

MUSLIM VIEWPOINT(S) ON CURRENT AFFAIRS

# impact

international fortnightly

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## TURKEY'S PERMANENT CRISIS

Soon after the end of the Six Day Israeli war in June 1967, *The Times* pointed out that with the smashing of the Egyptian might, only two militaries of any significance were left in the whole region, Pakistan and Turkey. Pakistan has since been cut down to size, and as for Turkey it seems all is not too well.

On the occasion of the anniversary of the Turkish Republic last month, General Faruk Gurler, the Chief of the General Staff in his message to the armed forces expressed regret on the appearance of "publications and statements aimed at degrading and harming the prestige of our armed forces which had played a great part in the creation, defence and survival of the Turkish Republic." He said the armed forces expected "nothing but the love of the supreme Turkish nation." The publications and statements, Gurler pointed out "even bring the armed forces into confrontation with their own nation, create differences between commanders and between commanders and the lower echelon, and serve the aims of our enemies both inside Turkey and abroad." He said the armed forces "constitute a unified entity supporting Ataturk . . . and oppose those who wittingly or unwittingly are trying to destroy our free and democratic Republic . . . the last Turkish State on earth." General Gurler concluded his message with the warning that "the armed forces are determined not to shelter such people, even if they are within the framework of their ranks."

Whatever the real meaning and purport of Gurler's message, it does con-

tain the admission that there is emerging a situation of confrontation between the commanders and the "supreme Turkish nation"; that the nation is no more united in its esteem for the commanders; and that there are now differences even between the commanders and the lower echelon. Whatever the strength and significance of these trends, the very emergence of such tendencies is a matter of vital concern to Turkey's future as a democratic and a progressive society.

It seems General Gurler does not enjoy the same national esteem as his predecessors used to. His promotion too has been controversial. In fact the manner of his appointment, the recent large-scale promotions and reshufflings in the senior ranks, and the enactment barring the publication of the proceedings of the Supreme Military Council, all have raised serious doubts about the conduct of the commanders. The majority of the Turkish press had reflected the feeling that both Tagmac (Gurler's predecessor), Gurler and even the Air Force Commander Batur should be retired to make place for the young commanders. General Tagmac was due to retire on 2 September, but if he had done so, Gurler would have retired before him. Therefore, Tagmac asked to be retired before 30 August and thus managed to help Gurler in. Gurler himself later told the Turkish paper *Yanki*: "The present Commanding Council is made up of Generals who know one another really well. I mean . . . all high level commanders. Army members know each other from Kulely Military School."

Gurler firmly believes that "Attaturk has shown us the target: peace in the country, peace in the world, achieving the level of contemporary civilisation, and the protection of Turkey's unity and integrity." The means to achieve these targets are pre-determined: "Populism, Etatism, Reformism Republicanism, Nationalism and Secularism." Gurler says, "the Ottoman Empire had its own targets too: to keep Allah's name above everything, to expand its territories and to distribute justice. (But) Ataturk's principles are much more valid and dynamic." (Interview in *New Outlook*, Ankara, 25 August 1972).

But what precisely is Kemalism which is eternal as well as dynamic? To say that it is populism, etatism, reformism, republicanism, nationalism and secularism all put together is to make it all the more un-intelligible. The question "what is Kemalism" boils down to "Whose Kemalism". Should it be according to Gurler and Batur or the N.R.P. leader Prof. Feyzioglu, or the Turkish people? Anyway whatever might have been the original meaning and intention, just now it seems reduced to military elitism.

Turkey's problems appear to lie in the self-righteousness and narrowness of its urban elite. Despite half a century of complete sway, this elite has so far failed to convince and carry along the Turkish masses to its way of thinking. There is a kind of Divine Right and Divine infallibility about the whole thing, and this explains that visible lack of faith in the good sense and the patriotic genius of the Turkish people.

Just now Turkey is again passing through a political crisis. Prime Minister Ferit Melen who was brought in last June after the failure of Dr. Nihat Erim (Erim too was a nominee of the commanders) has the impossible job of running a 'military democracy', if that could be the word. Being neither a General nor enjoying parliamentary majority, he finds himself at his wit's end.

There is uncertainty about the next general elections which are due in October 1973. Suleyman Demirel, whose Justice Party commands 312 seats out of 600 in the bicameral legislature warned that "neither the Greek model nor the Yahya Khan formula are forms of government shown in the Turkish Constitution." Demirel remarked sadly that the military rule of Yahya Khan in Pakistan "lost half the country and left our Pakistani friends to pay a fearful debt."

On the other hand, General Gurler is regarded as an interventionist and there have been reports that the commanders may do it again—for the fourth time since 1960. The recent spurt in Left-wing militancy, the unexploded bomb in Adana, and the hijacking of the Turkish airliner to Sofia are seen as possible pre-intervention exercises.

## Survey

## ● SADAT'S VOLTE FACE ● ETHIOPIAN CHARITY

# Uncertainties and Dangers in Egypt

President Sadat's popularity knew no bounds within Egypt when he sent the thousands of Russian military packing last July. As a result of this action all reports stated that he had managed to rise the ridicule which mounted when 1971 came to an end. Sadat was again firmly in the saddle.

It is logical then to expect with Sadat's *volte face* now and the return of the Russians to Egypt that the popularity would wear thin and confirm the Egyptian citizenry in their mood of angry frustration. There is no doubt that Sadat has been humiliated and perhaps he has only himself to blame for being utterly unable to read the changes in the international scene which were made explicit by the Soviet-American detente. Perhaps too he underestimated the power of the leverage that the Soviet Union had over Egypt through military as well as economic bondage.

Whatever have been the pressures, the end of "the pause with the Friend" is already bringing to the fore the tensions and frustrations in Egypt's political life especially, and in making the "battle with destiny" seem more like a masochistic attempt at self-destruction.

For Sadat himself, the prediction that his days are numbered are growing. People are now aware that he has no plans or policies for governing Egypt and is forced or content to live on a day to day basis. Admittedly one can argue that he has been weighed down with the heavy legacy of eighteen years of Nasser's rule and try as he might to relax the police state or to find new friends on the international scene, the odds were always against him. He had put too much misplaced trust on America which partly led him, it is said, to put the 'Communist' Ali Sabry and others under trial for treason. Now it is said that the returning Russians are putting pressure on Sadat to curb the influence of those who were opening their eyes to the reality of the Russian presence in Egypt and the Middle East.

The first person to feel the blow from the Russians' return was Egypt's war minister, Gen. Muhammad Ahmad Sadek, who had rallied around President Sadat when Ali Sabry, former Vice-President, and other ministers attempted to overthrow him. The next person to go was the Commander of the Egyptian Navy, Rear-Admiral Mahmoud Abdel Rahman Fahmy. No doubt those who replace these men would be more amenable to the Russian presence. It all looks as if outside interests have a greater say in the management of Egyptian affairs than Egyptians

themselves. But there is already evidence that not all Egyptians would meekly bend to the prevailing Russian winds. Sadat had aroused too many expectations by his talk of a final decision on the state of "no war no peace", and by his initial expulsion of the Russians.

One of the first manifestations of the rumblings of revolt was the incident in the al-Hussain mosque at the beginning of Ramadan when one officer at least tried to show his dissatisfaction with the way things were going in Egypt. Early reports had said that it was an attempted coup but this was later denied and the officer branded a mental case.

Whatever the details, the incident (together with other recent events) does indicate a widespread feeling of unrest within the army. It is said that this unrest and criticism come mainly from the young recruits who were graduates of the universities where not only Sadat, but Nasser before him, had come in for some embarrassing criticism. Viewed in the context of the events at al-Husseini Mosque, it is possible to see some identity of aims between two polarised forces—the so-called Right and the so-called Left. Already those disparate powers outside the country who are fearful of a return to prominence of the Right, have begun to draw attention to the possibility of a Muslim Brethren hand in the anti-status quo "groundings". This seems at the moment to be pure conjecture and may represent a build-up to deal further blows on any opposition by dubbing it as Brethren. Conjecture in Egypt's case is almost inevitable, but it would only compound a situation fraught with uncertainties and danger. We may well witness in the near future a tightening up of the counter-productive internal security machine. This would all be done under the aegis of the Soviet Union who would be interested to influence Egypt along the right "socialist" line.

Already some examples of this tightening up can be seen. The most influential newspaper man in Egypt, Mr. Heykal, has been specifically told to tone down his anti-Russian articles and he has accordingly fallen in line and turned to writing some innocuous things about the Red Sea, otherwise the editor's chair of *al-Ahram* might well have been vacant. Another editor, Ihsan Abdul Quddus of *Akhbar al Youm*, is understood to be a target for shunting out. He had made his name writing permissive articles in *Rose al-Yusuf* but some how had emerged to catch the ire of the Russians.

There are other groups of assorted intellectuals in Egypt who have been

feeling the pinch. These have recently come out to protest against stagnation and corruption in the nations cultural life. They complain that writings and works of art, to be acceptable, must follow rigidly the regime's political guideline, praising progress and achievements under the "Socialist Revolution". They further contend that to criticise the wretched living and working conditions of Egypt's masses, their political representation, the absence of intellectual freedom, even to express the natural patriotic urge to liberate the country from Israeli occupation, writers and artists must resort to the 'camouflage' of historical transposition to the Turkish or British occupations or the rule of the 'feudal class'.

There is no knowing whether the present rumblings would erupt in a cataclysmic roar. But certainly they would continue to be there so long as the Russians, alien to the land and contemptuous of the Egyptian people, retain their hold over the country. The Russians, there is no doubt now, are hard task masters and they would exact everything from Sadat and the Egyptian people. What Sadat must be worried about is that he does not have the consummate skill of his predecessor which could turn grave setbacks and catastrophes of the first order into political victories.

## Ethiopian dollars for African liberation

Emperor Haile Selassie's donation of £150,000 Ethiopian dollars to the OAU's fund for Liberation Movements is one of those curious but characteristic acts of the 80-year old feudal despot. It is designed to confirm him in the role of liberator and father figure of Africa which surprisingly goes unchallenged among the leftist republicans of Africa. Somehow the Emperor, this Lion of Judah, has managed to chalk up a number of achievements in the international field which include the foundation of the Organisation of African Unity and the basing of the UN's Economic Commission for Africa in Addis Ababa. Yet if any poverty stricken country is ripe for liberation it is Ethiopia. Substantial sections of people who come under its present rule live in poverty and persecution. The grandiose acts of foreign policy would further mask their suffering.

## Yugoslavia — the Haji problem

Yugoslavia is an interesting country, where, as the remark goes there is only one true Yugoslav—Joseph Broz Tito. A

## Survey

## ● MUSLIMS IN YUGOSLAVIA ● PATTANI AGONY

conglomeration of little more than a dozen races, and a country assembled out of European infights and compromises, Yugoslavia is also the place where one can see that both Communism and Capitalism are the two faces of the same coin.

In the on-going conflict in Yugoslavia between hegemonism and nationalism, particularly the escalating tension affecting both the Serbs and the Croats, one misses the fact that the assembly also includes and affects 2.4 million Muslims, and they constitute 13% of the country's population.

The Croat and the Serbian examples show that in spite of a quarter century of coercion and conformism, it has not been possible to create an integrated Yugoslav nation, and, therefore, the Muslims too could not become part of a nation that does not really exist. The hegemonism in their case has meant cultural denial and religious suppression, besides discrimination in the economic, development and the general political sector. Some Muslims have found for themselves a role in "Utasha", the Croat Liberation Movement, and a number of them are currently under trial for "criminal acts against Yugoslavia".

Something which the Tito regime has felt positively unhappy about is the extraordinary tenacity and resilience shown by the Muslims. The younger generation who were born and raised under Titoism are more enthusiastic and concerned about their role and place as Muslims. The number of Muslims who want to go for Haj to Mecca has been going up year by year. In fact the number became so 'large' as to produce a competition between the travel agencies "so that the price difference between the arrangements offered has at times amounted to as much as 3,000 dinars. Some organisations even offered facilities . . . to pay for the trip in several instalments." It has also been reported that while previously people who went for Haj came mostly from the villages but the movement has lately been joined in by the town people as well.

The Executive Committee of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Kosovo met recently to take stock of the situation. It was said at the session that "the reason for such a high number of pilgrims lay above all in the intensified activity on the part of the Islamic Community for visiting Mecca." Another reason advanced was the "agitation on the part of the tourist organisations". The session concluded that "in order to put a stop to these machinations" (of the tourist organisations) people should be banned from travelling via the land route and allowed to go only by air. The proposal if implemented would hardly deter the travel agencies but would definitely make it at least 300% more expensive for a Muslim to proceed for Haj from Yngo-

slavia. It was also recommended that with a view to prevent the pilgrims from indulging in speculation, "no travel document should be issued to those who have been to Mecca and Medina several times". Similarly stringent quarantine measures are to be adopted "for religious believers on their return from pilgrimage". It may be recalled that earlier this year a great hue and cry was raised when a young child was discovered to have contracted small pox. The virus which causes smallpox is not water-borne and infection takes place through the respiratory tract i.e. even if the virus was water-borne and such a contaminated water was taken, it would not be able to produce infection unless it also found its way into the respiratory tract, but it was said that the pox was caused by water from the well of Zam Zam in Mecca which the Hajis (as they usually do) had brought with them.

