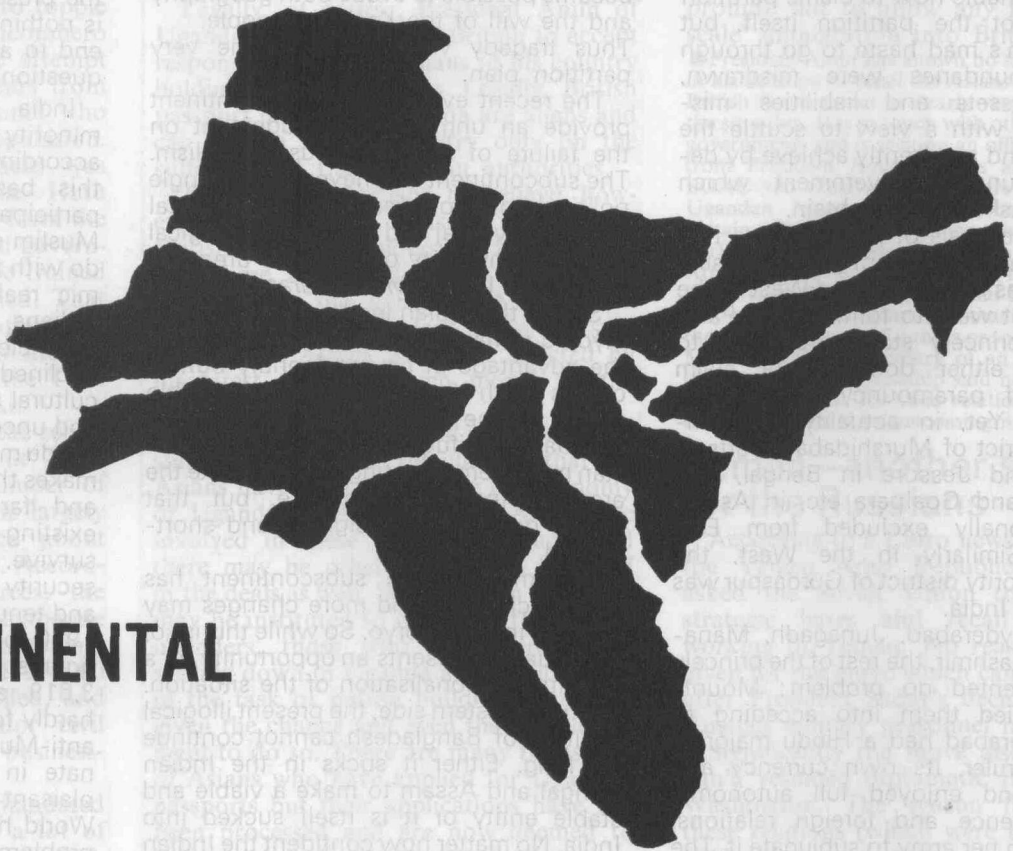


impact

international fortnightly

Libya-Egypt Union
Pakistan Jubilee, no joys to reap
Uganda Asians/Yemen send off!
Between Christianity, Negritude, and Islam
Udru, before Discord
Human Rights in Iran
The Omega Story
Books New Spectrum News Brief

OF THE SUB-CONTINENTAL AGONY



"My dear Mountbatten," wrote Clement R. Attlee, the Prime Minister, "it is the definite objective of His Majesty's Government to obtain a unitary government for British India and the Indian States . . . and you should do the utmost in your power to persuade all Parties to work together to this end . . . If by 1st October you consider that there is no prospect of reaching a settlement on the basis of a unitary government . . . you should report to His Majesty's government on the steps . . . for the handing of power on the due date". The date for the transfer of power was kept flexible but Attlee told Mountbatten to "aim at 1st June 1948, as the effective date for the transfer of power". He was also asked to stress the importance "of maintaining the organisation of defence on an All India basis (and) to point out the need for continued collaboration in the security of the Indian Ocean area . . ."

This was in March 1947 and less than five months later, on 14 and 15 August were created the Dominions of India and Pakistan. Mountbatten had arrived in New Delhi on 22 March and Lord Wavell, the outgoing viceroy told him that

the problem of handing over India to its people had only one solution: "Operation Madhouse". And Mountbatten set about with his task at a mad pace. Having failed to cajole and to pressurise Muslims into accepting a united India, he presented them with a take-it-or-leave-it partition plan. Since they had not taken his advice, it did not matter how just and viable the plan was.

