Byzantine empire. There was the monarch who was all-powerful, and involved also in religious matters. We have seen that above.

Different was the situation in the West. St. Peter, a companion of Jesus, is said to have come to Rome. It took several centuries for him and his successors to convert Rome to Christianity. When Constantine embraced Christianity, he did not renounce political power in favour of the Pope, but this did not much affect the pope since he never had held it before. Owing to the organising capacity of the Vatican, priests all over Christendom both in towns and villages were

gradually brought under the same religious headship of the pope. This was achieved with difficulty, but once achieved, the rulers and temporal monarchs had to seek the pleasure of the Pope, and gratified him with money and lands, so much so, that at one time a third of France was the fief of the church. In fact the Pope could excommunicate a recalcitrant ruler, and declare that his subjects need not honour the oath of fidelity sworn to him; rivals could be found to take his place and have the benediction of the Pope. It was on 25 December 800, that the Pope Leon asked the Christianised German emperor Charlemagne to assume the title of Holy Roman Emperor, at Rome. A sort of diarchy was so inaugurated. Although in the beginning the pope was the lesser of the two joint-rulers, papal interference in political matters increased daily, and naturally there developed a conflict with the emperor. When Alp-Arsalan and Romanus were waging war at Malazgird in 1071, the conflict was not less furious between the Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV and Pope Gregory VII, and it was the emperor who had to give in: he went in 1077 to the village of Canossa and humbly supplicated the pope's pardon by kissing his feet.

The Muslim World

Christ did not get the opportunity of being a king; the popes began practically as refugees, and it is very slowly that Christianity became State religion. Then the patriarch at Byzantium, and the popes in Rome do not have the same history. The popes began as ordinary citizens in Rome, gradually to rise to the position of the senior co-regent along with the Holy Roman Emperor. Islamic history is just the opposite: The Prophet founded a State whose head he was until his death. His successors, the caliphs began as all-powerful monarchs, and it is later, at the time of Malazgird that their associate, the sultan exercised the power while the caliph had no authority outside his palace. A few details will not be out of place.

The Prophet of Islam began preaching his religion from 610 onwards in a city-state where an oligarchy of ten hereditary chiefs governed; but the Prophet had nothing to do with the government. With the increase of the number of his followers, who recognised him as their only chief, a sort of government within government—if not state within state—came into being: these Muslims at Mecca had everything except territory. When he migrated to Medina in 622, he found that there was anarchy and chaos. It was he who suggested establishing a city-state for internal peace and external defence. Both Muslims and non-Muslims of the area agreed. A written constitution was drawn up—practically the earliest of the kind in world history where a sovereign promulgates a complete constitution, and not a description of the functioning of the state by a historian—and this text has come down to us in toto. Since the aim of Islam was "good in this world as well as good in the hereafter", the constitution speaks in 52 clauses of all that the people required at that time, more particularly of defence, justice, inter-religious tolerance going up to autonomy of each community not only in matters of religion or personal status but even in both civil and criminal matters. The question of social insurance, legislation etc. were dealt with in such a manner that when this small city-state of Medina was transformed into an empire in the very life-time of the Prophet (3 million square kilometres of territory),

no change was required to be made in the constitution.

After the death of the Prophet a change was necessary to define the powers of his successor, the caliph; since he was not a prophet and did not receive Divine revelation, his legislative authority was confined to the interpretation of the law of the time of the Prophet, and deduction of law in case the Qur'an and the Hadith seemed silent. In fact the caliphs left legislation to scholars, jurists and judges, and never monopolised legislative authority, with the result that politics never modified Muslim law. The caliphate was neither kingship (since it was not hereditary) nor republic (since the election was not for a limited period but for life-time). Abu-Bakr was elected by the inhabitants of the capital, to be ratified by provincials; and he nominated his successor, 'Umar. 'Umar in his turn left the election to a committee of seven, (the seventh as a supplementary member in case there should be a tie), to elect one of the six principal members. 'Uthman was unanimously selected (and even women of Medina were consulted). 'Uthman was assassinated and the mutineers forced 'Ali to accept caliphate. As he could not punish the culprits of the assassination, a section of Muslims did not accept his caliphate. There was a civil war. Later 'Ali was also assassinated. He nominated, it is said, on his death bed his son Hasan as successor. Hasan was tired of civil war, and abdicated in favour of Mu'awiya on condition that he himself should become the heir-apparent. But Hasan died even before Mu'awiya, who nominated his son as successor. There were nevertheless political disputes and finally a new dynasty, that of Marwanids, emerged. The constitution, inherited from Abu-Bakr was not changed.

After a brilliant rule extending over three continents, the dynasty gave place to the 'Abbasids in 750/132 H. Nothing changed in the beginning: the name of the second 'Abbasid al-Mansur was pronounced even by Abdar-Rahmaan ad-Daakhil in Spain, yet soon Spain became autonomous (not independent, since it did not dare use the terms caliph and commander of the Faithful for its rulers). The Abbasid caliphs of Baghdad tried decentralisation, and not only gave large powers to governors, but inaugurated "dynasties of governors", the post becoming hereditary. This led to civil wars between governors and pretenders to governorship and the caliph having the "honour" of ratifying the *fiat accompli*. The arrogance of these autonomous governors increased so much that some of them occupied even the capital, Baghdad, paying but verbal homage to the caliph. It was in these circumstances that in 929/316 H. Abdur-Rahman III an-Naasir of Spain assumed the title of caliph, and the Muslim world lost its unity. The esoteric sect of Fatimids first came to power in North Africa, and then occupied Egypt, Syria, Arabia, Italy etc., snatching these countries from the Abbasids. When the Buyid governor-protector of the caliphate ceded place to the Seljuqids, these latter assumed the title of Sultan, but the power of the caliph did not increase. It was under the Saljuqid sultan Alp-Arslan that the battle of Malazgird was fought. And at that time the all-powerful caliph had gradually dwindled into being a nominee and even a puppet. But since the state never interfered in religious and legal matters of Muslims, the ups and downs of the caliphate did not react on Islam and its law, which were both cared after by private savants. They were private individuals with complete equality between the, them and there was no abuse of power. Opinions prevailed on merits alone.

MEMOIRS OF DR. RIZA NOOR

Making and unmaking of Turkish history-2

HUSEYIN BABER

"... We were very upset with the revolts. The cries of the people and the soldiers 'Padishah, our father, the Caliph' were frequent and important happenings. Mustafa Kemal's debauchery and drinking habits were now common knowledge. He did not have a grain of respect left in the eyes of the people. We scratched our heads and thought that if someone from the Sultan's family were to be at our head, it would have a striking effect. For example if the heir to the throne, Mejid Effendi came to Ankara we could proclaim that 'Padishah, the Caliph is a prisoner, but he sent the heir to deputise for him.' This would be the greatest thing that happened and would bring all the revolts to a stop. . . One day at a cabinet meeting Celal Akif proposed this. M.K. was furious and objected in very harsh words. We were surprised at his annoyance to such a reasonable proposition. It was indeed a very good and opportune proposal. The future of the country is at stake and he still greedily thinks of his own self. The coming of Mejid would, of course, be an obstacle to his becoming the sole leader, the president. We stood our ground and he was forced to agree. . ."

This attempt fails for somehow the British are informed of this very secret move and lay a siege around Mejid Effendi's residence preventing his departure to anywhere. According to Dr. Riza Noor the informer could have been Mejid Effendi himself, since apart from the people in the Nationalist camp, only Mejid Effendi and his son knew of the proposal. However, in the light of some later evidence this seems unlikely. None-the-less, Dr. Riza Noor goes on to state his grief at losing the opportunity of forestalling M.K.'s personal ambitions and also winning a very much needed point for the nationalist cause.

Let's Bolshevise Turkey

"... At about this period M.K.'s busiest occupation was the Green Army and the communist organisation, and his desire to Bolshevise Turkey. Now and then he used to say 'The country can only be saved through becoming Bolshevik'. He collected Hakki Behic, Yunus Nadi, Adnan, Tevfik, Rustu and a few others around him and prepared programmes and constitutions. They all started wearing *kalpaks* with red tops. . . One day when the cabinet was in session, M.K. got up. 'Friends' he said, 'as you know for a long time I have been busy with communist organisation, we have now completed everything. As the most perfect force we have formed the Green Army. This country can only be saved with Bolshevism. Now is the oppor-

tune time. Make up your minds. I will announce to the whole world that Turkey is Bolshevik and Communist!' Not a word from any minister. All of us were frozen stiff and were not able to utter a single word. After a few seconds he asked Fewzi's opinion. His answer was 'accepted'. Then M.K. started asking 'the others in quick succession. No one could say a thing. He continued, 'It seems that it has been decided'. At that I jumped up. 'No it hasn't. Listen to me,' I said and went on in fury, 'Communism is not tailored for this nation. Which employer, what wealth and factory is there that we shall do such a thing? Those people who have a capital of a hundred or two hundred Lira? If you also close these petty shops then the whole country will be empty. Moreover, people equated Bolshevism with anti-religiousness. We are facing an enemy. The people are against us any way. In this situation, the action that you suggest is suicide. . .' It was decided to drop the matter altogether. Later M.K. also realised his folly. In achieving rejection of Bolshevism at that moment I feel I did the greatest service to my country. . ."