The object clearly is to discourage Haj by making it more expensive, bothersome and even creating stigma around those who dare to go for Haj.

Like other 'Yugoslavs', the solution to the problem of curtailed freedom would lie in the democratisation of the Yugoslav society. However, if the recent meeting of the Commission of Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia is any indicator, there is no cause for much optimism. The Commission had been convened to discuss democratisation of socio-political life, but could not proceed because there was no quorum; only 10 of the Commission's 40 members turned up.

### Pattani — between repression and gentility

Thailand's military head of State, Field Marshal Thanom Kittikachon told a press conference on 26 October that all forces had been ordered to suppress the Malay secessionists in the southern provinces of Yala, Narathiwat and Pattani. He disclosed that there were at present in the area a small police force and a combined battalion with tanks and other heavy weapons, and that reinforcements might be sent.

What is now termed Southern Thailand i.e. the whole area from the Isthmus of Kra to Malaysia's present borders with Thailand had always been a Malay territory. Since its conquest by Thailand (then Siam) between 1700 and 1786, neither the Malays have been willing to accept Thai rule nor the Thai rulers have tried to make themselves acceptable as just and tolerant rulers. Instead the successive Thai regimes tried to follow the typical colonial policy of forced assimilation, suppression and persecution. Consequently the area has virtually known no stable peace. Having been forced to adopt Thai names, dress, language and

culture; having denied religious freedom even in the domain of personal laws; and, also discriminated against in the economic sector, the Malays have been in a state of continuous revolt. The Malay fate was finally sealed in 1909 when the Anglo-Thai treaty was signed. The Treaty split the Malay peninsula between Britain and Thailand, and thereby was legitimised the Thai occupation of the "Seven States" of Pattani and Sotun.

Since then the Malay/Malaysian authorities, like true gentlemen, have told themselves that these Malay territories now lay within the legal domains of Thailand, and that they should do nothing to interfere in the internal affairs of the neighbouring state.

Evidently the problem has not ceased to exist. The Pattani Malays ignored by the Malaysian authorities and persecuted by the Thais find themselves in a state of helplessness and even some nihilism. A protracted period of underground existence has meant a deterioration in internal communication and cohesion. This has produced splintering and even Thai infiltration. Malaysian indifference to their fate has also pushed them to seek arms from the only available source—the communists. Curiously it is the Malaysian attitude which opens up the area to communist influence.

By now the mutuality and complementarity between Communism and Capitalism should be clear to any intelligent person. Both simply are sticks to beat the enemy with. Under the communist order, the enemy is dubbed capitalist and in a capitalist society the stick to beat the enemy with is communism.

The Thai regime which normally censors all news about Pattani has its own reasons to admit by implication that the 'rebellion' remains unsuppressed, and these lie in the current peace exercise in Vietnam. The U.S. is not really quitting the area. The former Commander of the U.S. Pacific forces, McCain said recently 'that following a cease-fire in Vietnam, Thailand would require much attention because the communists if they gained possession of Thailand would take over the whole of the South-East Asia. It is a familiar argument and the U.S. is already planning to develop Sattahip into a huge naval base. Besides, like the street-girls of Saigon, the Thai regime too would not like to lose such a rich company.

The problem by itself is not insoluble. Depending upon the precise ground situation, it can be resolved either through plebiscite and self-determination, or full constitutional autonomy and reconciliation. Left to Malaysian gentility, Thai repression, American politicking and communist fishing, the area could well become another Vietnam.

# Survey

## ● VIETNAM PEACE

### Vietnam — politics of peace

Since Mr. Nixon's first inauguration as President of the United States, 20,000 American soldiers, 110,000 South Vietnamese troops and thousands of civilians have lost their lives in the Vietnam War. Millions of others have lost their homes. Grave ecological destruction has been wrought on the countryside of Indochina by relentless B-52 saturation bombing attacks. All the human and material devastation was the price Nixon was prepared to pay for what he considered to be American "honor".

This tragic, foolish, criminal war has been so from its beginning ten years ago when America decided to send advisory generals to protect the regime of South Vietnam and allegedly to champion democracy against the rising tide of communism in South-East Asia. Now it seems that peace between America and Hanoi is imminent and it is worthwhile to reflect on the factors which have brought it so close to hand although it is doubtful that the settlement would be a final one, if and when it is reached.

Vietnam, like the Middle East and other areas in the world, has undoubtedly been a victim of competition among the big powers. Now that this competition is giving way to detente, all allies are being ditched to favour the interests of this detente. Hanoi for example has apparently realised that it can no longer count on the support of the Soviet Union or China especially since Nixon's visit to these countries. President Thieu of Saigon is beginning to realise that American support for the South has not been based on an unshakable love for democracy and that he might be jettisoned, just like Nationalist China was jettisoned, in the interests of great power collaboration.

Into this thesis of great power collaboration can fit Nixon's earlier *hard line* against the North Vietnamese. While he withdrew U.S. ground forces from the scene of conflict, Nixon launched the invasions of Cambodia and Laos, planted mines in North Vietnamese waters and unleashed the most devastating bombing campaign in modern warfare. This stepping up of the war weakened North Vietnam's capacity to resist and significantly did not bring any meaningful support to Hanoi from the Communist countries.

The weakening of North Vietnam's capacity to resist and its failure to topple the Saigon regime made it abandon the thrust for "total victory" and turn to the peaceful formula of political compromise. Moscow and Peking's abandonment of Hanoi seems clear. As one observer in Washington said, "The full story isn't in yet. But it looks like Peking and Moscow both line up squarely with the President in this one."

Hanoi's position at this stage was further weakened by the support that Nixon seemed to be getting from the American people. McGovern the firm anti-war candidate was unable to capitalize on the Vietnam issue. The nation's conscience had departed and Americans seem not to care about the war anymore. The anti-war movement fizzled out.

The North Vietnamese leadership then seemed to have given up and to have switched to securing the most favourable guarantees from Nixon in the pre-election period fearing lest his mood might become more bellicose when he was firmly entrenched in power for another four years. Had the presidential election campaign been more closely fought, the North Vietnamese might have held out for some time more in the hope of getting a better deal from McGovern. It was because of Nixon's clear lead and the fact that he seemed to have little need politically for a Vietnam settlement that Hanoi felt the need to come to some terms. It was Hanoi who first leaked the main points of the peace agreement with America.

These main points seem to give a clear advantage to the North as against the regime of President Thieu. These show the concessions that Nixon was prepared to, or felt it necessary to make. If it was not necessary for political ends at home, it must have been in the cause of broadening the detente with Russia and China which was being impeded considerably by the Vietnam war. China and Russia are clearly anxious that the peace settlement should be signed as quickly as possible while of course they continue to speak of the North Vietnamese heroic peoples determination to fight.

The anxiety to sign the peace agreement stem from the incentives which Nixon has offered to Hanoi. By allowing the 150,000 North Vietnamese to remain in the south now, America has given Hanoi some advantage in the political settlement that is meant to bring about the unification of North and South Vietnam. Another main concession is that the Vietnamese people will decide their political future in free and internationally supervised elections. The U.S. has stated that it is not committed to any personality or political tendency. It is natural therefore that President Thieu should feel apprehensive about the terms.

There is still a long way to go in the pursuit of a settlement and the difficulties attending its implementation seem so numerous as to bear the seeds of renewed conflict. But if such conflict does break out again, it seems that the Vietcong and their opponents in the South would have to reckon without the direct presence of the American imperialists.

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## Into the Market, and the new Immigration Rules

M. H. RAZIK

From 1st January 1973 the full provisions of the Immigration Act passed last year will be put into effect. The Immigration Rules published on 23rd Oct. lay down the practice to be followed in the administration of the Act for regulating entry into and stay in the United Kingdom.

In general, those who have the right of abode are not affected by the provisions of the Act. According to S.1 (i) of the Act, "All those who are in this Act expressed to have the right of abode in the United Kingdom shall be free to live in, and to come and go into and from, the United Kingdom without let or hindrance except such as may be required under and in accordance with this Act to enable their right to be established or as may be otherwise lawfully imposed on any person." (For statement of right of abode and related amendments as to Citizenship by registrations, see S.2 of the Act).

Equally in the same position are the Commonwealth citizens settled in the United Kingdom at the coming into force of this Act and their wives and children, for S.1 (5) states, "The rules shall be so framed that Commonwealth citizens settled in the United Kingdom at the coming into force of this Act and their wives and children are not, by virtue of anything in the rules, any less free to come and go from the United Kingdom than if this Act had not been passed". References to a person being settled in the United Kingdom and Islands are references to his being ordinarily resident there without being subject under the Immigration laws to any restriction on the period for which he may remain. But a person is not to be regarded for purposes of this Act as having been settled in the United Kingdom and Islands at anytime when he was entitled to an exemption under this Act or to any corresponding exemption under the former Immigration laws or under the Immigration laws of any of the Islands. (See S.8 (5)). These exemptions refer in general to a member of a mission (within the meaning of the Diplomatic Privileges Act 1964), members of the home forces subject to service laws, members of the Commonwealth forces undergoing training in the United Kingdom, or serving in the United Kingdom as a member of a visiting force.

The new Immigration rules have made some important changes with regard to people entering the United Kingdom for employment. The Commonwealth citizens, in future, will be in the same position as aliens. Except for those coming from the Common Market countries, others, whether Commonwealth citizens or other-

wise, will be permitted to enter Britain for a maximum period of 12 months for a specific job with a specific employer and will require a work permit. The permits are issued by the Department of Employment and the possession of a work permit does not absolve the holder from complying with visa requirements.

A person who is admitted in the first instance for a limited period, and who has remained here for 4 years in approved employment or as a businessman or a self-employed person or a person of independent means, may have the time limit on his stay and job restriction removed unless there are grounds for maintaining it. Applications for variation of leave to enter with a view to settlement may also be received from people originally admitted as, for example, visitors; but permission has to be limited to close relatives of people already accepted for settlement. (See Immigration Rules).

On the other hand nationals of European Economic Community acquire greater freedom of entry than hitherto. When an EEC national is given leave to enter, no condition is to be imposed restricting his employment or occupation in the United Kingdom. Admission would normally be for a period of six months, except in the case of a returning resident or the holder of a valid residence permit. If a person admitted for 6 months enters employment, he would be issued with a residence permit. The residence permit would be limited to the duration of the employment if this is expected to be less than 12 months. Otherwise it would be for 5 years. No permit would be granted if the person has not found employment at the end of the 6 months' period for which he was admitted nor if during that time he has become a charge on public funds. A person issued with a residence permit for 5 years should have the time limit on his stay removed after he has remained here for 4 years in employment, in business or as a self employed person unless in the light of all the relevant circumstances of the case there are grounds for not removing the time limit. Members of the family of such person would be granted extension of stay or issued with residence permits in the same terms as those relating to that person at the time in question.

With regard to a visitor there is not much change, and he is to be admitted if he satisfies the Immigration Officer that he is genuinely seeking entry for the period of the visit as stated by him and can, without working, support himself and any dependants for this period and meet the cost of the return or onward journey.

Visitors coming to stay with relatives or friends are also to be admitted if the Immigration officer is satisfied that no more than a visit is intended and that the support available is adequate.

A person seeking entry for purpose of study in the United Kingdom must produce evidence that he has been accepted for a course of study at a University, a college of education or further education; that the course will occupy the whole or a substantial part of his time; and that he can meet the cost of the course and of his own maintenance and that of any dependants during the course. An applicant is to be refused an entry clearance as a student if the officer is not satisfied that the applicant is able and intends to follow a full-time course of study and to leave the country on completion of it. As a general rule an entry certificate is not to be granted unless the applicant proposes to spend not less than 15 hours a week in organised day-time study of a single subject or of related subjects, and is not to be granted for the taking of a correspondence course. Doctors, dentists and nurses admitted as postgraduate students or trainees will be permitted to take full-time employment which is associated with their studies. A person who can satisfy that he fulfills all the requirements, may be admitted for a period of 12 months depending on the length of the course of study, with a condition restricting his freedom to take employment. The wife and children under 18 of a person admitted as a student would be given leave to enter for the period of his authorised stay. They will not be prohibited from taking employment unless the student himself is prohibited from doing so. If the student's wife intends to take employment, earnings which she may reasonably expect from it would be taken into account in assessing the adequacy of his means of support.

There are further special provisions relating to admission of persons of independent means, self-employed persons husbands, fiancés, fiancées etc. The Rules provide that in certain circumstances the person concerned will have a right of appeal.