On 3 June was announced the partition plan and on 14 August, the nascent state of Pakistan was called upon to start functioning without a civil administration and a defence force, without the barest infra structure, and even without stationery and furniture.

The demand for Pakistan had drawn a virtually unanimous Muslim support both because of the bitter failures of 78 years (from Lord Canning's legislative councils in 1861 to the resignation of the Congress Ministers in 1939) of a supposedly shared Hindu-Muslim polity, and a growing Muslim consciousness of their own separate and sovereign destiny. Significantly by far the vast majority of the All India Muslim League leadership was comprised of those who

... OF THE SUBCONTINENTAL AGONY

had spent the best part of their political career either with the Indian National Congress or in joint nationalist causes. Jinnah came to champion Pakistan only in 1940, and had, for the major part of his political career, been a nationalist *par excellence*.

Even with all the hindsight of 25 years of uncomplimentary history, it would be naive to deny that by the time Mountbatten had arrived on the scene, Pakistan had become inevitable.

It is fashionable now to blame partition but it is not the partition itself, but Mountbatten's mad haste to go through it. The boundaries were misdrawn, and the assets and liabilities misapportioned with a view to scuttle the new State and apparently achieve by default the unitary government which Attlee had asked him to obtain.

The agreed basis of partition was that in British India, the contiguous Muslim majority areas in the East and West of the subcontinent were to form part of Pakistan. The princely states were free to accede to either dominion or claim reversion of paramouncy and be independent. Yet, in actuality the contiguous district of Murshidabad, parts of Dinajpur and Jessore in Bengal, and Karimganj and Goalpara etc, in Assam were notionally excluded from East Pakistan. Similarly in the West, the Muslim majority district of Gurdaspur was awarded to India.

Except Hyderabad, Junagadh, Manavador and Kashmir, the rest of the princely states presented no problem; Mountbatten bullied them into acceding to India. Hyderabad had a Hindu majority, a Muslim ruler, its own currency and railways, and enjoyed full autonomy, except defence and foreign relations. India sent in her army to subjugate it. The state was merged in India and later dismembered. Junagadh and Manavador had a Muslim ruler but Hindu majority. These acceded to Pakistan and legally became part of that dominion, but these too were invaded and annexed by India.

The State of Kapurthala had a Sikh ruler and a Muslim majority but it had no problem in acceding to India. Kashmir had a Hindu ruler whose forbears literally bought the State in 1846 from the British for a sum of one million dollars but over 80 per cent of its populace were Muslim. The Maharaja entered into a standstill agreement with Pakistan and while he was dilly-dallying on accession, the people of the Poonch district were provoked into a revolt by atrocities committed by the Maharaja's troops. On the Pakistan side, an overzealous officer but possibly one of the British transplants organised a band of tribal irregulars to invade and to "liberate" Kashmir. This sabotaged Jinnah's plans and provided an excuse for India to fly in her troops in

Kashmir.

On 25 July 1947, Mountbatten had told the Indian Princes that though they "are theoretically free to link their future with whichever dominion they may care . . . but . . . there are certain geographical compulsions which cannot be evaded." You cannot run away from "your neighbours anymore than you can run away from the subjects", he said. Without Gurdaspur, India had no access to Kashmir and with its award to India, it became possible to evade both geography and the will of the Kashmiri people. Thus tragedy was seeded in the very partition plan.

The recent events in the subcontinent provide an unmistakable judgement on the failure of an inequitable centralism. The subcontinent had never been a single political unit, not even under the colonial and coercive Raj and it would be illogical again for any party or power to dream of the Greater India—*Mahabharat*.

So far, the Indian leadership, has, in its myopic romanticism, been unable to see the advantage in having friendly buffers on its both flanks. The unpredictable nature of the Bangladesh flux and the suicidal centrifugalism in western Pakistan may seem tempting to try to make the area an Indian protectorate, but that would only be short-sighted and short-termed.

The map of the subcontinent has already changed and more changes may be there in the embryo. So while this is so, the situation presents an opportunity for a voluntary rationalisation of the situation.

On the eastern side, the present illogical position of Bangladesh cannot continue for long. Either it sucks in the Indian Bengal and Assam to make a viable and stable entity or it is itself sucked into India. No matter how confident the Indian leadership may now feel, yet the annexation of Bangladesh seems an impossibility. It may well be that India accepts to let Bangladesh bleed and stay in a state of perpetual anarchy than countenance the loss of West Bengal and Assam but that would be a very simplistic and ultimately suicidal view of things.