Journey into Russia

Dr. Riza Noor is then appointed to the delegation that was being sent to Russia to negotiate certain treaties with Stalin's Government and secure help in hard cash and arms. His journey overland into Russia in winter is related in great detail. There is a great wealth of observation and intellectual perception. In the course of their travelling they come across small groups of Turks who had gone to Russia and were now returning with money from the Bolsheviks to make propaganda for Communism in Turkey.

"... We reached Gumru. When Russians conquered this place they named it Alexandropol. In Crimea, and Caucasus, (and in areas) up to Moscow they have renamed many Turkish towns in this way. Our geographers should find the old Turkish names for these places and mark them on their maps. . . In Tiflis the local Turkish population invited us to the mosque. They had two muftis, a shiite and a sunnite one. Despite their past quarrels, the two schools were on very good terms with each other. We visited the mosque named Shah Jihan. It was beautifully decorated with tiles adorning its interior. . ."

The delegates are given a big dinner by the Georgian Cabinet who were not yet overrun by the Russians. During the dinner, with plenty of Alcohol flowing around, the Georgians try to get them drunk and extract information from them. They nearly succeed! . . . Azerbaijan was

already run over by the Soviets.

Latin for Turkish

"... At the head of the Azerbaijan Government was Dr. Nerimanov. One day he mentioned that he was planning to introduce the Latin script for writing Turkish. I lectured him for nearly two hours to change his mind, and at the end concluded by saying, 'You are not the only Turks in this world. You alone have therefore no right to change the Alphabet of the Turks. This can only be done through a universal congress representing the whole of the Turkish community. Furthermore this is a Russian trick to introduce division into the Turkish Nation.' He seemed convinced by my arguments and dropped it at the time. The change of the script was only deferred for a few years. . ."

Diplomacy and Duplicity

Dr. Riza Noor also tries to sign a treaty of friendship with Azerbaijan to strengthen Turkey's claim of being independent but although Nerimanov was willing the Russians would not let him do so. He discovers that a particular man had been trailing them since their arrival in Azerbaijan and inquires from Nerimanov as to his identity. He is told that the man was a Soviet agent: "... This man was called Ibrahim Abilov and yet when we returned back to Ankara we found the same man as the Azerbaijan Ambassador. Not just that but, also became the closest confidant of M.K. 'What a curious state of affairs!' Both of them Kings of Alcohol. The 'Ambassador' had a few beautiful Russian women in his 'Embassy' and M.K. greeted the dawn every night at the Azerbaijan Embassy! I mentioned this to Fewzi Pasha but it did not have any effect. Of course it wouldn't, as long as there were wine and women. . ."

Azerbaijan's capture by the Russians is brought constantly to his attention and he looks into the matter carefully: "... Apparently the Russians appeared at Demirhansana. They sent the uncle of Enver, Halid Pasha, to Baku. The Azeris had an army and their generals took defensive position. The Mejlis was in emergency session when Halil Pasha appeared. 'Do not fight. Russians are not coming to stay here. They are going to help your brothers in Turkey. They will only pass through your territory. Mustafa Kemal Pasha wrote this to me. He calls upon you not to make a stand (against the Russians).' There were long discussions and finally they said, 'If they are going to help our brothers we better allow them to pass.' So the Russians entered into Azerbaijan and stayed there!"

"I was grief struck. Azeris if they had

resisted and fought would still have been defeated, but at least they would have done their duty. Later on when I met Halil in Turkey I challenged him over his duplicity in this matter. He stressed that he did this on M.K.'s orders and he had his telegram to prove it."

Dr. Riza Noor continues: "This incident coincided with the time when noises were made about the green army, and M.K. proposed proclaiming Turkey as a Bolshevik country . . . Though this conspiracy needs to be investigated by the future historians by checking on Halil's correspondence, it is a tragic event. . ."

A treaty is then signed with Stalin's foreign minister and money, gold and considerable quantity of arms are secured as aid. The argument put forward by the Turkish delegates was that if the Nationalists were defeated by the British then the Russian south flank will be threatened! So the Turks by resisting the British were in fact also fighting for Russia.

Dr. Riza Noor has a great deal to say about the dealings and personalities who were running the drama in Ankara. About the first defeat at Sakarya suffered at the hands of the Greeks, M.K. said in his Great Speech that it was a planned 'retreat'. Thus the facts look much more different to what M.K. admits or makes them to be. The author is one of the Members of the Mejlis whom the Mejlis sends to the front to investigate this debacle. He later submits, on behalf of the group their findings. In this he is quite categorical about the failings of Ismet who was in the Command and puts that as being the main reason for the defeat. He asks the Mejlis to replace him with a more capable man. Despite his personal opinion on the character and moral failings of M.K., Dr. Riza Noor proposes him to be made commander-in-chief. The surprising thing, however, is that M.K. refuses at first to become the C-in-C. The reason becomes apparent later when M.K. tells Dr. Riza that ' . . . Defeat is imminent, you want to make me C-in-C to lose all my honour and be disgraced. . .'

Ghazi and Gratuity

After three days of being insistently pressed by the Mejlis, M.K. agrees to take over the command but with the condition that the Mejlis also gives him its legislative and executive authority. The Mejlis, of course, rises in uproar, but later comes to yield to his demand. During this campaign M.K. falls from his horse while drunk and has to be bandaged in plaster. He continues to conduct the war in this condition. M.K. has now another demand to make: "He asks for the title of 'Ghazi' to be conferred upon him and also be made a Field Marshal. Again there is uproar in the Mejlis. Though they willingly make him a Marshall they are very reluctant to give him the title of 'Ghazi'. Three days later M.K. returns with yet another demand;

the Mejlis should give him a gratuity of 4 million liras. Understandably the Mejlis cannot. M.K. comes down to 1m. The Mejlis is unwilling again, and M.K. gives up the demand. . ."

Donations from the Indian Muslims?

' . . . Later the going gets bad for the army. We were short of cash. The army lacked clothing for the soldiers. We remembered that money was sent to M.K. by the Indian Muslims and thought of obtaining that for the army. The Minister of Finance, Hasan Fehmi worked very hard for this. M.K. became very angry. In the cabinet meeting he said 'This is my money, Indians sent it in my name.' . . . Yes, this was true but they had asked him to 'spend it on what you consider to be necessary in this troubled period'. . . And why should Muslims in India send money to him personally! I later learned that whilst I was on my second trip to Russia, they managed to extract the money out of him but the very next day he withdrew it from the treasury! . . ."

Tatar Orphans in Russia

During a second ambassadorial trip to Russia, Riza Noor spends some time in Moscow and meets a number of Turkish Tatars. These people inhabited the banks of the Volga (Idil in Turkish) and suffered severely at a previous famine. Quoting one of these Turks he writes, 'Famine hit us more severely than anything else. Those orphans that were left were collected by the Russians and Russianised in special orphanages. So they were lost to us. Tatars tried very hard to make the Government desist from this but failed to stop it.' " . . . I have visited some of these orphanages. Also one day in the official car of the Turkish Embassy flying the Turkish flag. I was touring around Moscow and passed an orphanage with a group of children playing in front of it. As the car passed before one child and as soon as he saw the Turkish flag he stood to attention and gave us a 'salam' (salute). He also repeated his 'salam' in his dialect. I realised at once that he was a Tatar child. In a year or two he will lose his mother tongue and nationality. Poor thing. . . My heart broke into pieces. . ."

Because of his good performance in Russia, the cabinet appoints him as a delegate to the Peace Conference that was being called to meet in Lausanne. The Allies also invited the Istanbul Government to send a delegate which caused great indignation and furore in Ankara.