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# The change of wind in the Sudan

A. W. HAMID

Since the Addis Ababa Agreement of February last which brought reconciliation between the Southern Sudan and the central government, there has been a noticeable difference on the part of the Numeiry government affecting attitudes and policies both on the national and international levels. The change in attitude has apparently come simply from the sobering thought of responsibility entailed in governing the largest country in Africa one which enjoys a unique position in the context of the African and Middle East situation. The change in attitude seems to imply a greater emphasis on internal affairs and a certain pragmatism in the handling of national and international issues.

The attitude is best summed up by President Numeiry himself when he opened the new people's Assembly which was elected recently. Numeiry said: "Judgement of any regime's effectiveness and success is decided by that regime's ability to solve the problems of its society and to confront the challenges facing it. Our country, like all the other countries in the Arab world and in the continent of Africa, is experiencing situations of regional splits, economic backwardness, ideological partisanship and, moreover, of an aggressive foreign presence. This country of ours has enough problems of its own to occupy it without tilting at windmills."

By "windmills" Numeiry apparently meant the growing criticisms in certain Arab quarters that Sudan was drifting away from the Arab revolutionary camp and moving "to the West and to the Right". It will be remembered that Sudan had contemplated joining the Federation of Arab Republics composed of Syria, Egypt and Syria. The initial caution on the part of the Sudan soon turned in to a lack of interest and now this has given way to open estrangement. Sudan admitted that it wanted to concentrate on internal matters but, more than this, relations with Egypt began to deteriorate earlier this year. The Sudanese government was not happy with the workings of Nasserists in the country. The Secretary General of the Sudanese Socialist Union openly reminded the Nasserists of the fate of

Sudanese communists and warned them not to seek a showdown with the government. Soon after, in May, the Vice-President of the Sudan, Babir Awadullah, known to be a pro-Egyptian, was replaced, although officially he sent in his resignation, while in Egypt. The Egyptians on the other hand object strongly to Sudan's resuming diplomatic relations with America and at the same time was trying to have Sudan follow its twists and turns in its relations with the Soviet Union which Numeiry himself describes as being "very bad". Egyptian press attacks on Numeiry and the Sudan contributed to the deterioration of relations. Sudanese forces on the Suez Canal were withdrawn and Egyptian personnel in the Sudan were dismissed. Relations between the two countries are still on a precarious footing. Numeiry has since made an open attack on Sadat in an interview in the Beirut paper *An-Nahar*.

Meanwhile there have been other critics of Sudan's foreign policy. Sudan's new and close ties with Ethiopia, friend of Israel and bastion of U.S. imperialism in the Middle East, have come in for criticism especially since they seem to be at the expense of the Eritreans who are fighting for independence from Ethiopia. The Sudanese army has also been reported to have had clashes with the Chad Liberation Movement. Numeiry's close relations with the Vatican and such other bodies is also a matter of concern to many since it were the missionaries who were largely responsible for creating the problem of the South.

Numeiry has replied to his critics by saying that the Sudan is not the "follower" of any country. He has criticised those who call themselves the "pioneers of international Socialism" for declining to help in the rehabilitation of South Sudan. He has strongly criticized the Soviet Union for "engineering policies in the (Middle East) area and thereby depriving the Arabs of over taking the initiative". He has said that the Communists had "subverted both the private and public sectors" of Sudan but he has also praised Yugoslavia and China for their assistance.

Numeiry has recently called for the necessity of adhering to "mutual respect and good manners" in international relations and said that Sudan had resumed diplomatic relations with the United States "in the interests of the country's sovereignty". It may really have been because of the substantial amount of aid which America has given and is prepared to give to the Sudan. Indeed Sudan's dependent position has led it to seek and welcome help from almost any quarter and of course many of those helping ask for better treatment and relations with it. Besides the United States for example, formal relations have been re-established

with the Vatican, West Germany, and Rumania. The 10-year ban on Christian missionaries has been lifted. And whether out of design or pressure, the Sudan has agreed to ban rebel movements operating from the Sudan against the Chad and Ethiopian regimes.

Numeiry insists that Sudan has not turned exclusively to the West but in a broadened foreign policy it is prepared to accept friendship from Washington, Peking and points around the globe. Would this give the lie to the assertion of a British journalist who recently remarked that Numeiry had "saved the largest country in Africa for the free world"? This assertion may just be an encouragement for America, Britain and the West to contribute more to and become more deeply involved in the Sudan and has to be taken with some qualification. While West Germany for example (with Britain) trains the Sudanese police force, Sudan retains diplomatic relations with East Germany.

In the important area of the Middle East, Sudan maintains that it has not abandoned its revolutionary stand and that Palestine could not be liberated by conventional war but by guerilla type action from within occupied territory. In addition Numeiry has charged on the 5th anniversary of the June War that "every Arab leader is seeking a settlement with the enemy without regard to the fate of the Palestinian people".

It has also been charged that Sudan is going under the sway of Saudi Arabia and other rightist states like Kuwait and Qatar and others which have been helping out Sudan considerably in its difficulties. Sudan, however, is prepared to have relations with all Arabs whatever their ideological complexions as is shown by the resumption of relations with the Ba'athist regime in Iraq.

A further allegation is that Sudan is consciously drifting away from the Arabs to play a bigger role in Africa out of deference to the wishes of the Southern peoples. Numeiry's visit last July to Tanzania and his relations with his immediate southern neighbours are seen as confirmation of this trend. But these indications should not necessarily be seen in terms of an Arab—African dialectic which has unnecessarily created problems for the Sudan itself and is not conducive to the process of reconciliation which is taking place.

What the Sudan needs most of all now is understanding of the complexities of its problems, and the consequent willingness on the part of others to help. Whatever for example may have been the inadequacies of the Addis Ababa agreement, the human problem of resettlement and rehabilitation remains. The response from

several governments have been quite commendable but the feet-dragging of the British in the matter of aid has been notable especially since it was Britain which was chiefly responsible for the encouragement of separatism in the South.

Aid of course by itself would not solve Sudan's economic problems. America for example is unlikely to resume the massive yearly aid which it gave to Sudan before 1967. As against its former nationalisation policies Sudan has announced a new policy to protect foreign and private investment. Under a new law passed in July, foreign investment in Sudan would not be nationalised or confiscated except through appropriate courts when the country's interests demanded it in which case fair compensation would be paid. Concessions are to be given to industries producing strategic and defense products, industries utilizing local raw materials, and those providing export commodities and employment opportunities. Several concessions have already been granted to countries in the East and the West. A British firm for example is to establish the sugar industry which would make Sudan self-sufficient in sugar by 1976. Firms which were nationalised in 1970, especially smaller ones, are to be returned to the private sector. "It is unbecoming of the government to sell cloth by the meter or run shops", Numeiry has said. The private sector was vital because it would help to "build up the country". The government had failed to run many firms which were nationalised.

The new emphasis then is on development. This in turn is producing a nationalism of a fiercer kind, if only in the minds of Numeiry and his ministers for the moment. The nationalism now stems from the land, or as Mumeiry has put it, from Sudan's "extensive soil with its various racial and cultural divisions which is the sole axis of a loyalty around which all its entities are gathered". This new national feeling has been confirmed in the Sudan by the people's "rejecting naive calls for internationalism, which were put forward in July of last year", according to Numeiry.

Numeiry feels stronger in position than he has ever been and explains a certain expansion in the democratic process. In September the first elections since 1968 were held to elect the 207-member council whose task would be to draw up a constitution within six months after which it would be dissolved and new elections held. The council includes 13 women. A new government was announced in which many former ministers retained their cabinet posts but in which many changes were also made. It remains to be seen how well the new government would work but it is noted that its composition is an improvement in some respects on the former cabinet. The former minister of Education

for example is known to have taken several unpopular measures. The new cabinet has representation from the south in Dr. Lawrence Wol who is Minister of Planning.

It is difficult, however, to pronounce on the direction of the Sudan government. Certainly there is greater decentralization taking place and new policies with regard to agriculture and industry and so on. But on more abstract matters like ideological orientation and international relations the position remains somewhat indeterminate although the leadership speaks of a disdain for "canned and imported ideas". Whether this disdain and the commitment to development would lead the Sudanese in the many parts of their immense country to the type of nationalism which is being advocated is a question which can only be answered several years from now.

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**NEWSMEDIA BOOK SERVICE**

Independence took us Indians by surprise as we had yet to understand the changed circumstances in which we had to live, with our variety of faith and culture. The ordinary Hindu had somehow assumed that the 'Muslim problem' was being settled once for all by Partition. Muslims took time to see that the Pakistan they had fought for was a distant land creating fresh problems for them and solving none.

A quarter century has now elapsed, allowing sufficient time to the Hindus partly to forget the bitter debate culminating in Partition and to the Muslims to realise to some extent the new limits set on their aspirations by that event. A real awareness of Indian pluralism is slowly dawning upon the minds of the Hindu elite and something in the nature of a genuine response from Indian Muslims is now discernible. A review of the past quarter century in the context of this response would be hardly appropriate when all through this period Indian pluralism mostly remained enshrined in the pages of the Constitution and the utterances of men like Jawaharlal Nehru. Our attention would therefore be focussed on the present with only incidental reference to the past.

What exactly do we mean by Indian pluralism? It is not the fact that India is a land inhabited by people of diverse religions, cultures and languages. It is an outlook on the way we are going to shape India's future, consistent with the existing realities and conducive to the fulfilment of our universal aspirations. It presumes that certain broad objectives like economic development, social justice, political solidarity and strength are common to all and they have the willingness to allow each other the fullest freedom in such areas as are not commonly shared e.g., religion, culture and language. It envisages joint efforts under joint governance by concurrence of all sections of the people. And above all it seeks to ensure that differences of race, religion, language and culture will not come in the way of the people being guided by their commonsense, experience, and all the scientific knowledge that be available in the joint enterprise of building a good society in India. As a necessary concomitant it follows that Indians should agree to allow continued existence of diversity in areas which are not characterised by commonly shared aspirations. Lastly this outlook can be sustained only if the methodology of change, the path chosen to arrive at the commonly cherished goals, too is acceptable to the religious and cultural ethos of all the communities.

No eyebrows need be raised at these elaborations, as Indian pluralism is mostly Indian in content. It is neither a philosophy nor a political ideology but an approach to India's reconstruction. It has absolutely no commitment at the metaphysical level, despite the philosophical connotations of the term pluralism. No doubt its antecedents can be traced to western liberalism but there the geneology must end. It shares the empiricism of the new pluralism but is once again non-committal as to the source or sources of value. It bears clear imprints of humanism, but not to the extent of becoming a religion opposed to the already too many flourishing in India.

Despite these negatives it has some substance and a reality of its own. Being in the process of evolution it might evade the grasp of a sharp definition but therein lies its greatest significance.

Indian pluralism is the Indian style of building a prosperous peaceful, strong and good society while injuring none, neither spiritually nor in the material sense and tapping all the energy-potentials of various religious, cultural and linguistic traditions in India.

Men have differed as to the strategy for attaining high ideals which differences have later hardened

\*Presented to the "Consultative Committee of Indian Muslims in the U.S.A. and Canada" Annual Conference, 2-4 September, St. Charles, Missouri, U.S.A.; slightly abridged.

\*Dr. M. N. Siddiqui teaches Economics at the Aligarh Muslim University, India and is a member of the central council of "Jamaat-e-Islami Hind".

## Muslim Indians and Indian Pluralism \*

"Tentative and unorthodox  
conclusion on a subject of  
contemporary significance"

M. N. Siddiqui \*

into ideologies causing conflicts. Transient circumstances, partial experiences, lack of faith in groups of men as well as impatience in dealing with the vested interests have dictated ad-hoc strategies deviating from along established wisdoms of which the religions and long established cultural traditions have been the main repositories caught in the cross-currents of history. External forces have sometimes dictated specific strategies to specific people, and the results have not been always good for those people or humanity at large.

As we stand on the threshold of the last quarter of the Twentieth Century the entire humanity seems to share the crucial ideals relating to the future shape of the society of man. That alas is not true as regards the strategy. And therein lies the predicament of Indian Pluralism in the Seventies.

With these few points in our minds, let us note the specific factors influencing the Indian Muslim response to Indian pluralism. These are:

1. Doubts and misgivings at the spiritual level retarding a reconciliation.
2. Lack of faith in the Hindu commitment to Indian pluralism.
3. Failure to appreciate the dynamics of the situation.
4. The newly emerging conflict at the level of strategy.
5. Passivity, preventing from taking initiative in resolving the conflicts, forging a solid commitment universally, and spearheading the process.

Only brief comments on each one of these five factors is possible as the situation is not yet fully crystallised and exposed to the observer and the analyst.

The truth is that Islam generates a missionary spirit, a reaching out towards humanity with a view to communicating to them the message, creating in them the ethics and orienting the society towards the values willed by Allah. That is when the faith is authentic and healthy, rooted in a real nearness with God and genuine submission to His will. Never did the Truth call for withdrawal, isolation from or rejection of one's society. Mohammed, Jesus and all the Prophets, peace be on them, were propelled by the Truth they had received to active contact with humanity in its service, in constant dialogue with it on what concerned it most, living the ordinary human life amidst them.