Besides the Indian, Pakistani, and UN commitment to hold an impartial plebiscite to let the people decide their future, the logic of Bangladesh cannot but find its extension to Kashmir. Even Shaikh Abdullah who had been instrumental in providing India a *locus standi* in Kashmir has come out to say that the instrument he had signed envisaged only a temporary accession and the will of the Kashmiri people remains still to be determined. Pakistan's leadership has, of course, given up any hope on Kashmir and its commitment to the Kashmiri right of self-determination is now formal and ironical: she supports this right in the same way as it supports

the right of self-determination of any other people, anywhere else. In fact its foreign policy theoreticians are not even conscious of the implications of this disengagement. (What if the people of Azad Kashmir, territories now with Pakistan, ask to exercise that right of self-determination?)

The Kashmir problem is going to become acute and urgent and no matter if Pakistan stays resigned or incapacitated, it would be impossible to continue with the present incongruous situation. There is nothing more certain than an eventual end to a colonial situation and the only question is: would India face up to it?

India is a country with a unique minority problem: 61 million Muslims according to official census. On this basis, India has been claiming participation in the international Muslim conferences, but this has little to do with the political, cultural, and economic realities concerning these Muslim Indians. Their number in the legislative and elective institutions has sharply declined since independence. On the cultural side, they are under a systematic and unceasing pressure to merge into the Hindu main-stream. Their economic plight makes them India's new sub-caste; lower and far more handicapped than the existing outcastes. Perhaps they could still survive, as India's new outcastes, but security to life and property is so fragile and tenuous. Between the ten years from 1960 to 1970 (excluding 1965 for which figures are not available), there were 3,619 anti-Muslim riots in India, i.e., hardly four days in any year were free of anti-Muslim riots. India has been fortunate in having an exceptionally complaisant international media and the World hardly knows anything about the problem and its gravity. But the problem is there.

The present arrangements in the Indian polity and constitution have demonstrably failed, and if there is to be a durable peace and a peace package it has to include the human rights of the 60-80 million Indians. If they do not occupy any geographical area exclusively or in majority, and if they have no camps outside India to flee to, does it mean that they have to suffer a perpetual denial of basic human rights? There is no solution to the problem but to concede full political and cultural autonomy to the Muslim Indians.

No matter what Mountbatten did, and no matter what the Big Powers may desire, the options still lie very much within the subcontinent. Having destroyed the power balance in the subcontinent, it is mainly for India to face up to its implications and logical consequences.

The outlook otherwise is not optimistic.

Survey

Burundi massacres

One of the most appalling and frightful human tragedies took place in the land-locked central African state of Burundi where thousands of people have been slaughtered since April this year. The figure of dead at the end of the present troubles have been established at about 60,000.

The present troubles started on April 29 when an attempt was made to topple the government of Col. Michel Micombero and take over the country. The attempt was made apparently by dissidents from the majority Hutu tribe in Burundi who make up 85 per cent of the population. Throughout 1970 and 1971 there was growing restlessness among the Hutu against the ruling Tutsi elite who form the bulk of Micombero's five year old government. The rebels were said to be trained from outside and were well-armed. That it was not exclusively a tribal affair was shown by the fact that the rebels' attacks were not directed exclusively at the Tutsi but at the Hutu and the Tutsi alike.

In the space of about a week, the rebels were crushed after killing about 5,900 Tutsi and perhaps a similar number of Hutu. Then came reprisals by the largely Tutsi army and they massacred about 50,000 people mainly of the Hutu. According to some independent sources, the revenge killing of the Hutu was deliberate and systematic and the target was mainly educated Hutu. 2,000 of Burundi's 4,000 primary school teachers were killed, and thousands of bank clerks, junior civil servants, executives and small businessmen.

Burundi, formerly the Belgian mandated territory of Urundi, has known a lot of violence since its inception on July 1, 1962. There have been mass executions and periodic massacres, one of the worst being in 1965 when thousands were killed. Whenever there are disorders—some of which have allegedly sprung from conflicts between monarchism and republican revolution, racial hatreds rise rapidly to the surface. Now in the name of revolution there appears to be a systematic attempt at genocide of the majority ethnic group. With each succeeding rebellion, the people have become more bitter and their hatreds more ingrained.