Abolishing the Caliphate

Dr. Riza Noor, then relates how he formulated a statement of intents and submitted it for the approval of the Mejlis. " . . . I found a solution. The National Mejlis, after being raided in Istanbul was

recalled and assembled in Ankara. We could, therefore, abolish the Sultanate. Thus both Sultan and his Government would vanish theoretically, leaving only the Mejlis and the government appointed by it. For years I had been harbouring a sacred desire, and this was to separate religion from the state. To me the problems besetting Turkey lay in its failure to become secularised, as most of Europe had become. I did not want religion to meddle in government or government with religion. But I was also against abolition of the caliphate and wanted to make this a separate and strong institution but outside the government. Thus I formulated a statement which eighty people signed and submitted to the vote. That M.K. had no hand in this can be seen from the original document, if still preserved. His signature was right at the end. It is funny how subsequent happenings went gradually to butter M.K.'s bread. The people who objected at the time of abolishing of the Sultanate feared that M.K. would instead become the head of a state with worse consequences. . ."

Peace at All Costs

The peace Conference starts at Lausanne. " . . . We had made no preparations, had no documents, nothing. Lord Curzon and other renowned delegates and diplomats who were present at the Conference had with them an enormous amount of documentation. What shall we do? . . . When we were just about to leave, the cabinet gave us a tiny piece of paper containing our instructions. M.K. also called us to one corner at the time and said 'These are the principles. If you see that they are going against their word and even Thrace is difficult to be returned to us, do not waste effort. Forego them and get an agreement on Peace. You can even let go Istanbul. Do not try at all about Mosul!' I was flabbergasted at this oral directive. It looked as if he was after peace at all costs."

(Concluded)

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Why Jerusalem must revert to Muslims?

M. A. RAUF*

The importance of the city to us, Muslims, derives from the following facts:

First: the sanctity of Muslim properties: any piece of property belonging to a Muslim has sanctity. When the Muslim property is the 'house of God', a permanent inalienable holy property, the degree of its sanctity is intensified beyond any proportions. Muslim sentiment becomes severely offended if the sanctity of such a place is violated.

It is important to note, however, that this sanctity is extended to places of worship belonging to other religions, and to properties belonging to their followers. These are to be respected by Muslims. The Caliph 'Umar, to whom Jerusalem surrendered in A.D. 637, took leave, when the time of prayer came while he was inside the Holy Sepulcher to say his prayers at the step of the church. He was invited by the Patriarch to pray inside but 'Umar declined, explaining that he did not want anyone to claim the place in the future on the pretext that the Caliph 'Umar had prayed in it.

Second: The degree of the sanctity of the city of Jerusalem in Islam is only matched by that of Mecca, the seat of the holy Ka'ba, and al-Madina, the city of the Prophet in the Hejaz. This utmost degree of sanctity of Jerusalem derives, not only from the general sanctity inherent in all Muslim religious shrines, but also from Jerusalem's special place in the Islamic faith and history.

We respect Isaac as we do Ishmael, and believe, too, in Abraham, Moses and Jesus Christ who were all God's messengers. We do so, not because of any claim of blood relationship, but because of common faith in the Almighty God.

Our faith has restored these Messengers of God their dignity and integrity, and refuted the outrageous accusations against many of these blessed and great Messengers. David and Solomon, for example, enjoy a great place of honour in our Holy Book,¹ and are included among the top twenty-five divine Messengers.

Our holy book sympathetically relates the plight of the children of Israel under the Pharaohs, and their deliverance from Egypt.² It beautifully recounts the story of the Virgin Mary, the most praiseworthy woman ever created, and the immaculate birth of her son, Jesus Christ, and his miracles.³

Many Muslims are proud to call their children Mary; and call their male children with the Muslim versions of Jacob, Isaac, Joseph, David Solomon and Jesus.

It is because of these strong ties with these noble Prophets and Messengers, as well as their association with the city in which they flourished, that every inch and every stone in Jerusalem has become an object of indescribable reverence, holiness and devotion, especially the area now called al-Haram ash-Sharif and all that surrounds it, which, as the Holy Qur'an states, were blessed by God.⁴ It was there that these holy personalities lived and received their divine missions. On its earth they walked; and its stones witnessed their experiences, their persecution and their prayers.

Third: The night journey to the blessed city of Jerusalem by the Prophet Muhammad, the last of the holy Messengers, was like a divine seal of continuity on the bond uniting the past with the present, and the heritage of Abraham with the teachings and guidance revealed through Muham-

mad. It emphasises the concept of brotherhood in faith; and when subsequently the mandatory devotional prayer was installed, Jerusalem became the *qiblah*, the direction which had to be faced by Muslims in prayers. Later, the Ka'ba became the direction to be faced in prayers. Jerusalem, however, retained the honour of being the first *qiblah* in Islam.

Fourth: Ever since its Islamization, Jerusalem has become an object of Muslim pilgrimage; while at the same time the flow of Christian pilgrims was never interrupted, and Jews were readmitted into the city. Our Prophet Muhammad said:

"Travelling for pilgrimage to holy shrines is only recommended to this mosque of mine (in Madina), the Sacred Mosque (in Mecca), and the Farthest Mosque (in Jerusalem)." Many of those who performed the obligatory pilgrimage to Mecca, felt that their pilgrimage was not complete without a visit to al-Haram ash-Sharif in Jerusalem.

When Muslims visited and worshipped in Jerusalem, they were reminded of the life and miracles of Abraham, the sacred land Moses was eager to enter,⁵ the glorious age of David and Solomon, the worship by Mary and Zachariah in the Temple,⁶ the birth, the preaching and miracles of Jesus Christ, and the steps of the Prophet Muhammad and his *Buraq* of the *Night of Isra'* which Muslims all over the world annually celebrate with great esteem and reverence.

Fifth: Owing to the abundance of traditions emphasising its holiness and the belief that worship on its soil is worth a thousand times worship elsewhere. Jerusalem, throughout its long Islamic age, has been a haven for men of piety. Companions of the Prophet, leading scholars of Islam, like al-Ghazzali, and many others sought spiritual refuge in the city of peace. Permanent Muslim endowments were established to facilitate the fulfilment of the objectives of those who came to seek the blessings of the city. The soil of the city is now mixed with the remains of millions of these men of devotion as well as the blood of the thousands of Muslim martyrs who were massacred or who fell in battle during the Crusades and thereafter.

I honestly believe that the practical and legitimate solution to the problem of Jerusalem is to restore it fully to Muslim rule. My argument is based on the following grounds:

First: Muslims believe in Judaism and Christianity, but neither religion holds the same view of Islam.

Islam, which was revealed fourteen centuries ago through the Prophet Muhammad, recognises the validity of the preceding divine missions revealed through Adam, Noah, Abraham, Ishmael, Isaac, Moses and Jesus Christ. It is because of their recognition that Islam urges its adherents to be tolerant and kind toward the followers of the earlier religions which stem from the same source, namely, the Almighty God Himself.

Islam thus represents a continuity of the one true religion of God revealed to a series of Prophets, each of whom came, after Adam, to restore the truth, correct the errors and remove the work of human corruption in the otherwise true and genuine original teachings revealed through his predecessor. Moreover, each of these noble Messengers of God received his message directly from the Almighty God and did not himself derive it from the heritage of his predecessors. These Prophets were not philosophers creating their own ideologies but a vehicle of communication on behalf of our Lord. Therefore, the fictitious notion that Christianity or Islam was derived from

Judaism reveals ignorance of the meaning of religion, and strikes at the roots of the validity of these faiths.

Therefore, Islam which has greater respect for the two religions, has a more legitimate claim to the custody of their shrines than they may have over Islam's own sacred shrines.

Second: Islam does not only recognise both Judaism and Christianity, but it also respects the rights of their adherents and calls them People of the Book. It urges that they should be treated with tolerance and understanding. Their blood and property are to be protected, and their places of worship and religious shrines are to be revered. We may recall here the fact that it were the Muslims who restored to the site of the Temple its dignity. We need not describe the filthy way in which the site had been desecrated. The first thing the Caliph 'Umar did after concluding a peace treaty with the Jerusalem Patriarch was to set out to find the site of the Temple. With his own hand, and with the help of other Companions of the Prophet, the site was cleared of all garbage, cleaned, and made it fit for prayers. Shortly afterwards, Muslims built the great monuments: the Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock.