Somewhere down the centuries of Islamic history Islam's concept as a social order, a compre-

hensive code of life gained priority over its being a mission with humanity. A historical illusion placed the mission next to the organisation of society according to the Islamic tenets, in thought as well as a time programme. Habit of centuries entrenched the vision of a Medina at the centre of expanding Islam and pushed back into oblivion the Mecca that had given birth to Medina. Thenceafter the soul of the Muslim is ever in search for a Medina. It has come to regard it as a precondition to Islamic living.

It would have been quite alright if this restlessness was like the restlessness of the soul of Mohammad at Mecca, creating in the Muslims of today, surrounded by a vast sea of non-Muslim humanity, the same attitude towards fellow men and leading them to the same kind of dialogue with them. But it is not so. Somehow we have forgotten the simple fact that Meccan life was as much Islamic as that at Medina. In consequence, the politics of dominance has overshadowed the psychology of persuasion. We tend to forget that in a situation like ours the road to Medina necessarily passes through Mecca, and that there are no short cuts. We have yet fully to realise that our yearning for a society in all respects Islamic demands not withdrawal, rejection or indifference but active involvement in Indian life—with a mission.

But Muslims are suspicious towards such an involvement because of the acceptance of entirely novel rules of the game that it implies. That is the crux of the matter. Despite pragmatist appeals from the secularist-modernist and the sophistry and casuistry of the religious-orthodox the soul of the Muslim remains inhibited by a doubt: That Islam is in conflict with Indian pluralism, which one has to accept if active involvement is intended. The more such an involvement is forced upon them by compulsions of the circumstances the more their spirit is haunted by this doubt, making them wavering and occasionally inconsistent in their attitudes and collective policies.

I submit that this doubt is baseless and the conflict ill-conceived. As Muslims we share the major objectives of Indian pluralism. Freedom, equality, and justice especially social justice are Islamic ideals, and indeed human ideals, before they are Indian. We concur on the main ingredients of the Good Society envisioned by other people of India. These shared ideals provide a secure basis for involvement, despite possible divisions regarding the strategy and the details of the future social order of India. But such differences are provided for in the very concept of Indian pluralism, and can be sorted out within its framework. Let us Muslims have faith in God and man, throw out the unproductive doubt that is nibbling at our will to action, and plunge into active living in the Meccan style.

Participation in the task of eradicating hunger, poverty, disease, oppression and exploitation, social discrimination and inequality, and joining the efforts directed at building a progressive, free, peaceful and good society are sure to provide the best opportunities for the type of dialogue and interaction which Indian Muslims must have with other fellow Indians if they want to be true to their faith and mission. For such a society to be ushered in, a new value orientation is required on the part of the Indian people which is beyond the capacity of the secularist-pragmatist appeal of the Indian leaders to produce. Equality, justice and freedom require attitudes that can be created only by the same world outlook that as incorporate reference to life after death and an acknowledgment of the Creator-Sustainer which implies the universal brotherhood of man, equality and freedom from all bondages. Once the bonafides of the Muslims as patriotic Indians are accepted by others as a result of their active participation, the truth can easily be communicated to them. The religious ethos of our people as well as the searching soul of modernity that seems wary of the void in a Godless civilization with its purposeless individuals are likely to assist effectively in a return to faith. The shortsighted device of pushing faith farther and farther away from consciousness, supposedly adopted in the interest of the competitive race for material progress will sooner or



later become counter-productive in India as it has in the West.

The association of this short sighted device with Indian pluralism can not be easily refuted. Add to it the thesis universally propounded by the Muslims that the Hindu is not sincerely subscribing to this new creed of Indian pluralism. He is not willing to allow religious and cultural freedom to the minorities especially the Muslim minority.

This approach is wrong as well as frustrating. We have noted how the framers of the Indian Constitution rose above Hindu chauvinism and revivalism. We also note how modernity is turning the Hindu elite into genuine pluralists. This can be discerned from a gleaning through the Indian Press, current publications and the produce of the other mass media. The Hindu may not be a pure pluralist but he certainly is in transition towards pluralism and away from absolutist Hindu revivalism. The vision of every Hindu as a Jana Sanghi of the R.S.S. brand is false as well as defeatist and frustrating.

In so far as the association of anti-religious tendencies and Hindu chauvinism with the Indian pluralism at present is true, it is absolutely no cause for the Indian Muslims to respond negatively to it. This will destroy the chances of purging Indian pluralism from these negative tendencies. If at all, it provides an added reason why we *should* respond positively to it, strengthen it, become its sponsors and sell it to the masses by joining hands with the sincerely pluralist section of the Hindu elite.

If there was one question to which pre-partition Muslim politics had no answer it was the destiny of those Muslims who were to continue to be Indians after the creation of Pakistan. This bankruptcy has had its disabling effects in the post-Independence period. Even till date the Indian Muslim mind fails to envision a future for it which could be better than its past but *also* different from it. The best that it can hope for is a preservation of what it had in the past, a maintenance of the *status quo*. It is ever haunted by the fear that times are moving against the *status quo*. Having no clear mental picture of how it could be changed for the better it clings to it almost pathologically and is always swearing to die for it.

This emphasis on the *status quo* is coupled with a lack of concern for such aspects of Muslim life as are not unique to them, but deserve immediate attention due to their crucial place in human life. Such is the case with poverty, disease, illiteracy etc. Examine the chief Muslim organisations in the post-Independence India and you will not find these issues on their agenda. They are not Muslim issues!

Religious instruction and Primary Education, Muslim Personal Law, Urdu, *Awkaf*, the Aligarh Muslim University, besides the major issue of anti-Muslim riots, are the main Muslim issues engaging all the energies of Indian Muslims at the collective level. No one can deny this status to these issues. But the two features of the Muslim posture noted above transform their very character. They dictate a style which, besides being wholly unsuited to a solution of these problems makes them into instruments of alienation provoking hostility.

The Indian Muslim emphasis on the *status quo* is the direct result of its failure to see these relevant interests in the context of a fast changing situation and to adapt, adjust even evolve new alternatives, fitted in a future shape of the community which accommodate its genuinely religious and cultural aspirations in harmony with those of the other communities and more alive to the needs of modern living. This irrational posture alienates the sympathies of many who see in it a failure to appreciate the dynamics of Indian pluralism.

A future that ensures the continuance of all that is genuinely Islamic in our past and incorporates many new dimensions that were missing in it due to foreign rule, backwardness, mutual suspicions and a lack of appreciation of the modern values of living is alone capable of being secured and fought for. The past cannot be preserved in its totality. It has many things that are redundant, in the Islamic sense, or because of

the onward march of the times. The Muslim mind till now has lacked the vision of such a future. Bereft of this necessary frame work for the handling of Muslim issues and for adopting the right kind of strategy and style it seems to be facing a wall—a void, dark and ominous. Required of Indian Muslims are new attitudes in a future oriented missionary living. The style of participation and involvement, and the emphasis on areas of agreement and cooperation are preconditions to a policy of dissent, protest and fight for minority rights in modern India.

A sharing of objectives does not, realistically speaking, ensure an agreement on how best the objectives can be achieved. Whatever the verdict of logic, history shows that ends do not ensure the means. The Islamic methodology of change, as well as the Islamic style of managing the Good Society is as much an integral part of Islam as are the Islamic ideals relating to the society of man. Like all religions Islam starts from a change of heart, consequent upon conscious adoption of the Islamic world outlook, and relies upon good behaviour and voluntary action in securing the good of the society. State initiative and intervention supplements, as well as compensates for the deficiency or perversity of individual action in the attainment of the social good. The social objectives have got to be achieved, in any case. That gives added emphasis to State action, but it remains true that the good society cannot be sustained for long by mere State initiative and intervention. A crucial role is therefore envisaged for the Islamic State in inculcating, through education and training, the right sense of values that would ensure the right kind of individual and group behaviour.

Communism, both in its methodology of change and its style of managing the society, has no faith in individual good conduct and voluntary action leading to the social good. It stands for exclusive reliance on authority and organisation. But all organisation takes effect through individual human beings whose value orientation becomes relevant. Deviation and even betrayal of the social good is threatened by the failure to recognise this truth, as history has already proved in the Russian case.

In their haste for economic betterment and social justice, and due to the impatience caused by lack of response to moral suasion in the East, the leaders of some under-developed countries are inclined to adopt the Communist methodology of change. Is that happening in India too? And if the leaders go in for totalitarianism how would the Muslim mind respond?

Communist totalitarianism will amount to a total negation of Indian pluralism. It may be an end of the open mind so envisioned. But, despite the various indicators on the Indian scene the world currents are against the closed mind and totalitarianism.

It would therefore be premature to discuss the Islamic response to such an eventuality. Even if it comes to the worse, Islam is resilient enough to continue exercising some influence paving the way for a further change for the better.

At present we are concerned only with the way the fear of the approaching totalitarianism is affecting the Muslim mind in further distorting its responses. Their present stance contributes neither to prevention nor to cure. Only through participation and in dialogue with fellow Indians can they hope to counteract and ultimately reverse the possible onset of totalitarianism.

This brings us to the total inertia from which the Muslim masses are suffering. It envelops not only the various points of contact or friction between the community and the rest of the people but also their in-group life. The community suffers from a loss of purpose which renders even the communal activities meaningless. Those who do not confuse the routines of physical existence with the active living of a community life will appreciate this point. The poor do not work to earn, the illiterate and the ignorant have no will to learn and the fallen seem to be beyond redemption. Laziness, indifference and inactivity seem to be universal. No appeals in the name of God or man, revelation or reason, touch a responsive cord. Surely there

is something amiss. The faith of the Indian Muslim today shares but its name with the life giving, electrifying faith that once inspired the faithful in Mecca and was soon to transform a seemingly worthless Arab mass into heralders of a glorious yet pious civilization.

It would have been easy enough to make this discourse a diatribe against Indian pluralism showing up its hypocrisy, tearing apart its contradictions and ridiculing the confusions in thought and action that abound with its champions besides the insincerity, even dishonesty of some of them. But we have had enough of it. It satisfies the ego, covers up our own folly and inaction, and leaves you where you are. Let us be honest and sincere with ourselves. Demolishing the concept may account for a lack of response but won't fill the void in the Indian Muslim mind. If the Indian Muslim is to live, and have a better future suited to its soul, here is an opportunity provided we carefully plan our response and abandon the present policy of thoughtless drift and perverse negation.

Happily there are significant and promising beginnings being made. As a few random examples I refer firstly to the newly adopted policy of the Jamaat-e-Islami Hind which reads: "Practical efforts shall be made to solve the serious problems with which both the country and the community is faced, viz. poverty and hunger, disease and ignorance, injustice and oppression, economic exploitation, social inequality, intolerance, Godlessness, moral deficiencies and indifference towards the life after death, etc. . . ." (Clause 4, Jamaat-e-Islami Hind Policy and Programme, 1972-76).

This awareness of problems common to all, and inclusion therein of economic as well as moral issues, as part of a religious party is highly indicative of the change in thinking as well as style that seems to be underway. A similar indicator of a new awareness is the initiative that the orthodox seat of Islamic learning, the Darul Uloom of Deoband, has recently taken towards considering the issue of reforms in Muslim Personal Law. Lastly we can also cite the disaffection from the politics of protest and rejection among the younger, post-Partition generation of the Muslim elite in India. They are canvassing for a new strategy of "do it yourself" supplemented by a linking of the so called Muslim interests with National interests with a view to securing greater attention and ampler resources for their safeguard. A similar disaffection from purely religious sermonizing inattentive to the abject poverty and deepening ignorance of the Muslim masses should also be noticed, to complete the picture. Thus a new perspective is being built conducive to an active and positive Muslim response to the challenges of the Indian situation.

Much would depend upon the extent Indian pluralism as an operational concept succeeds in accommodating the religious, cultural, and linguistic aspirations of the different sections of Indian people, elevating the task of socio-economic reconstruction to a position of priority in the Indian mind, and insulating this area of common interests from the back-lash of dissatisfaction in the above mentioned areas of different though not necessarily conflicting interests. This requires a liberal policy and even some compromises at the cost of administrative or economic efficiency in the initial stages. It is most unfortunate that a section of the Indian elite have failed to appreciate these demands of Indian pluralism. They still harbour a desire for cultural uniformity, for a uniform civil code and total nationalization of the education system. They wish to impose one of the regional languages as the link language. These ill conceived designs, which run counter to the realities, vitiate Indian pluralism and provoke the relevant groups of Indian people into adopting postures that inhibit progress in economic development, political solidarity and social uplift. Once these encroachments into the religious, cultural and linguistic life of the communities are stopped, their negative stance would collapse under their own weight, and the way would be clear for whole hearted participation of all in the task of nation building.