One of the saddest aspects of the situation is the silence of other African leaders presumably out of respect to the Charter of the OAU which calls for non-interference in the affairs of other states. But when a blind eye is turned to inhuman tragedies of the magnitude which the people of Burundi have recently suffered and from which they are still suffering, then something has gone radically wrong with the human conscience.

The United Nations had sent a mission to investigate the situation. Another UN technical mission arrived in Burundi on 1 August to "study, jointly with the Burundi authorities, the nature of the urgent aid need for the population in the area hit by the troubles".

Uganda Asians—passport to no country

Legally, of course, President Amin of Uganda is entitled to tell Britain to accept responsibility for all Asians in his country holding British passports. Legally, British passport holders in Uganda are aliens and can remain in the country only on the sufferance of the Ugandan authorities.

There is every reason to believe, however, that what is at issue is not only British passport holders. It is estimated that there are about 40,000 of these in Uganda but the figure of Asians as a whole is 80,000. President Amin has said that 80,000 Asians would be affected by his latest decision which means all the Asians in Uganda.

Amin has charged, and there may be some justification to the charges, that the Asians have been sabotaging the economy of Uganda. Certainly not all Asians are involved in these anti-national acts and there may be other non-Asians involved in the deals as well. So while firm measures may be instituted to deal with the alleged offenders, those who are interested in settling down in Uganda and participating in the task of nation building should be given the chance and even the encouragement to do so. There are many thousands of Asians who have applied for Ugandan passports but their applications have not been processed and are now deemed to have lapsed. Last December they were told to re-apply but the present mood of President Amin would tend to show they have no hope of success.

It is essential that this problem should not merely be seen in its legal aspects but also in its human aspects. Amin's moves are liable to be construed as a racialist policy, and it does not at all tie in with his being Muslim. Announcing his decision General Amin told troops: "I am going to ask Britain to take over responsibility for all Asians in Uganda who are holding British passports because they are sabotaging the economy of the country. I want the economy to be in the hands of Ugandan citizens, especially black Ugandans . . ." This blatant appeal to racialist sentiments could only lead to a severe worsening of relations not only between peoples in Uganda but in much of eastern and central Africa. Asians on their part who have lived in these countries and now regard them as home might do well to consider that only tension and conflict can result from the

● BURUNDI ● UGANDA ● YEMEN

type of exclusivism which have been upheld by their communities in the past. There are places where this exclusivism has led to violence and armed conflict.

Meanwhile there is the problem of scores of Asians who are being shuttled around the capitals of the world mainly because Britain has set a quota on the number of Asian British passport holders who can enter the country. The present Conservative government has made a promise not to allow any further 'large-scale' immigration into Britain.

● President Amin has shown no signs of relenting in his decision to expel the Asians in Uganda. The British Government is clearly very worried about the situation. It is in touch with other East African governments and is seeking an official explanation from President Amin. It has also approached BOAC and other airlines to prevent a flood of Ugandan Asians trying to obtain entry into Britain. The British Foreign Secretary said in Parliament that it was for Britain, the other East African countries concerned and India if she wills to convince President Amin that his treatment of the Asians was inhumane and that he should adopt the continuing plan of quotas or some variant of it. Mr Prful Patel, secretary of an all-party Committee on U.K. Citizenship said he was fearful of the consequences for race relations in Britain if there was a flood of Asians coming in at the same time.

Yemen—another send off for the Russians

According to a Cairo newspaper report, the Yemen Arab Republic (San'a) has asked the Soviet Union to remove its strategic bases and recall its experts working in Yemen. No reason has been given for the move which came two weeks after President Sadat's decision to expel Russian military personnel in Egypt.

Significantly the move also came after San'a resumed diplomatic relations with Washington. The reason for resuming these relations (which were broken off in 1967) were contained in messages which President Abdul Rahman al-Iryani had sent last June to the leaders of Libya, Egypt and Syria. The messages complained that Yemen was in financial difficulties and that the Arab states had done little to alleviate them. The Yemeni move to expel the Russians is thus bound up both with the impending resumption of American aid which was cut off five years ago, and with the possible promise of help from Libya and Egypt.

The Soviet Union has been Yemen's principal military supplier and had also helped construct its main Red Sea port, al Hudayda. Red China has also been supplying economic aid. The Republic under al-Iryani has recently been pursuing a rather moderate policy and one of increasing friendship with Saudi Arabia. Its relations with its left-wing southern neighbour, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, have not been so good and there have been border troubles recently.