Third: The Arab existence in Jerusalem, and indeed in the whole of Palestine, has been much more ancient, much longer, more peaceful and helpful to all. Prior to the coming of the Hebrews to Palestine, the land was populated by the Kanaanites and the Jebusites who were kindred of the Arabs, and it was a Jebusite King who started the city of Jerusalem. Jews conquered the city thousands of years later; but the glory in the city was short-lived and turbulent. Their presence in the city was completely eliminated six hundred years before the coming of Islam, and all their religious shrines were completely obliterated. When Islam came, the whole of Syria including Palestine was ruled by an Arab dynasty, the Ghassanids, under the sovereignty of Byzantium. Patriarch Sophonius, in his peace agreement with the Caliph 'Umar insisted on continuing the ban on Jewish entry to the city. This ban was gradually relaxed and ultimately lifted by Muslim authorities. So, for thousands of years before the age of David and after the establishment of Jerusalem, the Jewish element did not exist in the city; and for several hundred years prior to the coming of Islam and shortly thereafter, no Jewish trace, human or otherwise, had survived there. Up to 1967, Jews were never the majority in Jerusalem, except perhaps during the reign of David and Solomon. Even then, they did not constitute its entire population.

The myth of a Wailing Wall is of a relatively recent development, but it was seized upon by the Zionists to serve as a focus and rallying point for Jewish attention. An international commission formed in 1930 by the League of Nations and the British Government (the then mandatory power), and consisting entirely of non-Muslim European members concluded after an elaborate investigation, that the Western (Wailing) Wall was an exclusively Muslim *waqf* property and part of a Muslim holy place, al-Haram ash-Sharif area; and that the pavement in front of the wall and between it and the Magharibah quarter was also a Muslim *waqf* property and formed part of a legally constituted religious foundation. It is significant that the Jewish Encyclopaedia, published in 1901 does not include an article on the so-called Wailing Wall. It was, however, the Muslim tolerance which gave the Jews access to the Wall. Even outside Jerusalem, shrines now claimed by the Zionists like the mausoleum of Abraham in Hebron is a Muslim monument built in reverence to Abraham, the grandfather of Muhammad!

Fourth: Our respect for Christian and Jewish

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Presented before the U.S. Congressional Sub-Committee on Near East held on 28 July, 1971.

1—The Qur'an, *Al Naml* XXVII; 15

2—The Qur'an *Al Qasas*, XXVIII; 4 and *Shu'araa* XXVI; 52/68

3—The Qur'an, *Al Nisa*, IV; 35/49 and *Maryam* XIX; 16/34

4—The Qur'an, *Bani Israel*, XVII; 1

5—The Qur'an, *Al Maidah* V; 21/26

6—The Qur'an *Al-I-Imran*, III; 37/39



NEW JERUSALEM: FROM CHURCHES & MOSQUES TO APARTMENT BLOCKS

shrines stems from a deep conviction based upon firm divine teachings, and consolidated by noble precedents. It is not proclaimed or temporarily practised as a political stratagem or manoeuvre. Our record supports this truth. A reference has been made to the uninterrupted flow of Christian pilgrims under the Muslim rule in an age of religious prejudices, and the lifting of the ban on Jewish entry to the city.

One can quote countless events. It is sufficient, however, to recall examples pertaining to Jerusalem itself.

During the Caliphate of Harun ar-Rashid, hostels for Christian pilgrims, patronized by Charlemagne, were established in the Holy Land; and nuns were sent to serve in Jerusalem. The Custody of the Holy Sepulchre was entrusted to a Muslim family by the disputing Christian denominations, and that trust was never abused. Saladin, after restoring the holy city to Islamic rule, permitted Christian pilgrims to the city, even from the enemy camp, and while war was still continuing. The principles laid down by 'Umar in 637 for treating the non-Muslim inhabitants of the city were never violated. 'Umar proclaimed that he "granted them safety for their lives, their possessions, their churches and their crosses. They shall not be constrained in the matter of their religion, nor shall any of them be molested".

In 1473, during the reign of Sultan Oaitbai, it was discovered that Jews had converted one of their houses into a synagogue. An angry mob attacked the building. On hearing of this, the Sultan punished the culprits and sanctioned the restoration of the house, thus giving the first official authorization of building a synagogue in Jerusalem, since the elimination of the Jewish presence from the city long before its Islamization in A.D. 637.

Compare this with other records. On occupation of the city by Israelis in 1967, Israeli flags were hoisted over our own houses of worship. Shrines and inalienable *waqf* buildings around al-Haram ash-Sharif were levelled to the ground to provide parking spaces near the Wailing Wall. Jewish services were held on the floor of al-Masjid al-Aqsa. The Mosque itself was set on fire, and the general Muslim feeling suspected official connivance in the matter. Excavation on a large scale is going on under the walls of the Mosque, dangerously threatening its foundations. Mosques in Lydda, Ramleh and Jaffa were desecrated or demolished or turned into factories. Muslim and Christian inhabitants have been and are being expelled from their houses under varying degrees of coercion and oppression to provide for designs disapproved, condemned and protested by world public opinion and by the United Nations.

In spite of Zionist outrageous provocations, we have not heard of a reprisal taken against a synagogue in Egypt or in other Arab Muslim

states although Zionist propaganda has been reversing truths and misrepresenting actions resulting from their own hostilities. Security measures taken against Jewish suspects is presented as Jewish persecution. Voluntary emigration by Jews is called expulsion. They also call their conquest of Palestine, war of independence; and their usurpation of Jerusalem, the unification of the city! They make a hell of the destruction of a synagogue in the city during the hostilities of 1948, although they were responsible for this action. From the synagogue their gangs fought the Arab army of King Abdullah which came to save the city from the Jewish violent attack. The Jewish refusal of a truce and the obstinacy of the Jewish garrison led to its destruction.

Thus, our historical record entitles us more to the custody of the holy city.

Fifth: Since A.D. 637, Muslim sovereignty over Jerusalem has been fully and always acknowledged, except for the period of the Crusades. We did not abuse our authority, and a right cannot be molested unless it has been abused. Why then should there be a dispute over the restoration of a Muslim right that has never been abused? The division of the Arab Muslim Syria into spheres of European influences after the First World War, and the subsequent Zionist aggressions are no justification for usurping a firmly acquired right.

Sixth: We have proved to be a people truly capable of co-existing and living with others on equal basis, even when authority is in our hands. Throughout the long age of Muslim rule, real equal opportunities were given to all, and qualified non-Muslim personnel occupied high posts in the courts of the early and late Muslim rulers. We harbour no hatred to anyone, especially the People of the Book who are our brothers in faith. By definition, we cannot be anti-semitic, if the use of such a term is really valid. We ourselves are Semites in blood or in spirit. Great multitudes of us descended from Ishmael, son of Abraham, but we all believe in Abraham and Moses, both of whom are described in the Qur'an as Muslims.⁷ On the other hand, our adversary, in spite of the fact that we have been his victims, embarked for a long time on a campaign seeking to create unjustly an Anti-Arab and anti-Islamic feeling. Yet, if a just solution is arrived at, Muslims will, as they earlier did, forgive and forget.

Seventh: Any other solution that does not recognise Muslim authority over the entire city would be in violation of the right of self determination, laid down in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Until the 1967 War, Muslim inhabitants constituted the vast majority of the city's population, and its Mayor had always been a Muslim.

⁷-The Qur'an *Al-i-Imran*, III; 67 and *Al-A'araf* VII; 126

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'SCRIBE'

To be right is to be proved true. One of the distinctive qualities of Marxism is the frightening accuracy of some—if not all—of its prophecies. Take for instance the moral problem.

The moral problem has never been a simple one. This is something on which Marxists and non-Marxists would agree equally, though for altogether different reasons. To Marx, it could not be a simple problem because one simply cannot blindly accept the rules of conduct given from outside ready-made. 'Morality is the continuous creation of man by man' and not something 'written by any god or destiny...'. Be that as it may therefore be, 'the moral problem in man's life is made up of contradictions, lived and constantly recurring...'

One of the latest examples of living and recurring contradiction is highlighted by the controversy surrounding the booklet, *The Soviet Union and Islam* written by Rafik Nishanov. Nishanov is a former secretary of the Communist Party in Uzbekistan and is presently the Soviet ambassador in Ceylon. Rafik Nishanov is apparently a muslim name (*nishan* in Persian means Mark) and Uzbekistan is ostensibly an 'Islamic republic' under the Soviet Union. The booklet is alleged to contain quotations from Marx and Lenin about Islam, the Qur'an and the Prophet Muhammad.

However, notwithstanding the unassailable credentials of the alleged author, the Muslims, bourgeois and backward as they are, have chosen to find fault with the booklet. The agitation started by the Ceylonese Muslim organisations seems to have assumed rather unexpected seriousness. Pakistan had already been unhappy about Soviet support to Indian involvement in East Pakistan and was quick to ban the book. This was, in a way, understandable but then Egypt too is reported to have found the book objectionable and there have been protests from other Muslim sections as well.