## Letters

### The Antipode of Ka'aba

Dr Sayied seems (*Impact*, Vol. 2:9) not to have read attentively what I wrote. I said that according to an author of over 300 years ago, I mean Hajji Khalifa, the antipode of the Ka'aba lies between the coasts of China and Peru. This is substantially correct. It is doubtful if that author knew the difference of latitude between South China and North Chile.

Hawaiian islands are north of the equator, and I did not say that the antipode should be inside this archipelago, but in that region of the Pacific. Of course south of them. Please refer to the world map and the antipode of the Ka'aba in the "Introduction to Islam" published under my direction.

Dr Sayied's details still leave open the question of the exact antipode, whether it falls on land or sea. Sometime back I wrote to the President of the Geographical Society of Paris, and he also excused by saying that he has no means to determine it.

There is the famous Masjid al-Qiblatain, mosque of the two qiblas, at Medina. If I had money, I would construct a Masjid al-Qiblaat, mosque of many qiblas at the antipode of Ka'aba, even by creating an artificial island at the site.

Paris MUHAMMAD HAMIDULLAH

### Bangladesh Denial

Apropos the Bangladesh High Commission protest regarding Israeli help to Bangladesh tourism, (*Impact*, Vol. 2:9), I have before me a copy of the *Jewish Chronicle* of 7th July, 1972, which *inter alia* states that on being requested by the Bangladesh authorities the 'Israeli Ministry of Tourism has sent full information to Dacca' and that the news of this Israeli assistance to Bangladesh was announced by Mr. 'Hanoch Givton, the Director-General of the (Israeli) Ministry of Tourism'.

As a Bangladeshi, I would like to accept the denial but I am still waiting to see a similar denial published in the columns of the *Jewish Chronicle*.  
London SE.1 ABDUL KHALEQUE

### Whither Pakistan, Whither Bangladesh?

How is one to overcome grief, deep agonizing grief that is not momentary or temporary but a grief that, as everyday passes, gets deeper and deeper?

There it lies, the nation born in the promise that it would show the way to love, justice, peace and brotherhood, torn and split by ignorance and hatred. The concept of supra-linguistic, supra-geographical and supra-cultural brotherhood stands replaced by divisions of colour, climate, language, food and physique. Islam wanted them to excel in love, goodness and selflessness and now they compete in hate, greed and mutual denunciation?

The reason for this is not far to see: the hegemony of despots, self-seekers and small men. Islam, to them was outmoded and impractical, and those who called for an Islamic way of life, an Islamic society, were repressed and dubbed as anti-progressive. And now one can see the ruin these unprincipled and incapable people have brought; upon themselves and upon the country. As for the masses they never cared to know where they were being driven to in the past; even now they do not know what exactly is happening. No wonder then, that Muslims have come to kill one another, not sparing the lives and the honour of even women and children.

The shame of it all has not made them wiser and the process of self-destruction is still on. Is it that they have been condemned to doom by God? How else can one 'justify' this suicidal recklessness?

London, W.5

M. E. BHAM

## Books

### A Tartar Chief

**Bishop Heber in Northern India** (Selections from Heber's journal), edited by M. A. Laird, 324 pages, Cambridge University Press, £6.60.

A moderate Anglican with evangelical sympathies, Reginald Heber was appointed Bishop of Calcutta in 1823. His diocese included all of the East India Company's territories together with Ceylon and Australia. The present book is a selection from his notes and letters which during his stay in Calcutta in 1823-4 and his subsequent journey across Northern India, to Bombay, he regularly sent to his wife. It was from this material that she edited Heber's journal, and published it in 1828 in two volumes.

Dr. Laird has added an introduction and footnote to this selection, with a brief account of early British Missionary and Anglican Church activity in India in the late eighteenth, and the early nineteenth centuries.

The importance of Heber's short sojourn as Bishop at Calcutta is underlined by his approach to the missionary work in India. On Whit Sunday 1825 he appealed to Christian Britain thus: "Can it really be maintained with any semblance of truth, or reason, or humanity, that (the people of India) who toil for us; who shed their blood in our defeats, whose wealth contributes so largely to the prosperity of Britain, and their valour so essentially promotes our security and renown; that these men... are devoid of a claim on affection, our bounties, our services and I will add, our prayers? Can we petition their Father and ours that His glorious Kingdom may come, without desiring... that they may be partakers in it with us? "This was a definite improvement on earlier missionary attitude which assumed that all non-Christians were under the sentence of reprobation from God" or suffered from a "moral incapacity" to receive the Gospel. The underlying objective is, however, the same: to remind and exhort the British to fulfil their "special responsibility" by supporting missionary work in India as elsewhere in their new found colonies.

Until the end of the 18th century the British concern for Indian missions was represented by a small financial contribution. In 1792 Charles Grant, who served the East India Company in Bengal for twenty-two years and subsequently became its director and Chairman, wrote that the state of society among the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain was gloomy. He believed it had been corrupted by Hinduism and Islam, and could only be reformed by the introduction of Christianity. This

was readily taken up by the Evangelicals, who, when the Charter of the company came up before Parliament (1793), pressed for introduction of a clause which would commit the company to send "school masters and missionaries" to India. This clause was withdrawn, however, on the grounds that "attempts to spread Christianity would arouse Indian resentment and therefore endanger British rule".

The successive Governor-Generals sent out to India, however, showed keen interest in missionary work and supported it in whatever form they could. Wellesley, for instance, writes Dr. Laird, "was determined to show that Christianity was the religion of the government; he issued orders for the better observance of Sunday, attended Church regularly, and after his victory over Mysore he appointed 6 February 1800 as a day of general thanksgiving. There was a procession through the streets of Calcutta to the Church, where a solemn Te Deum was sung; and 'the inauguration' of the Christian religion as the religion of the rulers of British India, was announced by the booming of cannon and the parade of twenty thousand troops". It was to train the new generation of the Company officials under Christian and Missionary direction that Wellesley appointed Evangelical Missionaries like David Brown and Claudius Buchanan as Provost and Vice-Provost of Fort William College.

This increased Christian enthusiasm resulted in a 'mutiny' of sepoys at Vellore in 1806 "caused by apprehensions that the British authorities were planning to convert them to Christianity; and also by some of the publications of the Serampore Missionaries' Press, which had reflected most uncharitably on Muhammad and the Hindu gods". But by 1813, the organised missionary pressure was so great that a new "neutrality" clause was introduced into the Charter Bill which said: 'It is the duty of this country to promote the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British Dominions in India; and such measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge, and of religious and moral improvements; and in furtherance of the above objects; sufficient facilities ought to be afforded by law to persons desirous of accomplishing those benevolent designs'. Result: 'The tempo of Missionary activity increased immediately'.

When Bishop Heber landed in Bengal in October 1823, the Company had fully established its supremacy over the Indian subcontinent and the whole land was seething with missionary activity. There-

fore, unlike his predecessor Bishop Middleton, who was vexed at the thought that 'he was not' accorded his rightful status in Indian Official Society, and was ranked beneath the Chief Justices of the Presidencies, Herber as a member of the British elite had no such trouble. He occupied "a sort of half-station, between a parson and a squire". He confessed: "my life has been that of a Tartar Chief, rather than an English Clergyman".

To Heber, this special position coupled with his romantic attitude and his being "most anxious for the cause of Christianity in India" proved especially helpful in his position as the Bishop of Calcutta. The special significance of his work lies in his "moderation" at a time when "Evangelicals and High Churchmen regarded one another with deep and unconcealed aversion". Heber refers to these divisive forces as "the two fiercest and foolish parties that ever divided a church". In the 'journal' we find more and more of Heber, the romantic, who as a boy in the long winter evenings with a group of boys round him "narrated some chivalrous history, or repeated ancient ballads, or told some wild tale, partly derived from books, and partly from his own invention. For the exact sciences, or for critical knowledge, Reginald (Heber) had no taste".

M. S. Kayani

## The Great Conflict

The Crusades by Hans E. Mayer,  
339 pages, Oxford University Press, £3.

The Crusades is a subject which has continued to claim the attention of historians. And well it might. For in the long, close and often bitter contact between Christians and Muslims, the Crusades of the late eleventh century to the thirteenth century stand out as one of the periods of the most sustained and direct confrontation—one which has continued to have repercussions right until the history of our time. The legacy of the crusades of course had its share in the outward expansion of the Europeans beginning in the fourteenth century in what is known as the Age of Reconnaissance. As such it played its part in the foundation of European imperialism and coloured the relationship between the imperialists and the Muslims over whom they held sway. One of the indications of the strength of persisting crusader feeling was the famous remark of the British General Allenby who proclaimed on his triumphant entry into Jerusalem in 1917. "Now the Crusades have come to an end". Such a statement of course gives substance to the remark of one of the more well-known modern historians of the Crusades, the philhellene Sir Steven Runciman. He noted in the preface of his third volume on A History of the Crusades that "The History of the Crusades is a large subject with undefined frontiers."

The study of the Crusades in our times of course has another particular significance. The predominantly Muslim lands of Palestine have again been occupied by forces which acquired their cohesion and their support in the West. And if one believes in the lessons of history one can see a number of parallels in the history of the implantation of alien forces in Palestine in the eleventh century and the setting up of the Zionist State of Israel. To pursue this comparison would be a lengthy affair, but one which would prove

valuable to anyone wishing to determine the strength and the weakness of the various parties in the conflicts, then and now. A few examples of this comparison may be given.

In the first place it is now agreed by all historians that the Crusaders were only able to establish themselves in 'Outremer' because of the fragmented nature of the Muslims in Syria and Palestine which had its roots in dynastic conflicts, opposing tribal confederations and ideological anarchy. In the case of the Zionist state, it could only have been established with the break up of the Ottoman State which was achieved by among other instruments, turning Arabs against the Turks. Secondly the crusading states were only able to maintain themselves with a constant supply of manpower, finance and material from Europe. It is too early yet to say this of the Zionist state but the signs are already there. Thirdly, effective resistance to the Crusaders only came when the lands surrounding the crusading states from Egypt in the south to the northern limits of Syria were under one political and ideological unity though it could not be called a unitary state. This came almost one hundred years after the entry of the crusaders.

Strictly speaking these prognostications are outside the realm of history and it behoves us to go back to facts which are verifiable and to interpretations of events which have taken place. The latest addition to the literature on the crusades is Hans Eberhard Mayer's work, originally published as *Geschichte der Kreuzzuge* (Stuttgart 1965) and now appearing in English under the title *The Crusades*. The book hopes to provide a brief but scholarly account of the Crusades at another remove from the massive and important collective work *History of the Crusades* (edited by K. M. Setton) two volumes of which have appeared and a further four are planned.

Mayer's book may and should replace many of the books which have been written on the Crusades especially those of a popular nature in which the prejudices of the early crusaders are kept very much alive. Written as it is very much from the standpoint of a westerner it would not displace such a book as *The Crusaders in the East* by W. B. Stevenson which was written in 1907 and remains an excellent and authoritative work. (This has recently been republished by Librairie du Liban, Beirut). Stevenson's work is written with a stress on the "eastern point of view" and its narrative is drawn to a great extent from Muslim sources. This makes Stevenson's work indispensable and throws into relief some of the dark spots of Mayer's account. Mayer seems to be weak on the Muslim side of the story. In speaking for example of the schism which existed between Sunni and Shi'a, it is stated that "The Abbasid caliphs of Bagdad were Sunnites since they had to be very orthodox in order to make up for being upstarts who had wiped out the legitimate Ommayad caliphs of Damascus. On the other side because Ali had had several wives it was inevitable that the Shi'ites too would split up." All this makes very poor history but happily there are not many examples of this.

The usefulness of Mayer's work lies with the light it sheds on the origin of the Crusades and in the very definition of what a crusade meant. He has put the religious and economic motivations in proper perspective in the light of which the explanations of writers like Glubb Pasha seem simplistic though not to be disregarded. Of course the term crusade was not used at the time they took place and so one of the tasks of historians has been to define what a crusade was. Mayer asserts that two essential characteristics of a crusade were that it should be armed and that it should have papal approval or cooperation. According to this the wars against the Muslims in Spain which was waged by Normans could not be elevated to the status of crusades or even 'proto-crusades' since they lacked papal support. Similarly the so-called Children Crusade of 1212 was not technically a crusade since it was not armed.

The body of the book is in the form of a continuous chronological narrative though it does include much analysis and incorporates much recent research. For example, new light is shed

on the Military Orders and on the internal revolt in the Kingdom of Jerusalem which Mayer says most probably took place in 1134 and not a couple of years previously. Also such new material as the rural, economic and social conditions in various parts of the crusading states are given and the contributions of historians like Gibb are taken into account.