Survey

● LIBYAN — EGYPTIAN UNION

New Unity — hopes and hazards

Despite the Libyan and Egyptian leaders' "happiness at the birth of this glorious historic moment" the proposed merger between Egypt and Libya has raised more questions than euphoria.

Much of the questioning spings from recent experiences in forming official, political unity between countries in the Middle East, from the disparity between Egypt and Libya in several spheres and also from the timing and the manner in which the merger was entered into.

The speed of the whole affair has naturally given rise to comments that it has been hasty, that there can be no such thing as instant unity, that enthusiasm and idealism were not enough, that announcing unity was the easiest part of the whole process, that unity at the top which the merger signifies was a far cry from unity at the base which was essential in any meaningful drive towards unity. This type of unity at the top is quite different from the type of relationship that Algeria and other states in the Maghreb are forging in a cautious, balanced and practical sort of way. The Maghreb experiment seeks to define and explore a community of interests in the economic, educational, foreign affairs and other fields without bringing in the question of political leadership and sovereignty which would mask and mar the real bases of co-operation.

Considerations affecting the timing of the merger might also affect its durability and success. Clearly the expulsion of the Russians has had a lot to do with it. Also, there seems to be some nagging truth in the observation that the merger (on the part of Sadat) is, another subject for preoccupying the Arab masses and lifting them out of the despondency created by the continuing state of "no war, no peace".

Not least of the uncertainties is what the merger would mean to the new entity formed and what would it mean to the present Egyptians and Libyans. What is certain is that the merger would create the biggest state in Africa with an area of 10,66,000 square miles and a population of about 37 million. The decision has already been taken to have a unified political command. Also it has been decided that citizens of Libya and Egypt would not be considered aliens in the respected parts with regard to ownership of movable and immovable property and with regard to the right of employment and the exercise of trades and professions.

Already there are about 100,000 Egyptians in Libya in various skilled and professional capacities. This number is likely to grow but it is not known whether the feeling of resentment which many Libyans already feel at this would grow or diminish. This movement of population and skills

would relieve Egypt's problem and help to solve Libya's shortage of skilled manpower. Incidentally, it was a similar influx into Syria which had contributed to the break-up after only three years of the Egypt-Syria union formed in 1958. The Egyptians might do well to be a bit cautious despite the confidence and genuine open heartedness of Qaddafi.

Secondly, Libya because of its oil wealth is a rich country and Egypt would stand to gain a lot from the merger. How this would be done especially when it is remembered that Egypt's development particularly in industry is strongly tied to Russia's interests and goodwill, might be a very delicate matter. It is here that the Russians can effectively put spokes in the wheel of Egyptian-Libyan progress towards unity. They might be more inclined to do so because of Qaddafi's anti-communist stand.

Thirdly, of course, the merger is meant, especially so far as Qaddafi is concerned, to facilitate an all-out confrontation with Israel. But in practical terms, prospects of success in war are not made much better by the merger. There is likelihood that the supply of French Mirages to Libya would be stopped (just as was the case temporarily when Libya gave support to the Chad Liberation Front). It is also unlikely that Sadat's request for Offensive weapons from the West would come to much. So while there may be no increase in military capability, there would be more talk of the decisive confrontation, Egypt's armed forces would become restless and Sadat, who really does not want a war now, would suffer.

Much can be learnt from previous attempts at achieving unity. The existing Federation of Arab Republics between Libya, Egypt and Syria has not made the progress that was envisaged. Sudan has never spoken again of joining and the relationship between Libya and Syria is far from good despite the fact that Asad has viewed the new merger with "happiness". The FAR could be the first casualty of the Libyan-Egyptian merger.

For the next year much would be in the hands of various committees that would be set up by the unified political command to deal with constitutional matters, political organisation defence and national security, economic systems, legislation and the judiciary, administrative and financial systems, education, science, culture and information. Referenda will be held at the end of this period.

A small hopeful sign in the bid for all-out unity might already be seen in the establishment by Libya and Egypt of the Arab International Bank to encourage Arab and foreign investment in the area.