Although in the eyes of the Soviet theoreticians, the Muslim East is merely a factor in international politics, yet it seems that this *merely* is no little significant. Mr. Khachaturov, the deputy chairman of the Novosti press agency had to call a press conference to denounce the booklet as a forgery, and compiled by circles hostile to Russia's recent treaties with Egypt and India. Mr. Khachaturov said that there were millions of muslims in Kazakhstan, Central Asia and the Caucasus, and the question of their religious freedom was incorporated in the constitution of the U.S.S.R. Since they have the freedom to believe, those who profess a religion are not permitted to become a member of the State's political organ i.e. the Communist Party. They also cannot be allowed to organise religious instruction to their children. —No one can say that this amounted to religious suppression or even discrimination.

These clarifications or perhaps the report circulated by the Western press fail to elaborate on the exact nature of the forgery. It does not seem to say that the quotations attributed to Marx, Lenin *et. al.* are also untrue or forged. What appears to have been denied is that the booklet has been compiled or published by Novosti.

As if is un-clarification was not enough, a Soviet broadcast has made the confusion worse

confounded by saying that it bore the "hallmark" of the American Central Intelligence Agency. What does this mean?

Obviously it is impossible to accept that the C.I.A. has now been able to penetrate the Soviet apparatus to the extent that it can compile, publish and distribute 'forged' material through Novosti. Besides being very serious in itself, this may prompt the detractors of Marxism to say that Marxism too was a C.I.A. baby. They may start citing the hitherto suppressed evidence regarding American capitalistic and political involvement in the great revolution and one may be led astray. —Therefore, the only plausible explanation would be to say that the Soviet agencies too have reached such a perfection as to be able to give a C.I.A. hallmark to their own products.

This would be fully in keeping with the theory of recurring moral contradiction as well as what a *Pravda* editorial had to say on 18 August, perhaps the same day as Mr. Khachaturov was holding his press conference. The editorial called for a systematic publication of material on atheism and a fuller use of the mass media to influence the "minds and hearts" of believers. It expressed concern over enduring survivals of "religious prejudices and moods among some part of the population" which "were supported... by speculation on the moral and theistic needs of the people." Therefore one of the important tasks was the inculcation of Socialist traditions into every day life.

Trud, the trade union paper reported a Muslim priest saying: "You control the intellect and conscience and we the feelings and souls..." People attending special lectures on atheism soon found themselves bored. The paper correspondent asked a young crowd in a mosque if they were believers. They said No, but they came because they were interested.

□ □ □

Communism abolishes eternal truths, it abolishes all religion, and all morality, instead of constituting them on a new basis; it therefore acts in contradiction to all past historical experience. (The Communist Manifesto).

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Briefing

From the Dead Level: Malcolm X and Me by Hakim Jamal, *Andre Deutsch*, £2.50. At times an inspiring book on the relationship with a man who has inspired and continues to inspire even after his death a generation of black and Muslim youth. But the author confesses that he merely lived in the shadow of the tower of strength and courage that was Malcolm X and demonstrates how little he has learnt by way of practice from his hero.

Thailand: Land of the Free by James Basche Hall, 288 pp, £3-00.

Britain, India and the Arabs 1914-21 by Briton Cooper Busch, *California*, £ 6-90 (Shows that the British Raj in India was an important influence on reconstruction of the post-war Middle East).

Sex and Dehumanisation by David Holbowle, *Pitman*, £3.00 (One of the permissive society's leading opponents presents the case for the moderation and control of the pornographic flood).

The Problems of Success—A History of the Church Missionary Society, Vol I 1910-42 by Gordon Hewitt, *SCM for the CMS*, £5.00 (Deals with the problems of the Society in Tropical Africa, the Middle East and at home).

A Sufi Saint of the Twentieth Century by Martin Lings, *Allen & Unwin*. (A revised edition of one of the most thorough and enjoyable books on Sufism to be produced by a western scholar. The author who is also known as Al Hajj Abu Bakr works in the manuscript (Egyptology) department of the British Museum).

The Middle East—A Handbook, edited by Michael Adams, *Anthony Blond*, £8-00 (Covers the Arab world east of Libya and Israel, Turkey and Iran. A great amount of details on and analysis of each country. A valuable reference work).

There has been a rise in the number of religious books published in Egypt since 1967. In 1970, 480 religious books, about 40 more than in the literary section and almost twice the number published in 1967 were produced.

The Issue Sheet and Al-Ummah from the Community Mosque, Washington. (New monthly publication containing news and publications and comment on Islam and Muslim affairs mainly in the American capital but in other parts of the States as well).

Sathi Monthly, an Urdu mimeograph issued by the young Muslim Society, Birmingham, First issue: August 1971, Price: 2p.

American Jewish Yearbook 1970, ed. by Morris Fine and Milton Himmelfarb, *American Jewish Committee and JPSA*, \$10-00. (The most important Jewish reference work of its kind in the world; it gives statistical surveys of Jewish population both inside and outside the USA, together with detailed informations on Jewish periodicals, institutions etc).

Personality and Power (portraits of Baldwin, Roosevelt, Krushchev, Mussoloni, Nehru, Nkrumah, Churchill; *Europe and the Indies* and *The Arabs* (Three BBC publications now being broadcast on BBC Radio 3).

Anatomy of Pop, BBC (Articles on pop music and youth culture. Based on a programme which is being shown on BBC 1).

Ten new impressions (prints) of the *Mushaf* bearing the names and short biographies of well-known reciters of the Qur'an such as Muhammad Rafat, Abdul Fatah Sha' sha'i, Hasan Subh, Al-Manshawi and others have been published in Egypt. The association for Memorising the Quran has decided to distribute them free to Islamic organisations all over the world.

Books

Conversion in Soledad

George Jackson*, 1971

SOLEDAD BROTHER: THE PRISON LETTERS OF GEORGE JACKSON
290pp. Penguin, London, 35p

'Soledad' is the infamous adult male-prison in California where maximum security institutions are established for 'difficult' convicts. The prison is better known for its high racialist tensions between black and white prisoners; where white guards do inflame tensions, fostering racial fights among inmates and passing weapons to 'favourites'. A U.S. District Court reported in 1966 on the prison conditions, saying that its authorities had 'abandoned elemental concepts of decency by permitting conditions to prevail of a shocking and debased nature.'

'Brother' is George Jackson, a Black negro brought up in the ghettos of Chicago and Los Angeles, convicted in 1960 (at the age of 18) of second degree robbery for driving the getaway car while a friend robbed a petrol station of \$70. He was sentenced to 'one year to life'. After serving seven and a half of his 10 years in solitary confinement the 'Parole Board' who reviewed his case from time to time rejected his release on the basis of his uncooperative attitude. Since January, 1970 Jackson and two other black prisoners (all known as Soledad Brothers) were charged with the murder of a white guard. The killing took place three days after another white guard had shot three black prisoners dead while firing on an unarmed riotous group of 10 whites and 7 blacks, but, was exonerated for 'justifiable homicide'.

Being in Soledad a black prisoner can hardly preserve any human dignity without resisting the degrading brutality and the humiliating conditions that prevail. But it is that very resistance which denies one's freedom in case of parole sentences. To maintain his mental liberty and self-respect, Jackson chose to resist. However, very few free-minded people would think he made the wrong choice.

The material of the book is Jackson's personal letters to his family and few friends—among them is Angela Davis—between June 1964 and August 1970. The letters were not intended for publication when written which gives them a genuine revealing character. Jean Genet, who wrote the introduction to the book, described the letters as "a striking poem of love and combat." *The Times* considered them as "providing a better guide to the evolution of a black militant than perhaps any other published work." Not unlike other places, prison in America has become an educational institute of revolution. Prison has transformed Jackson,

*See People P.16

not from Uncle Tom-ism, but from the deadening apathy and frustration (which characterises the majority of America's blacks) to the revolutionary militancy of Marxism. The school drop-out, the petty criminal, who never participated in any political movement, met in the prison Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, Engles and Mao and they 'redeemed' him. It is the same path taken before by some militant black leaders like Bobby Seale, Eldridge Cleaver, Bunchy Carters and others. A completely different line, but no less revolutionary, was taken by the late Malcolm X. He rejected all white-man's ideology, including Marxism, and accepted Islam as a basis of social and moral revolution.

However, Jackson's Marxism is not a typical one. He is concerned more about his fellow blacks everywhere, who are victims of white-man's oppression, than any general proletarian class. He gives a significant example to illustrate how 'just and civilised' black people are in contrast to the whites: "When the women outnumber the men in the black societies, the men take as many wives as they can afford, and care for them equally. In the white society for some nebulous reason the men can take only one. . . The rest are left to become prostitutes, nuns, or lesbians. In the civilised societies the women do light work, bear children, and lend purpose to the man's existence. The rest of work is left to the men: government administration, the providing of means of subsistence, and defence. . . The white theory of the "emancipated woman" is a false idea. It means the break down of the family unit. Jackson's love for his family is tremendous, his visionary society is that of 'love and live', and his hatred of the money-mad society is clearly expressed.