It is the short final chapter of the book entitled "The Aftermath: Consequences and Perspectives" that is one of the most stimulating. Mayer attempts a short balance sheet of the centuries of armed combat between Christendom and Islam which is well worth scrutiny. On a broader plane, he sees the Crusades as essentially part of the great conflict between East and West which began with the conflict between Greece and Persia and still goes on today. Yet Mayer believes that the Crusades proper came to an end in 1291 and this is where any history of it should end. He is critical of the historians who have seen the fifteenth century wars against Islam as crusades and of the Ottoman expansion in the sixteenth centuries as counter-crusades. And he asks almost contemptuously whether the dismembering of the Ottoman Empire by the European powers should be called a kind of 'anti-counter-crusade'.

There is a certain amount of sophistry involved in this argument, yet, there are those who speak of the spirit of the crusades persisting and there seems to be much justification for their view. This view makes a study of the crusades a preoccupation not merely of medieval minds but of modern minds as well who want to grapple with the underlying currents of our time.

A.W.H.

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## Briefing

**The Need for an Encyclopaedia of Islamic Law (Mada al Hajat ila Mausua' til Fiqh-il Islami)** (Arabic) by Dr. Jamaluddin Atiyya Al-Muhami, *Darul Bahoothil Iilmiah*, Kuwait, Two liras.

Underlines and advocates the need for a comprehensive reference work on Islamic Law from two stand-points: (1) Islamic and (2) International. As to the first, such a work is needed in order to (1) foster unity within Muslim community (2) make the classics on Islamic Law more widely accessible to scholars; (3) enable and equip Muslim scholars for 'ijtihad' and contemporary legislation in the light of "Shariah" and (4) understand, interpret and apply Islamic Shariah to the new life situations. Such a reference work is also required for showing that Islamic Law is equally compatible as an international piece of legislation and if used in international courts would bring better justice and harmony. It will also be immensely helpful as a reference book for university students and those engaged in comparative studies in Islamic Law. The book also carries a list of important works on Islamic Law by classic Muslim jurists, as well as some famous orientalists, along with the names of the universities and research institutes engaged in studies and research in Islamic Law.

The second book (Al-Takhtit al-Tafsili . . .) — "Detailed Synopsis of Some Topics of (proposed) Encyclopaedia—is by the same author who was the Secretary-General of the "Encyclopaedia on Islamic Law Project" sponsored by the Government of Kuwait; the project has since been abandoned, it gives a somewhat detailed plan of a study in Islamic jurisprudence and Law. Under each separate topic, main outlines are given which if expounded and enlarged promise to make up a complete work; where necessary important reference books are also cited. Primarily written to assist students of 'Shariah', it can serve as a good guide in every research work on the subject.

**OSS The Secret History of America's First Central Intelligence Agency**, by R. Harris Smith, *University of California Press*, £3-95

A research history of CIA, tells how from virtually nothing it was created as office of strategic services by William Joseph Donovan, "Wild Bill", an Irish Catholic and a rich Wall Street lawyer at the behest of President Franklin Roosevelt. Within a few months "Wild Bill" was able to give America, which then lacked any major secret service in 1941, an organisation that employed 13,000 agents on both sides of the battle front. The task of this organisation was "to collect and analyse strategic information and to plan and operate special services". "Wild Bill" said "every man or woman who can hurt the hun is okay by me". This meant assembling a most disparate group of persons from almost all professions and countries. The CIA is the post-war successor of OSS. The author remarks "the CIA in no aberrant mutation of Donovan's dreams, it is in many ways the mirror image of OSS". Some former staff members: Herbert Marcuse, John Birch, Julia Child, Arthur Schlesinger Jr. and others.

**The Mind of Adolf Hitler**, by Walter C. Langer, *Basic Books*, \$10-00.

First written in 1943 to present a psychological profile of the Nazi leader for the American office of strategic services, is published now with a preface by the historian Robert G. L. Waite, who observes: "seldom in the history of western civilization since Jesus has so much depended on one man's personality. It is important to study it in depth". The analyst Langer enlists Hitler's manias as—wolves, severed heads, pornography; phobias: horses, moonlight, syphilis. Contradictions: he fretted over the kindest way to cook live lobster and wept at the death of a pet canary.

And his 'strengths' are summarised as will power, self-discipline, courage, tirelessness, ability to manipulate crowds (regarded by him as feminine in nature) and his rhetorical power. The analyst concludes: Hitler was "probably a neurotic psychopath bordering on schizophrenia"—not insane but was emotionally sick and lacked normal control over anti-social tendencies.

**Turning Point in China: an Essay on the Cultural Revolution**, by William Hinton, *Monthly Review Press*, £2-50.

Sets out the official Chinese view on cultural revolution that although a socialist country since 1957, comparable changes had still to be effected in its superstructure. Ideas, culture, customs and habits had to be transformed through suitable institutions to reflect and perpetuate them in the fields of education, religion, science and the arts besides weeding out vestigial traces of bourgeois ideology. The cultural Revolution is said to have brought about precisely this transformation thwarting the conscious or unconscious aspirations of the opposition. There are many gaps and missing links. On the death of Lin Piao for instance, the book is silent.

**Foreign Aid and Industrial Development in Pakistan**, by Irving Brecher and S. A. Abbas, *Cambridge University Press*, \$17-23

A comprehensive study of aid and industrialisation in Pakistan, gives a complete picture of the uneven growth together with the factors that shaped it. The country enjoyed a sophisticated administrative machinery for pumping in aid into economy. For individual projects helpful to national development such aid is a blessing. But then social injustices combined with opportunistic politics came in and the unhappy results are there.

**Muhammad the Prophet of Unity**, by Syed Sulaiman Nadavi, Translated by M. A. Rahman Sayeed Siddiqui, *Turjuman-e-Hayat Publications*, Hyderabad, (India), Re.1 pp34.

The renowned Indian scholar speaks convincingly on the life of the Prophet and says that he was the last Apostle of God to enunciate the essential unity of life and the oneness of man. "This revolutionary teaching", Sulaiman Nadavi observed, "has gone a long way to foster unity among human races. On the basis of the belief in one God and Prophethood all men of the world were united in universal brotherhood. The message 'Do not be jealous. Do not be vindictive. O slaves of Allah! live together like brethren'.

## Listing

**Moorish Culture in Spain** by Titus Burckhardt, *George Allen & Unwin*, £5-50.

**A History of the Maghrib** by Jamil M. Abun-Nasr, *CUP*, £4-60.

**Economics of Insurgency in Making Delta of Vietnam** by Robert L. Sansom, *The M.I.T. Press*, London, £1-40.

**The Limits of Foreign Policy** by Christopher Thorne, *Hamish Hamilton* (Discusses the period 1931-33, the break-up of the League of Nations as a prelude to the Second World War).

**The Western Marxists** by Neil McInnes, *Alcove Press*, £2-95.

**Lukac's concept of Dialectic** by Istvan Meszaros, *Merlin Press*, £2-50, paper £1. (Reissue of essays on Lukacs).

**Fifty Years of Communism: Theory and Practice 1917-1967** by G. F. Hudson, *Penguin*, 30p.

**Class and Society in Russia** by Mervyn Mathews, *Penguin*, 35p.

**The Poems of Mao-Tse Tung**, Translated by Willis Barnstone and Ko Ching Po, *Barrie and Jenkins*, £1-75. (A collection of Mao's 41 poems written over a period of 38 years, includes his biography and history of the Chinese Revolution).

Text of law issued by the Revolution Command Council defining the penalties for theft and brigandage:

In the name of the people, the Revolution Command Council, in accordance with the tolerant Islamic Shari'a, in response to the desire of the Arab Muslim people of the Libyan Arab Republic, in confirmation of Article Six of the Constitution of the Federation of Arab Republics, after taking cognizance of the constitutional proclamation issued on 11th December 1969, of the Revolution Command Council decision issued on 28th October 1971 forming committees to revise and amend legislation in accordance with the basic principles of the Islamic Shari'a, of the Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Law issued on 28th November 1953, of the results reached by the supreme committee on revising legislation in accordance with the aforesaid Revolution Command Council decision issued on 28th October 1971, and in accordance with the recommendations of the Minister of Justice and the approval of the Revolution Command Council, the Revolution Command Council has issued the following law:

#### Chapter 1: Provisions on the Punishment of Theft

Article (1) Conditions which should be available for theft liable to punishment: After taking into consideration the provisions of article (3) of this law, the following conditions should be available for theft which is liable to punishment:

(a) The perpetrator should be sane, should have completed 18 hijrah years of age, should not have been forced to carry out the theft and not in need or compelled to steal.

(b) The perpetrator should take the property secretly with the intention of owning it.

(c) The stolen property should be movable and owned by others provided that its value is no less than 10 Libyan dinars at the time of the theft.

Article (2) The punishment of theft: If the conditions in the previous article are available, the thief will be punished by amputating his right hand.

Article (3) Theft is not liable to punishment if the perpetrator has the benefit of the doubt as in the following cases:

(a) If the theft is made from public places while working in it or from any other place to which the perpetrator is permitted to enter provided that the stolen property is not under guard.

(b) If the theft takes place between members of one family or between spouses or among people related within the tables of kindred and affinity.

(c) If the owner of the stolen property is unknown.

(d) If the perpetrator is a creditor of the owner of the stolen property and the owner was procrastinating or reluctant to pay the debt and the debt became due before the theft, provided that what the perpetrator seizes fulfils his right, or more than his right, if he believes that it does not reach the amount punishable by law.

(e) If the stolen object is fruit from trees or the like such as plants provided that the perpetrator eats it without carrying it away.

(f) If the perpetrator is an accomplice by agreement, instigation, or assistance unless the assistance reaches the limit of regarding the perpetrator as a direct accomplice.

(g) If the perpetrator acquires the stolen property before the final court decision and after theft.

(h) If the perpetrators are more than one and each one's share does not reach the amount punishable by law unless the stolen object reaches the amount punishable by law and cannot be stolen except by their co-operation together.

(i) If the thief has any claim of ownership such as to a company or dues from Waqf, theft from the Treasury (Arabic: Bayt al-Mal) or theft from the spoils of war.

The aforementioned does not alter the subsection of the aforementioned cases to the provisions of the penal code or to any other law.

#### Chapter II: Provisions Concerning the Termination of Brigandage (Arabic: hirabah).

Article (4): The crime of brigandage and the conditions for its elimination:

(1) The crime of brigandage is committed on

# Text of the Libyan Law on Theft and Brigandage

one of the two following cases:

(a) Seizure of the property of others by force.

(b) Blocking roads and stopping traffic for the purpose of intimidation.

(2) In the above two cases arms and any weapon which can harm human bodies must be used or their use threatened.

(3) If brigandage takes place within inhabited areas, brigandage is established when help cannot be provided.

(4) The perpetrator must be sane and at least 18 years of age. He must commit this act willingly, not under duress.

Article (5): Punishment for brigandage: The brigand is punished as follows:

(a) By death if he kills, whether he seizes any property or not.

(b) By amputation of the right hand and the left foot if he seizes property without killing.

(c) By imprisonment if he intimidates traffic.

Article (6): Cancellation of punishment for brigandage by repentance:

(1) Punishment of a brigand is cancelled if he repents before his arrest in the following two ways:

(a) If the perpetrator abandons brigandage before the authorities' knowledge of the crime and its perpetrator, provided that the brigand declares his repentance to the Public Prosecutor by any means.

(b) If he surrenders himself willingly to the police or the Public Prosecutor before the authorities' ability to arrest him became known.

(2) Punishment of the perpetrator is not waived in connection with the payment of blood-money, nor is it waived with respect to other crimes he has committed under the Penal Code.

Article (7): Investigation of repentance connected with brigandage.

(1) If the perpetrator declares his repentance according to the foregoing provisions, the Public Prosecutor will carry out investigations and discuss the necessary conditions for cancelling punishment.

(2) If investigation shows that there are other punishable crimes or that there are rights due to the Victims, such as punishment or blood-money, insured property, or that there is no doubt about any of this, the Public Prosecutor will pass the documents to the concerned court for judgement.

(3) If investigation does not indicate any of the above, the Public Prosecutor will decide the absence of any reason for filing a case against the repentance of the perpetrator before the ability to arrest him was made known.

#### Chapter III: Common Provisions:

Article (8): Censure of a perpetrator who has not reached the age of 18.

Excluding the age condition provided in Articles (1) and (4) if the perpetrator in the crimes provided for in these two articles has not reached the age of 18, he will be censured as follows:

(1) If he is seven years of age or more but has not reached the age of 15, will be censured by guidance, enlightenment and blame. If he is above the age of 10 he may be punished by beating according to his age.

(2) If he has reached the age of 15, he will be

censured by beating for the crime of stealing. For the crime of brigandage, he will be censured by beating and by being placed in a legal reformatory.

(3) In the two cases provided in the above two articles, if the crime is committed repeatedly, the perpetrator will be sentenced to beating according to his age. If he has reached the age of 10, he will also be sentenced to emplacement in a legal reformatory.

(4) The crimes provided in this law are considered as one crime in connection with repetition.

(5) The censure provided in this article are considered as mere disciplinary measures.