IMPACT international fortnightly

(Published 2nd & 4th Friday of the month)
**INDEPENDENT MUSLIM VIEWPOINT
ON CURRENT AFFAIRS**

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

Impact international fortnightly resumes the long lost dialogue with reality

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

Ordinary Post

U.K., Ireland, Europe, Turkey and abroad:
One Year: £3-50 Six Months: £1-75

Airmail

Zone 1: Japan, Korea, China, Taiwan, Philippines, Australia, New Zealand and Pacific Islands:

One Year: £6-00 Six Months: £3-00

Zone 2: All other countries:

One Year: £5-25 Six Months: £2-65

Students

All Countries/Ordinary Post only:

One Year: £3-00 Six Months: £1-50

Single Copy (By Post)

Ordinary Post: UK and abroad 13p

Airmail: Zone 1, 25p; Zone 2, 22p

Please enter my subscription for

1 year Six months

Name..... (block capitals)

Address.....

Field of work/study.....

Commencing..... (Issue No./Date)

Cheque/Draft/P.O./M.O. for £stg..... enclosed.

**All remittance payable to:-
News & Media Ltd.,
33 Stroud Green Rd, London N4 3EF**

OTHER CURRENCIES EQUIVALENT TABLE

Below is given approximate £1 equivalent in some important currencies as an aid to rough computation. Subscribers are, however, requested to make remittance for the net amount in £ Sterling. Cheques etc. in local currencies should add one US\$ to make an allowance for collection charges.

Belgium/Francs	114	Sweden/Kroner	12.46
France/Francs	13.30	Switzerland/Francs	10.04
Holland/Guilders	8.27	U.S.A./Dollars	2.60
Italy/Lira	1530	West Germany/D.M.	8.34
Norway/Kroner	17.28	Denmark/Kroner	18.18
		Spain/Peseta	170

Israel and the Prophecies of the Holy Qur'an by ALI AKBAR

a discussion of the world situation in the light of the Qur'anic prophecies — a must for students of Middle Eastern affairs.

**Paperback 55p; Postage 10p
Hardcover £1.25, Postage 15p**

SIRAJ PUBLICATIONS

**17 Broadstairs Rd., Leckwith, Cardiff CF18DE
Wales, U.K.**

HUMAN RIGHTS IN IRAN

A continuing tale of oppression

FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

The following is a news extract from the semi-official Persian daily, *Kayhan*, of 19 February 1972:

"At 2 a.m. on Friday 18 February, a military court in Teheran sentenced four civilians to death. They were Nasser Sadeq, Ali Mihandoost, Muhammad Bazargani, and Masood Rajavi. Three others received ten year prison sentences each and four between eight to ten years.

They were all accused of 'participating in conspiracy and action against the regime' and organising or accepting membership of 'a group with an ideology opposed to monarchy'.

Since that time many more Iranians have been executed or imprisoned. In late May five people were executed and a further 78 sent to prison for terms ranging from seven months to life. Neither the SAVAK (the security police) nor the courts say what are the specific charges against each person. The terse official communique merely said they had been convicted of crimes including murder, attempted kidnapping, illegally crossing the frontier, contact with foreign agents, armed resistance to the police and unspecified actions against the government.

Altogether since January 28 people have been executed and 109 imprisoned, according to official sources. The fact that those arrested and accused have no defence counsel and the fact that all trials since February are held in secret with all journalists and representatives of international judicial and human rights associations rigorously excluded all point to the severe miscarriage of justice in Iran and the continuing tale of oppression in the country.

In this year alone there have been several reports of denials of human rights, oppression, brutality and terror under the Shah's regime. One report from Jacqueline Patelle of the International Federation of Human Rights written after a twelve day stay in Iran at the beginning of January 'confirmed' that four of those arrested had 'fallen victims of singularly repulsive tortures' and that there were 'precise and quite concordant grounds for the view that there exists in Iran a system of police repression which presents a serious outrage to the Rights of Man.' Her report comments:

"Not the least paradoxical facet of this situation is the Iranian government's claim to have deliberately elected to present itself on the international scene as one of the leading nations on the question of defending Human Rights. One needs only recall that it was in Teheran that they held the first International conference in 1968 on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the United Nations Charter which the Shah opened

with an undeniably exalting inaugural speech.

"Lauding this "nouveau code moral de notre univers" (new moral code of our universe), the sovereign first recalled that "ses principes cristallisent les aspirations à une plus grande liberté et à une plus profonde dignité (his principles crystallized the yearnings towards a greater degree of freedom and a deeper level of dignity) and then to round off aroused enthusiasm by expressing the wish that "s'épanouisse sur tous les points du globe la réalisation totale et inconditionnelle des droits de l'Homme..." (there should bloom forth at every corner of the globe a complete and unconditional recognition of the Rights of Man."