Jackson's language cannot be described as refined or artistic; nevertheless it has a strong expressive force. It has the vehemence of a terrible and naked truth. Jackson represents an outstanding example of the conditions that drive some people to an alienated, revolutionary, and sometimes destructive situation. It is virtually impossible to be balanced under such conditions. The best people accept the challenge, refuse to be suppressed and fight back for their dignity. The human soul is in a way metallic: fire destroys cheap metals but purifies the precious ones. But this simple fact of human nature seems to be beyond the comprehension of those American authorities who want to crush all their black victims.

Jackson is fully conscious of the kind of treatment he gets in Soledad. "Every dirty trick of deception and brutality is employed without shame, without honor, without humanity, without reservation to either convert or destroy a rebellious arm." It is no wonder that he reacted as he did: "I am going to charge them (whites) for

this, twenty-eight years without gratification. I am going to charge them reparations in blood. I am going to charge them like a maddened, wounded, rogue male elephant, ears flared, trunk raised, trumpet blaring."

If the book gives one message, it is that "if one can learn anything about a nation from its prisons, then the picture one gets of the United States is not a pretty one. And if there are many more George Jacksons being produced thereby, then the outlook for the system that put him there is grim indeed." In my opinion it is not only the question of a system, more important it is a question of the basic human values, of the totality of that culture and civilization which the U.S. champions in the world. It is a culture and civilization that has clearly failed not only in America's prisons, but in every place in every other sphere.

(T. Z. Abidin)

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COMMUNALISM IN ULSTER

Wearing the Sash and the Green

M. AIDAN

England's history is stained with so much blood and burdened by guilt: the guilt and blood of racial and religious intolerance and fanaticism. It is an understandable feeling on the part of many immigrants from the West Indies and Asia, that the cruel history of colonialism by the British and others in their respective areas has been a singular experience, the sad fact of the mercantile and territorial expansionism of Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Europe. The events in the Six Counties of Ulster over the past few weeks should dispel this impression.

The first training grounds for the development of British Colonialism were located in the British Isles themselves: the Celtic areas of the United Kingdom. The indigenous Celtic Church was replaced in the Fifth Century by an overseas imported Orthodoxy at the Synod of Whitby, and this in its turn became supplanted in the Sixteenth Century by another overseas imported Orthodoxy: Protestantism, which has its most rigid and fanatic form in this country in Calvinistic Methodism. That is to say Presbyterianism, the most popular sect of the Ulster Protestants, which has priests like the Rev. Ian Paisley M.P. (the Protestant Unionist member for Bannside).

In many respects Ulster is a microcosm of a typical colonial situation. It has many striking resemblances to the tragic cases of Palestine, Cyprus, Singapore, Malaysia, and India, to name situations that the British themselves were directly responsible for. There is in Ulster a majority group. This group is composed almost entirely of settlers from the Lowlands of Scotland, and from England, and are Protestant by religion and non-Celts by race. In social and economic terms they are in positions of great privilege when compared with the other group. It should be noted, however, that many Scots from the Clans living in the Highlands and Western Isles are Roman Catholic, Gaelic-speaking, and have tribal connections with non-settler groups in the Six Counties.

The second group in the Six Counties consists of Roman Catholic, Irish Celts who are in a very unfavourable relationship to the Protestant settlers. Here lies the root of the trouble. Often the two groups are clearly distinguishable by names: the Bakers, Smiths, Clarks, Wests, and Craigs of the first group contrast easily with the Kennedys, Murphys, O'Hagans, O'Halarans, and Callaghans of the second. There are twilight areas of course. The two groups are deeply separated by social discrimination and by discrimination in the spheres of housing, jobs, promotion if they have a job, and voting rights in Local Government elections. The discriminating group are the Protestants, and the Catholics are those on the receiving end of this religious and racial intolerance. The Catholics are forced by the discrimination in housing and work opportunities to live in ghettos, which have now been openly acknowledged to exist due to the events of the last weeks.

In the Six Counties (Antrim, Armagh, Down, Fermanagh, Londonderry, Tyrone), the areas closest to the Irish Republic are inhabited mainly by Roman Catholics, whereas in the areas near the coast and in the main towns, the Protestants are in the majority. The religious groups tend to segregate themselves from each other by streets, suburbs, and even villages. Not only is this segregation physical, it is also apparent in many psychological responses, conscious or unconscious, to circumstances and things. The Protestants are loyal to the Monarch to the point of idolatry, although which monarch they actually give their loyalty to is sometimes difficult to make out: what relevance could King William possibly have to a responsible community

after two-hundred-odd years? The Catholics are often republicans or indifferent to the institution of the monarchy. The Protestants overwhelmingly support the Unionist Party (i.e. the Tory Party in Northern Ireland), but there is also some support for the extreme Right-wing Protestant Unionist Party of Ian Paisley, and from the liberal elements among the Protestants for the Left-wing Parties such as the Northern Ireland Labour Party and the Social Democratic and Labour Party. The extent of liberal support from the Protestants is very limited: most support goes to the Right-wing.

The Catholics, called derisively and abusively 'Taigs' or 'Fenians', support mainly the NILP or the SDLP, but also the independent socialist groups like Miss Devlin's. To the Catholics the Civil Rights movements are a necessity, the only road to the redress of their grievances. To the Protestants they are a conspiracy. A conspiracy, no less, to turn the six counties into a negation of all that the Protestants have worked for and dreamed about. These Civil Rights groups have become in the Protestant eyes the epitome of all that is sinister and to be feared: they are considered as a Communist front, and a haven for the IRA (the Irish Republican Army), and thus the target of abuse, and worse, of physical assault.

The Political Parties in the past have not attempted to advance any really meaningful programmes to solve the very real economic and social problems in Ulster. Elections have been conducted in the past openly on the basis of racialism and religious fanaticism, especially from the ruling Unionist Party; senior Ministers have even made speeches which can only be construed as intimidating the Catholic minority. In fact the whole electoral programme of the Unionist Party previously can only have been calculated to arouse communal passions and deepen the feelings of bitterness and frustration resulting from impotence to remedy the situation on the part of the minority community. The Elections were frequently conducted on the basis of preventing 'Popery', protecting the freedom of the (ruling) Protestant majority, counting conspiracies between the Pope and the Communists to take over the country, fanatical and hysterical loyalty to the Crown, emotional loyalties to memories of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. There have been Protestant slogans chalked on the walls such as "No Surrender" (i.e. to 'Popery'), "God save the king" (i.e. King Billy), "Popery equals paupery". Is it any wonder that the Catholic community is oppressed, in such an atmosphere of extremism condoned and even encouraged by those whose job it is to correct it?

Electoral boundaries are drawn in such a way that the Unionist Party has an immense majority even in Catholic majority areas. The word 'Gerrymandering' (of elections) comes from this climate of injustice in Ulster. In General Elections to Stormont Castles (the Ulster Parliament) and Westminster the Catholic vote is able to have some noticeable effect, hence Miss Bernadette Devlin (M.P. for Mid-Ulster). In Local Government elections, however, the Catholics are affectively disenfranchised by the electoral boundaries, property qualifications, and many other things which were abolished in the rest of Britain by the Nineteenth Century 'Reform Acts'.

The Masonic-type 'Orange Orders' are extremely important in the running of the country, and nearly all Protestants belong to one or more: it is a social control on them to do so. They hold very provocative marches which even pass through Catholic areas, increasing communal unrest.

Attempts to restrict, let alone ban, these marches are political suicide for any Unionist Prime Minister; as O'Neill, Chichester-Clark, and very shortly Faulkner, can testify. This has been in direct contradiction to the advice given by the Army Commanders in Northern Ireland. Since the bloody outbreaks in 1969 the military presence in Ulster has been built up tremendously; but the commanders, including the present one General Tuzo, have stressed that they can only "hold the ring" for the politicians to solve the problems of Northern Ireland by a political solution.

The Army has felt that internment of suspects would only make their job more difficult. However, the role of the army in Ulster over the past months has itself done just that, paradoxically. Called in initially to protect the Catholic minority, it first established a good relationship with them as long as it was employed solely in an Internal Security role. Recently there have been reports that the Army has been doing normal duties in peaceful Catholic areas, and the continual Army patrolling has aggravated the communal feelings of the Catholics. Since the Tory Government was elected there has been a growing liberalism in official circles; witness the Industrial Relations Bill, the Immigration Bill, and so on. This liberalism has been reflected in the attitudes of the Protestants in Ulster, and there have been calls for internment in a mounting crescendo for the past weeks. It is said that this would be a measure to remove IRA terrorists from circulation and so reduce Army and civilian casualties as a result. But surely these casualties are the direct result of the Stormont Government abdicating its responsibilities to the communities entrusted to its care?