Article (9): Theft and brigandage are crimes punishable by the provisions of this law. Article (9) is connected with the two kinds of crime: theft and brigandage.

Article 10: Confirmation:

(1) The crimes provided in Articles (1) and (4) of this law are confirmed by the confession of the perpetrator only once in front of the judicial authorities or by the testimonies of two witnesses. The victim is not considered a witness except in the case of brigandage if he testifies for others.

(2) The perpetrator may change his testimony before the final judgement is issued. If the case is not confirmed by testimony, it will be dismissed. This does not affect censures according to the provisions of item (4) of this article.

(3) The renowned (Mash-hoor) principles of Imam Malik's doctrine will be taken into consideration with respect to the truth of the confirmation and witnesses and their conditions. The testimony of the witness is considered as a censure if the witness avoids (AL-Kaba'ir) major offences and mostly minor (Al-Sagha'ir) ones.

(4) Censure penalties provided for in the Penal Code will be applied if the legal proof provided in the same article is incomplete or if the perpetrator changes his testimony when the judge is convinced that the crime has been committed by any proof or presumptive evidence.

Article (11): Commencement (of crime):

(1) The Penal Code provisions are applicable to the commencement of the crimes of theft and brigandage punishable by law.

(2) The punishment for the commencement of the above crimes will be defined according to the provisions of the two Articles (60) and (61) of the Penal Code on the basis of the penalty for the crime described in the above code.

Article (12): Multiplicity of crimes and penalties:

(1) If the punishable crimes of the perpetrator are repeated, he will be punished for the repeated crimes as follows:

(a) Penalties of the same kind and of the same degree are considered as one penalty.

(b) If penalties are of the same kind but of different degrees, the heaviest penalty is applied.

(c) If penalties are different, all of them are applied.

(2) If among the crimes of the perpetrator there are other punishable crimes under the Penal Code or any other law, penalties will be applied according to the provisions of the previous article, without violation of the penalties provided for other crimes.

(3) The penalty for killing is either death or recompense (qassas), and is above all other penalties.

Article (13): Recidivism:

(1) If the perpetrator who has been punished for the crimes of theft and brigandage punishable by terms other than execution repeats his crimes, he will be punished by imprisonment. He may be released before serving the period of the penalty if he repents according to the provisions of the following article.

(2) If the crime is repeated the penalty will be life imprisonment.

Article 14: Measures for ascertaining the repentance of the recidivist:

(1) The recidivist criminal must not be released according to the provisions of item (1) of the previous article before serving three years imprisonment.

(2) After serving this period, he may declare to the Public Prosecutor his repentance for the crime of theft or brigandage. The public prosecutor will undertake investigation of the declaration and

## Text... Libyan Law on theft and brigandage

ask the persons responsible for the behaviour of the perpetrator in prison whether his behaviour will be improved if released. The Prosecutor will refer the request and the investigation documents accompanied by its opinion to the court which issued the sentence.

(3) The court will release the prisoner if his repentance is confirmed. The court releasing the prisoner may stipulate that he should be observed for a specific period not exceeding the rest of the period of his imprisonment, or any other protective measure which does not restrict freedom.

(4) If the court turns down the request, the request must not be renewed for at least one year from the date of rejection of the request.

(5) The decision to release the prisoner for his repentance must not be contested or the request for the release rejected by way of contest.

Article (15): Cancellation of charges on both crimes after the expiry of the period:

The charges on the two crimes punishable under this law will be dropped after 10 years from the day the crime was supposed to have been committed unless the culprit admits committing the crime. The period of the penalty for the crimes provided in the Penal Code will then be fixed.

Article (16): Termination of penalties after the expiry of the period:

(1) The penalties provided in this law will terminate after 20 years with the exception of the penalty for killing which will terminate after 30 years unless it is issued according to the confessions of the culprit.

(2) The period after which the penalty will be terminated begins from the time of the final judgement.

(3) No obstacles should be raised to the application of this period of time.

Article (17): Confirmation and inevitability of penalties:

No order should be issued stopping implementation of the penalties provided in this law, changing them for others, commuting them, or pardoning them.

Article (18): Presentation of the sentence to the Court of Appeal:

According to the bases and procedure for contesting criminal sentences:

(1) If the sentence is issued in the presence of the culprits for the crimes provided for in Articles (1) and (4) of this law, the case must be referred to the Court of Appeal with all documents within 40 days from the date of the sentence. The court will appoint a lawyer for the defendant if the latter has no lawyer. The Public Prosecutor will present a note concerning his opinion within 15 days from the presentation of the case. The lawyer of the defendant may present his defence within 15 more days.

(2) The Court of Appeal will issue its ruling in the case legally and objectively and this ruling will be irrevocable.

Article (19): Implementation of the sentence:  
The sentence issued for the crime will not be implemented until the Court of Appeal issues its ruling.

Article 20: Implementation of the death and imprisonment sentences:

The penalties of death and imprisonment provided for in this law will be implemented according to the rules and measures in force concerning the implementation of the death sentence and imprisonment sentence.

Article 21: Implementation of the amputation penalty.

The amputation penalty provided for in Article (2) and (5) of this law are implemented as follows:

(1) The implementation must be immediately preceded by a medical examination of the defendant by a forensic doctor to determine whether the implementation must not be carried out in view of sickness, pregnancy (Arabic: hamlin) or the like. If the doctor believes that implementation must be postponed, he should define the period of postponement.

(2) The amputation sentence will be implemented at the prison hospital or at a general hospital by a

specialist doctor in a surgical operation following suitable medical methods, including anaesthetizing the defendant.

(3) The hand must be amputated from the wrist connecting the palm. The foot is amputated from the ankle bone.

(4) The patient will remain under medical care for the period fixed by the doctor who performed the operation whether in the hospital or outside it. The necessary medical precautions and treatment must be taken to prevent any possible complications.

Article (22): Special provisions for amputations:

(1) The hand of the thief is amputated even if it is paralyzed or has one thumb or the fingers cut off, if there is no fear that he may die of paralysis.

(2) The thief's (right) hand is not amputated in the following cases:

(a) If his left hand is already amputated, paralyzed, or has one thumb or two fingers other than the thumb cut off.

(b) If his right leg is amputated, paralyzed, or lame in a way that prevents walking on it.

(c) If his hand is cut off during the theft.

(3) If amputation is not carried out the perpetrator is censured according to the provisions of the Penal Code.

Article (23): Committal (ihalah):

The renowned principles of Imam Malik's doctrine will be applied whenever the provisions of this law are not applicable with respect to the crimes of theft and brigandage. If the renowned principles do not apply, the provisions of the Penal Code will be applied.

With respect to the measures, these will be taken according to the provisions of the criminal procedure code if these are not provided in this law.

The provisions of this law do not violate the provisions of the Penal Code or any other law unless special provisions are endorsed in this law.

Article (24): All ministers, each in his jurisdiction, should implement this law which will come into force 30 days after its publication in the official Gazette.

(Signed): Revolution Command Council, Maj. Abd as-Salam Ahmad Jallud, Premier.  
(non-technical translation from Arabic, Courtesy, BBC).

## More than a Century of Islam in Australia

Islam in Australia had an uneventful beginning when in the 1860's Afghan camel drivers were brought-in to bridge many important communication gaps and opened new supply routes in the harsh environs of Australia. Thirty years later, the first mosque in Australia was built in Perth. After the first world war the Australian Muslim community began to expand and was joined by Muslims from India, Egypt, Malaysia and Turkey. A notable addition was Muslims from Albania; these now operate three Islamic societies: one in Mareeba, Queensland, one in North Carlton, Melbourne and another in Shapperton, Victoria. A current estimate by the Australian Federation of Muslim Students Association (AFMSA) puts the number of Muslims living temporarily or permanently in Australia around 25,000-27,000.

Throughout the years the Muslim community of Australia has been striving to maintain its faith and identity; and many prayer places have been built in spite of a multitude of difficulties. The most recent addition to the already existing mosques in Canberra, Mareeba, Shepperton, Adelaide and Perth is the one in Brisbane, capital of Queensland state. The ultra-modern structure, designed by a Pakistani student of University of Queensland and built with \$A31,000 and the sweat and labour of the local Muslim community, replaces an old wooden mosque built in 1907. Another two—one in Sydney and one in Melbourne—are in the planning stage.

The Muslim students in Australia are very active both on the university campus and in the local community. AFMSA has constituents in Universities of Tasmania, Monash, Newcastle, Sydney, New South Wales, Queensland, Adelaide, Western Australia and La Trobe and aims 'to promote the mutual interest and feelings of brotherhood amongst Muslim students in Australia'.

According to Mr. Fehmi Imam, General Secretary of AFMSA, the Muslims in Australia have always had a friendly, understanding relationship with the host community, the future appears bright.

## Islamic Centres Conference

Islamic Secretariat is planning to hold a conference on the role of Islamic cultural centres in Europe either in Rome or Geneva on or about 15 November 1972.

### Dutch to Limit Immigration

In a second attempt to reduce the influx of immigrant workers to Rotterdam, the City Council is pondering over a plan which will prevent immigrant workers from staying in Holland for more than two or three years. There are about 110,000 foreign workers in Holland; 30,000 in and around Rotterdam.

### Islamic Study in Paris

The Islamic Students Association of France has prepared a 8-point Islamic study programme for its members. The programme comprehends the basic framework of the Muslim society, the role of family, mosque and education, social and economic organisation and the model Islamic society. ● Arab students expelled from West Germany would continue their studies in the GDR.

## In the News

Pakistan ambassador *Mian Mumtaz Daultana* will meet Pakistanis in London at various Eid receptions: Pakistan Welfare Association, Balham on 11 Nov.; with Habib Bank on 13 Nov., Pakistan Welfare Association, Waltham Forest on 18 Nov.; with weekly "Sangram" on 19 Nov. ● *Miss B. N. Aziz* appointed lecturer in social anthropology at Edingurgh University ● S.O.A.S. Islamic Society: President, *Waguallah*; Secretary, *Miss Ayesha Thompson*.

## Redundant churches may be used by other faiths

### IMPACT REPORT

The British Council of Churches has decided that in future redundant churches, stripped of their Christian symbols can be made available for use by other religions for any purpose they may require. It urged the churches in multi-racial areas to use their premises to promote justice and brotherhood among different races.

As for the churches in regular use, the B.C.C. said, they may not be made available for acts of worship by other faiths. It also warned the churches to avoid "those forms of inter-faith worship which compromise the distinctive faith of the participants and should ensure that Christian witness is neither distorted nor muted".

Earlier the Church Commissioners decided that St. Mary's Church, Saville Town, Dewsbury, should not be sold to the local Muslim community for conversion into a mosque. The Commissioners announced that after considering all the issues involved in this case they have "decided to withdraw the draft scheme for appropriating the building to use by the Muslims and to issue instead a new draft scheme providing for demolition of the building and disposal of the site". The B.C.C. decision does not affect this decision.

● In their Annual Report, the Council for British Archaeology claim that approximately 4,500 parish churches, a quarter of the total in Britain, are in danger of demolition or conversion. The report says that in the next ten to fifteen years between 2,000 and 3,000 churches will be declared redundant.

## Muslim Educational Trust sending teachers to 47 County Schools

Impact Reporter

With the beginning of the new school term, Muslim Educational Trust teachers resumed teaching Islam to Muslim students in the British schools. The Trust is now sending teachers to 47 county schools and immigrant reception centres, and five evening or week-end schools in Birmingham, Bradford, London, Luton, Manchester, Nottingham and Walsall. The Trust reports a greater pupil response as evidenced by the increased intake compared to the previous years.

● Arab ambassadors in London boycotted a reception given by the visiting West German president in protest against the maltreatment of Arab students and workers in W. Germany.

● Muslim Association Watford (74 Vicarage Rd., Watford, Herts.) has decided to buy a building to establish a mosque for the local Muslim community.

● One day Qur'an recitation meeting was held on 4 November under the auspices of the London Islamic Circle. Representatives from the FOSIS southern regional constituents presented Quranic recitation with translation.

● Raja of Mahmudabad, Director of the Islamic Cultural Centre has pointed out that the mosque design has since been modified to exclude the draw-bridge and the pool mentioned in *Impact* story of the Central London Mosque in the previous issue. The mosque would now be approached through an open area.



The Muslim Student Centre & Hostel, London NW, formally opened on 3 Nov.

Islamic Centre, Washington roof is to undergo major repairs at \$20,000. Saudi Arabia has donated \$5,000

● In protest against the continued holding by India of the Pakistani PoW's, Pakistan Council Overseas will hold a rally in London on 12 November.