The report went on to deal with interviews the envoy of the Federation had with senior officials in the Iranian government. One such was Mr. Vatai, principal private secretary to the Ministry of Justice. "He claimed to know nothing (about the trial which was to take place), for the case was not the concern of the Department of Justice, a fact which is unfortunately quite true. The SAVAK (political police) who deal with the preliminary arrests and interrogation of suspects under conditions which have often been denounced as being totally arbitrary and as violating the most fundamental Human Rights, has been seen to appropriate to itself increasing amounts of powers traditionally belonging to the judicial authority. The SAVAK refers cases directly to the Military Tribunal. Once more the absolute abandonment of judicial authority is confirmed."

Another report on the trials in February was compiled by the French Lawyer Nuri Albala representing the International Commission of Jurists. Albala noted that during a session he attended on February 6, a defendant Masud Amadzadeh, "suddenly pulled off his sweater in front of everyone and showed me appalling burns on his stomach and back."

Albala later that day in Teheran's Evine Prison, asked two of the defendants Nasser Sadegh (a specialist works manager at Fars Regional Electricity Board) and Ali Mihandoost (a mechanical engineer) whether they had been beaten. Mr. Sadegh, who spoke in English, replied, "No, toasted." Four other defendants "had been burned by being placed on a table which was then heated to white heat". One of the men tortured Asgher Badizadeghan (Professor at the Technical Faculty at Teheran University), had been paralysed in the lower limbs and could only move by crawling forward, using his upper arms."

All three, Nasser Sadegh, Ali Mihandoost and Asgher Badizadeghan, were

among those who were executed. A statement issued on 13 Rabi uth Thani 1392 by the "Scholarly Circle of Qum" includes the three at the top of their list of twelve "educated young Muslims" who have been murdered by the "oppressive establishment" in Iran. The statement denies that they were communists and adds that over sixty young people of the Islamic group (Iran Liberation Movement) have been sentenced to life imprisonment in single cells with hard labour. (The official name of the group is now disclosed to be *Sazmaan Mujahideen Khalq Iran*—The Organisation of Combatants of the People of Iran).

After the disclosures of Nuri Albala and other jurists, Christian Bourget visited Iran on behalf of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers. He reported the Iranian government decision to ban all foreign journalists and jurists from attending the trials despite serious indications of torture and procedural irregularities. All the defendants were said to have confessed only under torture.

The latest report on Iran comes from the Secretary General of Amnesty International. After a tour of Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Iran, Israel and Italy, he said that the "worst news" is from Iran.

Meanwhile the Shah and his government remain contemptuous of whatever protests that are being made abroad. Prime Minister Abbas Hoveyda has said recently, "To hell with it if (those tried) are convicted and executed. That is their fault, not ours." And the Shah's government is now putting through parliament a bill providing for stiffer penalties for those involved in any 'sabotage' activities. This would probably mean an increase in the powers of the SAVAK which is trained by American and Israeli personnel. "SAVAK also is widely alleged to employ money and jobs to buy or frighten off opponents and to command loyalties... No strength or budget is quoted but published development plans for 1968-72 include 510 million rials (6.7 million dollars) for no less than 84 buildings for SAVAK and a detention centre for political prisoners."

One would have thought that the nature and extent of the Iranian oppression and brutality would get the sort of banner headline treatment in the western press which is frequently given to the persecution of Soviet Jewry or to democrats under the Greek junta. But what Britain (or indeed America) is really concerned about is good relations with the Shah's government as a bastion in an unpredictable Middle East. Moreover, as the Shah said on 24 June 1972: "We will contribute, I think, rather favourably to your balance of payments in future years."

AFRICAN FOCUS / THE MANDING

Between Christianity, Negritude and Islam

A. W. HAMID

Preoccupation with the problems of the Middle East and the Indo-Pak sub-continent has often obscured the global nature of the Muslim community and served to limit severely the knowledge of and interest in areas where Islam has had a long and even distinguished presence. Such an area is Africa south of the Sahara which barely falls into many people's picture of the Muslim world. In the English speaking world, only northern Nigeria perhaps of all West Africa is associated with Islam. Places like the Gambia, Senegal, the Ivory Coast and even Sierra Leone are hardly associated with Islam and Muslim civilization.