And who has been interned? The first arrests were reported to be of Civil Rights workers and members of the People's Democracy. Very few IRA men were taken. If this internment is merely another means of oppression of the Catholic minority then there is no justification for it at all. The establishment of a separate government of Northern Ireland, was a direct result of the Government of Ireland Act, which gave independence to the south. Ironically the provisions of the Act were for a united Ireland, with the main government in Dublin and not in Westminster. Is it not time for the English to give up their pretence of continuing greatness, and give back to the right to freedom and unity? Must Irishmen continue to be divided into the wearers of the Green and the wearers of the "Sash my father wore"?

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- Page 1, Col. III, line 32**
import licensing in place of *important*
- Page 2, Col. III, line 39**
direct taxation in place of *indirect*

World Opinion

THE AFRICAN PERSPECTIVE

The famous American evangelist Billy Graham returned from his first trip to Africa, a shaken man. He had just learned that one in four—perhaps even three—Africans is a Muslim. And by 1980, well over half of Africa is expected to be following the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad.

Graham confessed: "I have met a number of people who think Africa may eventually be overwhelmed by Islam."

The Vatican has also been reported to be anxious at the growing strength in Africa of Islam.

Malcolm X was profoundly shaken by the multi-racial reality of Mecca, the centre of the Muslim world, that he discovered on his pilgrimage. "There were tens of thousands of pilgrims, from all over the world," he wrote. They were of all colours, from blue-eyed blonds to black-skinned Africans. But we were all participating in the same ritual, displaying a spirit of unity and brotherhood that my experiences in America had led me to believe never could exist between white and non-white."

Following the pattern of all ancient civilisations, the Arabs practised slavery. Certainly, Arab slavery was never as ruthless as that which prevailed in the Americas. However, what needs stressing is that Arabs never believed that Blacks were fit only to be slaves nor were Blacks the only slaves. . .

But the real secret of Islam's strength in West Africa was the institution of the Marabouts. These hermit-like holy men still exert a powerful influence upon all aspects of life in Senegal and Mali to this very day. Black men themselves, they were, and remain, intensely aware of African sensitivities and customs. Unlike the Christians, who often tried to destroy traditional cultures, the Marabouts cleverly sought to harmonise it and Islam, gently remoulding their converts' lives.

As a result of this gentle insistence, Islam is found today throughout Africa, from the strongly Arabised North Africa to the Republic of South Africa, where three million European rule harshly over 15 million restive Blacks. . .

In some areas of Africa, not only animists have been converted to Islam, but also individuals and whole

tribes who were once Christian. A Roman Catholic priest in Tanzania told me several years ago he had abandoned direct confrontation with Islam for the souls of Black men. "Nowadays," he said, "I'm happy if an African continues to believe in a God, and Islam is preferable to no religion at all." As he spoke, a smiling group of Chinese agricultural and industrial experts passed by on Dar es Salaam's busy Independence Avenue, messengers to Africa of yet another revolutionary world-view. Although not yet venerated like either the Koran or Bible, the Red Book of Mao Tse-tung's Thought is being opened and studied by growing numbers of Africans, and the consequences are still incalculable. (Richard Gibson in weekly *West Indian World*, London, 13 August, 1971).

OF THE SEMITIC IRONY

. . . In the nineteenth century, society was imbued with traditions and had generally shared values and rigid standards. To be fully accepted, the assimilationist Jew had to conform to the standards and values of this society and to give up what set him apart from it. Present-day Western pluralistic society is different in character. Not only have the Jews much less of their traditional substance, society itself has lost its old moorings. Traditional values have been jettisoned; like the Jew, society has become rootless. *This cultural crisis, which may be protracted is likely to be conducive to assimilation while it lasts.* But while it helps to break down some of the barriers between Jews and non-Jews, it also undermines the fundamental spirit of liberal tolerance on which Jewish existence in the Western World is based. It is one of the many ironies of Jewish history that those who work hardest for the overthrow of Western liberal society are unwittingly fanning the flames of anti-Semitism, creating new obstacles, helping to perpetuate the Jewish question rather than to solve it. If Zionism were more Machiavellian-minded it would give them unconditional support.

The "END OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE" was one of the main topics of discussion among Zionists and non-Zionists alike only a few years ago. Arthur Koestler who was in Palestine when the Jewish State

was born was one of the first and most outspoken advocates of this thesis. He argued that since the foundation of Israel the attitude of the Jews who were unwilling to go there but still insisted on remaining a community in some ways apart from their fellow citizens, had become an untenable anachronism. . . To break the vicious circle of being persecuted for being "different", and being "different" by force of persecution, they must arrive at a clear decision, however difficult this might be:

"Now that the mission of the Wandering Jew is completed he must . . . cease to be an accomplice in his own destruction. If not for his own sake then for that of his children and his children's children."

But his theme was taken up by others. Georges Friedman, the distinguished French-Jewish sociologist, wrote in a disturbed (and disturbing) book *On The End of the Jewish People* (1967):

"It seems inconceivable to me that everything possible should not be done to avoid another Auschwitz. Judaism was a historical accident, the spiritual fruits of which for the past twenty-five centuries had been paid for by an infinity of sadness, misery, suffering and bloodshed."

Professor Friedman's argument is unassailable but, like Koestler, he had no recipe for breaking out of the vicious circle. (Walter Laqueur: *The Jewish Question Today, Encounter*, India August 1971).

KISSINGER THE MESSENGER

We don't usually crow over the background of Jews who make good in non-Jewish fields. But a special point should be made about Dr. Henry Kissinger's secret mission to Peking which clinched China's invitation to President Nixon. Kissinger is a German-born Jew, born in Fuerth 48 years ago. Victims of Nazi oppression, his family fled to the freedom of America in 1938. After serving in counter-espionage in the war, Kissinger became an authority on the science of politics and security, first as a Professor at Harvard, and later as Director of Studies at the Council for Foreign Relations.

Since becoming Nixon's special adviser on national security, Kissinger supported the "Vietnamisation" policy in Asia, has been wary of West Germany's courtship of the Soviet Union, and encouraged Nixon's tough-minded support of Israel in the Middle East. It is said that his influence over US foreign policy has been much greater than that of the Secretary of State, and that this has

led to the White House over-ruling the State Department's Middle East policies at crucial moments. If this is so, it must be because Kissinger—unlike many professional diplomats in the Department—has viewed local problems within their global framework.

If there is anything "Jewish" about his work one would like to think it is his desire to achieve international stability and peace. If that flows from his conversations with Chou En-lai, then his fellow Jews throughout the world will have cause to be proud of him—and grateful. *Jewish Observer & Middle East Review*, London, 23 July, 1971).

THE CHILD & THE MIDWIVES

I have read somewhere that it was Nietzsche who said that man must have achieved three stages: Lion, Camel, Child. I think of Abdul Gamel Nasser as the strong lion who was a little insecure outside the mystique his followers created. The lion must roar. Even destroy to make way for new truth. He gave way to a Camel (Yes, I thought of Anwar Sadat) who knelt down to accept his burden of duty. He must end up with the simplicity of a Child—the new Egypt and the new Middle East (indeed, the new Israel) of which we must all be midwives.

(Claude Morris: *Does Sadat hold the aces?* in *Middle East International*, London, August, 1971).

. . . Turks always grow formidable if given time to think, they may be lulled into passivity, and rushed, owing to their natural idleness and proneness to panic, but they are dangerous if gradually put on their guard.

During the Balkan war, they were at one moment ready to abandon Constantinople but in 18 days they had recovered and were ready to fight to their last man. . .

(Letter dated 26 Feb, 1915 from Sir Mark Sykes to Winston Churchill quoted in *Life of Winston Churchill vol III* by Martin Gilbert, 1971, C & T Publications.)

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NEWS BRIEF

Afghanistan. After 3 years of drought, Afghanistan with a population of 16 million is reported to be on the brink of famine. Production in wheat has fallen almost a million tons short of self-sufficiency in the last two seasons. About 70% of livestock may be lost. □ The Muslim Foreign Ministers' Conference scheduled to be held in Kabul on September 2 has been postponed by Secretary General Tunku Abdul Rahman "because of the present world situation in general."