Prof. C. H. Philips, London University V.C. will deliver this year's Creighton Lecture at the University Senate House on 13 November at 5.30 p.m. Title: "The Young Wellington in India"

## BANGLADESH TRIALS Protest in Washington

"Bangladesh! Free Yusuf and Ali!" thundered a disciplined score of marchers at the Bangladesh Embassy in Washington, D.C. on a briskly cold 26 October, carrying signs which read, "Free Islamic Leaders," "Not Guilty," "We Demand Justice" and similar slogans, while distributing to hundreds of curious passersby an "Open Letter to the Ambassador of 'Bangladesh'". The Islamic Party in North America called attention to the current criminal indictment and trial by Bangalis by the Bangladesh authorities.

During the four-hour vigil, many stopped to ask questions about the march's purpose and police came by several times to look the demonstrators over. Kareem Abdul-Ghani, foreign secretary of the Party, met A. M. A. Muhith, Economics Minister of the Embassy, and delivered a lively presentation of the Party's view that the charges of treason against Bangalis who were loyal to Pakistan were ridiculous. Demands were made: that Maulana Yusuf and Abbas Ali be immediately released and repatriated to Pakistan.

Simultaneously, many telegrams voicing the same demands were dispatched to the embassy by branches of the Party throughout America. The Party also sent an open letter to the Ambassador of Bangladesh, to the US, press and the American society, calling attention to these 'unjust and criminal indictment and trials'.

### Who killed the other Kennedy?

Sirhan Sirhan 'did not shoot Robert Kennedy' claim his lawyers; some body else may have fired the fatal bullet. Although Sirhan was caught with a smoking gun in his hand, his defence states, that 'significant physical evidence' exist to show that he did not actually fire. The lawyers say that the 'confessions' had been 'drummed into him' by the police.

### Muslim Students protest against persecutions in Bulgaria

The President of the Muslim Students Society in the U.K. & Eire has issued a statement calling attention to the plight of the Bulgarian Muslim who form 25% of the country's population, but are being subjected to worst form of cultural and linguistic genocide. The situation, he says has worsened since the failure of the Communist coup in Sudan last July and the Lybian opposition to Communist ideology and imperialism. The authorities recently closed Turkish schools and confiscated all the books.

● A Belgrade court sentenced Adin Amin to one year imprisonment for writing an article critical of the Jew's. The local Jewish leaders had demanded a death sentence.

# news brief • news brief • news brief • news brief • news brief

**ALGERIA.** Italy is to send experts in education and transport to Algeria and will also provide training to Algerian technicians in Italy.

**BANGLADESH.** Both Maulana Bhashani and Muzaffar Group N.A.P. criticised the Draft Constitution Bill saying that it does not ensure food, clothing, shelter, education and medical care. It did not provide the worker with the right to strike and denied security of service to government employees. Constitution bill adopted on 4 Nov., will be effective from 16 Dec., and General Elections on 7 March 73. ● Bangladesh admitted to UNESCO and UN as observer. ● A new party, National Socialist Party launched by Maj. Jalil (ret'd.) and student leader Abdur Rab.

**CHINA.** The Central Institute of Nationalities, since its foundation in 1951, has trained 9,300 cadres of minority Nationalities' teachers, translators etc.

**CZECHOSLOVAKIA.** The Public Security Administration reported a gradual rise in economic crimes like stealing and other illegal acts since 1968-69. In the first half of 1972, 39.5% of overall crimes related to the theft of property under Socialist ownership. Crimes listed were unjustified expenditure, dereliction in duty, cheating consumers and customs, currency crimes and speculation. The report said, it is remarkable that a considerable proportion of the offenders were responsible workers. ● Rev. David Hathaway, a Briton sentenced to 2 years rigorous imprisonment for bringing offensive material—bible literature—into the country.

**EAST GERMANY.** Prof. Karl, Deputy Director, Central Institute for Heart and Circulatory Research reported that noise including loud dance and music cannot only induce deafness but also influence the mind and the internal organs. He suggested disciplinary measures against bands which exceed 50 Phons noise level.

**EGYPT.** President Sadat told the French T.V. that for the Israelis there is no embargo on arms as the U.S. gives them everything; therefore "I ask our friends in Europe to understand that their embargo is only against the Arab interest". ● The London weekly *Jewish Chronicle* named the "Right wing Muslim Brotherhood" as being behind the recent coup plot in Egypt which "involved a considerable number of army officers and financed and encouraged by Col. Gaddafi". "Despite its anti-Jewish and indeed anti-Christian image, the Brotherhood favours the signing of a peace treaty with Israel." Muslim Brotherhood, it claimed, has penetrated "not only the armed forces but also every Muslim household in the country". The information was allegedly given to the weekly "by the head of an Arab diplomatic mission in London". ● Britain will set up an Institute of Arabic and Egyptian Studies in Cairo.

**ETHIOPIA.** King Haile Selassie has donated E£.150,000 to the OAU fund for the Liberation Movements.

**GHANA.** The government launched a programme under which Ghanains

living in Europe can return to see the progress being made in Ghana.

**GUINEA.** A delegation of Muslims led by Alfa Amadou Diallo, Head of the Technical Co-operation Department of the Foreign ministry visited Russia at the invitation of the Muslim Board of Central Asia and Kazakhstan.

**INDIA.** Mrs. Gandhi said C.I.A. was planting its agents in India through foreign missionary organisations. Press reports claimed most missionaries were concentrated in strategic regions; in Assam alone there were 340 of them. ● The third Leander-class Frigate *Udaigiri* equipped with anti-submarine and anti-aircraft facilities launched. ● Mrs. Gandhi said relations with Pakistan have to be normalised in stages, and the first stage is the delineation of the line of control and withdrawal of troops. She saw no immediate possibility of a meeting with President Bhutto. ● Defence Minister Mr. Ram said India has no objection to hand over PoW's to Bangladesh if asked to. ● The Aligarh Muslim University Old Boys decided to boycott election to the University Court under the new Act.

● In anti-Muslim riots in Bangalore, Ahmadabad and Banskatha (Gujrat) more than 50 persons were killed or grievously injured. Extensive damage was also caused to property. ● Supreme Court set aside government order restricting newspaper pages to 10 as being against the Fundamental Rights.

**INDONESIA.** Public debates banned on the state ideology *Pantjasila*. ● Members of the armed forces forbidden to marry the widows of the Communists in Central Java. ● The Central Java Qur'an Council has asked the Indonesian government to ban distribution of the Qur'an misprinted in Singapore. ● Foreign Minister Malik said that the type of military cooperation between Indonesia and the United States such as the presence of a US defence liaison group has not adversely affected Indonesia's foreign policy. The question of relation with China may be realised only after the People's Consultative Assembly had laid down a new policy when it meets in March 1973. ● Two Australian warships paid a week-long visit to Djakarta. ● The Air Force Chief, Sukandar, said certain subversive elements did not want to see a successful development of the country's defence and security potential.

**IRAQ.** India to help establish a Yoga Institute in Baghdad. ● *Ath-Thawra* rejected the complaint of the Kurdish newspaper, *Ath-Thakhi* that the decision to merge the cultural and agrarian reform ministries was with a view to reduce Kurdish representation.

**ISLAMIC SECRETARIAT.** Morocco ratified the Islamic Conference Charter.

**ISRAEL.** Mrs. Meir expressed doubts about any peace with Arabs in her life time. She said the good relations among Israeli citizens, Arabs and Jews, proved that it was possible for the two peoples to live together within a Jewish State. ●

*Amman al Massa* reported Arab merchants in the West Bank being charged higher income tax by the Israeli occupation authorities. ● From 1 November a daily train service opened between Tel Aviv and Gaza.

**LEBANON.** The Muslim Students Federation asked the Prime Minister and other authorities to suspend classes on Friday so as to allow Muslim students to offer Jum'a prayers. They also demanded facilities to observe Ramadan.

**LIBYA.** The Lebanese press predicted a summit meeting to be held soon between Sadat and Qaddafi. Libya is concerned about the resumption of the Egyptian-Soviet dialogue and relations with Syria too are reported worsened; she recently sent back a number of Syrian technicians and experts.

**NIGERIA.** Prof. Ufusu Apya appealed for more financial aid from the African countries for the "Encyclopaedia Africana" project.

**OMAN.** Reports that Iran had occupied the Omani island of Ummal-Ghanam have been denied.

**PAKISTAN.** President Bhutto is to launch a campaign to convince the people that by recognising 'Muslim Bengal', Pakistan would be opening a two-way traffic between the two and they might be able to convince to some the alternate for the union. Recognition would be extended, Mr. Bhutto said, provided the people permitted it. ● President Bhutto said even though the area involved now in delineating the line of control in Jammu and Kashmir was 1½ sq. miles there could be no compromise on principles. ● In three separate incidents, Indian guards injured several and killed 4 Pakistan PoW's who, they said tried to escape. ● Radio Moscow said "the recognition of Bangladesh by Pakistan is now a foregone conclusion" but Peking is attempting to obstruct the process of normalisation.

**PHILIPPINES.** Information Secretary claimed the central government having quelled the first Communist "armed uprising" in the town of Maravi. Fighting took place with predominantly Muslim insurgents in a 30-mile radius including the Mindanao State University.

**ROMANIA.** The State Council decreed grants to mothers of families with many children; 200 Lei per month for 8 or 9 children and 300 Lei for 10 or more children. Allowances will also be given at the rate of 100-230 Lei a month for each child in urban areas and 50-180 Lei in rural areas.

**SINGAPORE.** Under a proposed amendment to the Constitution, Singapore will be unable to join any future federation without a 2/3 vote of the total national electorate voting in its favour.

**SOMALIA.** Decision announced to adopt Latin script for the Somali language. President Siad said Latin is the only script which can be easily used to write the mother tongue and moreover the economy cannot allow the use of any other script which would need various types of equipment and cost millions of shillings. All the government officials face

dismissal if they do not learn to master the new 31-letter alphabet within three months, after which the script will be accepted as the only official script. Schools and universities will continue using Arabic, English, and Italian for a period of three years. President Siad also announced nationalisation of all foreign hospitals and all printing houses.

**SUDAN.** President Numeiri presented the outlines of the country's proposed Constitution to the People's Assembly. Sudan will be a presidential democratic republic; sovereignty will belong to the people. The economy will be based on socialist system. There was an applause when Numeiri said the Islamic Shariah will be the basic source of legislation and that ethical guidance derived from spiritual ideologies and traditional values will orient all behaviour.

**USSR.** *Tass* said people in India, Afghanistan, Singapore, Burma, Iraq, Malaysia and many other countries believe that security in Asia is to be achieved through neighbourly cooperation and the idea of collective security advanced by the Soviet Union is getting more and more support in the Asian countries.

## PEOPLE

Ahmad Osman, King Hasan's brother-in-law, new Moroccan PM. Capt. El-Hamidi Libya's new interior Minister. Muhammad Ali (Clay) to meet Jack O'Halloran on 13 Dec. Mian Tufail Muhammad elected Amir, Jamaat-e-Islami, Pakistan. Nasim Ahmad, chief overseas correspondent, *Dawn*, Karachi appointed information Secretary, Pakistan. President Cevdet Sunay of Turkey announced decision to quit in March 1973. Rauf Denktaş is a candidate for the Cyprus Vice-Presidency. Left-wing, Ankara dean Mumtaz Soysal re-arrested under Martial Law. Nasih Ileri jailed for translating a book on Lenin in Turkish. Pearl S. Buck, the US novelist and Nobel Prize winner, refused permission to visit China because of her "attitude of distortion". Chiang Kai-Shek, 85 on 31 of October. Lord George-Brown, former British Foreign Minister, to go on trial for driving with excessive amount of alcohol in blood. Rabbi Meir Kahane, leader of America's Jewish Defence League disclosed in a *Playboy* interview that he had worked for the FBI in the American Right-wing Birch Society. Maj. Mathieu Kerekou, deputy Chief of Staff, overthrew Pres. Ahomadegbe Tomein of Dahomey.

## DIPLOMATS

Sir Philip Adams & Sir Horace Philips new British envoys in Cairo & Ankara. Fakhredin Muhammad new Sudanese envoy to Kremlin. Javaidur Rahman Pakistan ambassador to Jeddah.

## VISITS

President Numeiri to Romania next year. Soviet Mufti Babakhanov to Egypt and Saudi Arabia. Sardar Sultan Mahmood, Chief of the Afghan Civil Aviation and Tourism to China, Bangladesh F. M. Abdus Samad to Yugoslavia, Hungary, Poland, and the GDR, accompanied by Planning Member Rahman Subhan. President Suharto to Singapore, date not fixed. Ibrahim Kabuyah, member Algerian FLN leadership to Czechoslovakia. Coptic Pope Shenouda of Egypt to Romania. GDR F.M. Otto Winzer to Syria. King Faisal to Uganda, Senegal, and in 1973 to France. Pfi. Nurul Hasan Indian Education Minister to UK.

## DIED

Syed Hasan Riaz, veteran Urdu journalist and author on Pakistan movement, in Karachi. Dr. Igor Ivan Sikorsky, 83, aviation pioneer and designer Sikorsky helicopter. Sant Fateh Singh, 64, Sikh leader on 30th October in Amritsar, India. *Ezra Pound*, American poet.