Algeria. Measures to promote economic, technical and cultural cooperation between Niger and Algeria were announced at the end of an official visit of Niger's President Hamani Diori to Algiers. □ 1,200 students and 30 lecturers representing 12 Muslim countries attended a two-week seminar on Islamic and Muslim Affairs in Oran, Western Algeria. Among the recommendations of the Seminar were steps to create an Islamic Common Market and an Islamic Scientific University.

Bahrain. Bahrain became an independent State on 16 August 1971. The ruler of Bahrain, Shaikh Isa bin Salman al-Khalifa thanked Britain and looked forward to cooperation with her in all fields. Independence came after the unsuccessful attempt to have a federation of nine Arab emirates in the Gulf. Bahrain has been under the tutelage of Britain since 1882.

Germany. The International Islamic Federation of Students Organisation held its first bi-annual Conference last month at the Bilal Mosque, Aachen. Affiliates of the Federation are from the U.S.A. and Canada, Europe, Britain, Morocco, Nigeria, Indonesia, Malaysia, Fiji Isles, Singapore, Australia, Guyana and Ceylon. The Secretariat elected for 1971-73 comprises: Dr. Ahmad Totonji (Secretary General), Tasneem Alam (Asst. Sec. General) and Mustafa Muhammad (Financial Secretary).

Iran. Three schools named after the Soviet astronauts found dead on landing after their recent space flight have been opened.

Israel. Intensive diplomatic efforts are being made by Israel to avert a debate on Jerusalem in the UN Security Council which is likely to condemn its building work in East Jerusalem. Israel is reported ready to give the Christian holy places a status similar to that of foreign embassies.

Jordan. The Palestine Red Crescent Society is reported due to close down all its centres in Jordan, on the orders of the Jordanian authorities. The HQ of the Society would be moved to Beirut.

Kenya. The Kenyan and British Governments have concluded negotiations to grant funds for the purchase of mixed farms in Kenya now owned by British citizens.

Kuwait. A Kuwaiti Muslim delegation led by Rashid Abdullah al Farham, Minister of Waqfs and Islamic Affairs completed a fortnight's tour of the USSR.

Libya. The Revolution Command Council has 'reformed' the Libyan Cabinet. It is the second time since the Army took over in Libya that there have been reforms in the Cabinet. □ All men and women over 18 are to vote on the referendum to be held on 1 September to ratify the constitution of the Federation of Arab Republics.

Malaysia. In a statement in Parliament, Tun Abdul Razak, the Prime Minister said that the ideology of Malaysia 'is articulated in the Rukunegara (National Ideology) and we shall not tolerate anyone who seeks to impose a foreign ideology on us.'

□ Foreign investment in West Malaysia amounts to \$2,909 millions and are made up as follows: rubber \$746m, agriculture \$220m, tin mining \$216m, manufacturing \$677m, wholesale trade \$384m, banking and finance \$312m, contracts \$37m.

Morocco. King Hasan has appointed a new government headed by Mohamad Camarani former Finance Minister. General Mohamed Oufkir who was responsible for putting down the July coup against Hasan was named Minister of Defence and Major General of the Royal Moroccan Army.

Pakistan. The Nuclear Power Plant at Karachi became operational on August 1 to make Pakistan the first Muslim country to have a nuclear power station. □ America, China and Russia are supporting diplomatic initiatives to arrange talks between West Pakistan and 'Bangla Desh' to be held in Islamabad and Tehran. Pakistan's Foreign Secretary, Sultan Mohammed Khan, visited Tehran as a preliminary to the talks.

Poland. Mr. J. Makonski, Vice-Chairman of the Christian Social Association writing in a Polish weekly said that in the present world atheistic materialism was no barrier to cooperation between Catholics and Marxists but an obstacle would be created "if the atheists resorted to administrative measures in their struggle against religion. Marxists should treat religion not as a transient but as a permanent phenomenon."

United Kingdom. Slough Borough Council, Bucks on the basis of the Town and Country Planning Act, 1968, has ordered a group of Muslims to stop using the front room of a house for prayer. □ Pakistanis from all over Britain converged in Trafalgar Square on 15 August to express their support for the unity and integrity of Pakistan. The rally was attended by more than 20,000 people and called for an end to outside interference and vicious propaganda against Pakistan. □ The Federation of Students Islamic Societies in the U.K. and Eire held its 8th Annual Conference at Manchester University last month. Dawud Owen of the U.K. was elected President. W. A. Wagieallah (Sudan) has been designated Vice-President and Z. Sardar (U.K.) General Secretary.

U.S.A. The gold medallion bearing the engraving of the Dome of the Rock with Israel inscribed as the country of origin has been withdrawn by the publishers, the Britannica Home Library Service Inc. after protest from Islamic groups in the U.S.A. □ Three Jewish organisations—the World Jewish Congress, the Coordinating Board of Jewish Organisations (which includes the Board of Deputies of British Jews) and the International Council of Jewish Women are among 22 bodies which have petitioned the UN to take action against "the gross violations of human rights" in East Pakistan. □ Two million dollars are to be spent by the Christian Brothers, one of America's largest Roman Catholic teaching orders, to promote the brandy and wine they make.

Yugoslavia. The Sixth International Mariological and the Thirteenth Marian International Congress ended on 15 August. Theologians from many countries of Europe, Asia, Africa and from the U.S.A. submitted papers on the subject of "Worship of the Virgin Mary from the 6th to the 11th century."

PEOPLE

Maj. Khalid Hasan Abbas member of the Sudanese Revolution Command Council, Minister of Defence and C-in-C of the People's Armed Forces paid a visit to Kuwait to strengthen the relations between the two countries. □ **Mr. Salman Ali**, Pakistan High Commissioner in London and **Agha Hilaly**, Pakistan Ambassador in Washington are being transferred. □ **Kemaleddin Rifat** is Egypt's new Ambassador to Britain. □ **Prof. Mustafa Hasan** has been appointed Rector of Khartoum University in place of **Umar Muhammad Uthman** who has resigned. □ **Major-Gen. Abd al-Qadir Hasan** has been appointed UAR Deputy War Minister. □ **Anatole Marchenko**, author of "My Testimony"—a banned book on his six years in a labour camp, has been released from prison in Siberia. □ **Ravi Shankar** the Indian sitarist together with **George Harrison**, **Bob Dylan**, **Ringo Starr** and other representatives of pop culture staged an extravaganza in New York's Madison Square Garden, that raised about \$250,000 for

East-Pakistan's refugees. □ **Mawlud Qasim**, Algerian Minister of Waqfs has just returned from a visit to the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Muslim Board of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. □ **Zaid al-Rifai** Jordan's Ambassador in London rumoured to become Jordan's new Prime Minister to replace Wasfi et-Tell. □ **Tun Tan Siew Sin**, Malaysia's Finance Minister has been elected President of Malaysian Chinese Association. The Association forms part of the Alliance Party, the other two sections being the Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC) and the United Malaysian National Organisation (UMNO). □ **Awad Abdal-Majid** has been appointed chairman of the Board of directors of the Bank of Sudan. He replaces **Muhammad Ali al-Mahasy** who was 'relieved' by the Revolution Command Council. □ **Shaykh Muhammad Muhammad Ali al-Awad**, has been appointed Minister of Trade and Industry in Saudi Arabi. □ **Muhammad Ali** (Cassius Clay) has declined a £4,500 fee for a commercial advert to have appeared in Australia because he disapproves of Australia's immigration policy.

VISITORS

Sh. Abdul Aziz bin Saleh, Principal Imam and Chief Justice of Medina. □ **Dr. G. W. Chaudhry**, former Minister of Works under President Yahya Khan. □ **Hussien Siraj** Director General of Muslim World League Mecca (A reception was held in his honour on 15 August by the Muslim Student Trust, London). **Sh. Hasan Bakouri** from Egypt □ **H. E. Abdullah al-Farham** Minister of Aqaf, Kuwait. □ **Dr. Zaghul Najjar** of the University of Kuwait.

DIED

Gen. Jean Njein, 58, Lebanese Chief of Staff in a helicopter crash in Northern Lebanon. □ **Sir. W. Le Gros Clark**, noted as the greatest British Physical anthropologist of this century and author of several books on evolution. □ **Syed Mahmood Mustafa al-Madani**, Vice-President, East Pakistan Nizam-e-Islam Party shot dead on 10 August in Dacca. □ **George Jackson**, 29, (*Sold-d Brothers: The Prison letters of George Jackson*) killed by prison guards at San Quentin, California 22 August.



DEMONSTRATING FOR THE SOLIDARITY OF PAKISTAN
IN TRAFALGAR SQUARE ON 15 AUGUST

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