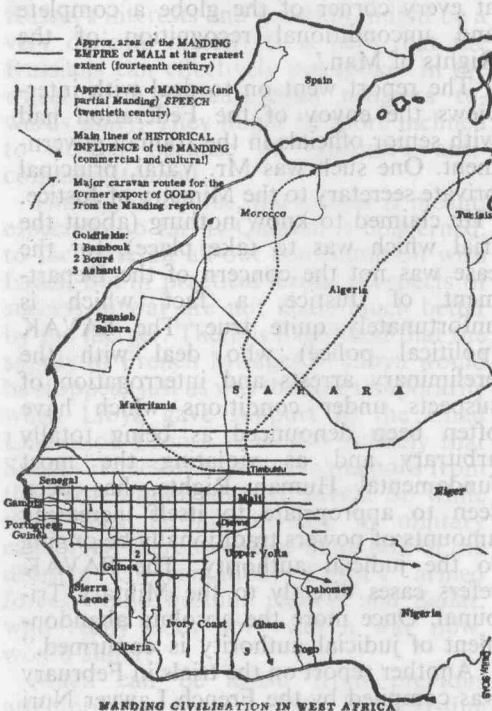
Yet the truth is quite different. Much of it, despite itself, came out during the course of the Manding Conference which was held in London during June and July. The conference attracted academics from Britain, France, America and Africa and also the participation of various governments in the area of Manding Civilization. The President of Senegal, Léopold Senghor, presided over the conference and the Education Ministers of Mali and the Gambia were also present. Famous authors also contributed. Camara Laye, the young, modest and celebrated novelist of the Ivory Coast chaired the long and controversial discussions on "Oral Traditions" in Manding Civilization at the Africa Centre. Alex Haley, famous for his ghosting of the "Autobiography of Malcolm X" gave a fascinating account of his efforts to trace his "Manding Origins in the New World". There was Manding music at the Commonwealth Institute and discussions and papers on Manding painting, sculpture, weaving and textile designing. One paper, for example, attempted a chemical explanation of some of the dyeing techniques employed in the Western Sudan with particular reference to the mud painted cloth (*bogolafini*) of the Bambara—a sub-division of the Manding peoples.

The "deluge" of papers submitted ranged from the highly specialised, such as "Phonetic and Lexical Correspondences in the North Mande Languages" and "Archaeology and the Prehistoric Origins of the Ghana Empire", to more general statements about Manding culture, such as the highly political and relevant "North Sudanic Mandinguophonic as a Factor in West African Integration" and the very pertinent "The Manding and Islam" and "The Muslim Education of an African Child: Stresses and Tensions".

In explaining what is Manding Civiliza-

tion and why the conference was being held the introductory handout stated:

"Manding Civilization has its roots in the mediaeval Empire of Mali which dominated West Africa for three hundred years. In the fourteenth century, the power of the Manding Emperor (Mensa Musa) stretched for a thousand miles, from beyond Timbuktu to the Atlantic, and his reputation reached as far as Europe . . .



"Modern political frontiers in Africa have obscured the cultural unity of the Manding world, and Manding civilization—despite its geographical closeness to Europe—is less well known in the West than the cultures of many more distant peoples. The programme . . . is designed to rectify this, and to stimulate the production of educational materials on all aspects of Manding history and culture."

"The term 'Manding' is used to cover a number of West African peoples who speak related forms of the same language and who share a similar culture: these include the Mandinka or Malinke, the Bambara or Mamana, the Dyula and the Vai, together with many smaller ethnic groups. The Manding language in a variety of dialects and under a variety of ethnic names, is spoken as a major language in nine West African states: The

Gambia, Guinea, the Ivory Coast, Liberia, Mali, Portuguese Guinea, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Upper Volta, and also by small minorities in Ghana, Mauritania and elsewhere. It is thus one of the principal languages of Black Africa. It was formerly associated with the great mediaeval empire of Mali and is spoken today throughout an area that is 1,200 miles wide . . .

"Manding civilization (has historical contacts) northwards across the Saharal eastwards to Nigeria, and westwards to North America". In this latter connection it is interesting to note that Muslims in Trinidad, West Indies, are called Madingas. It is used as a derogatory term and must have been used for the Muslim African slaves who were brought to the island. The Madinga was synonymous with Muslim is shown by the fact that the majority of Muslims in the island are of Indian descent and they too are called Madinga by the other ethnic groups. Alex Haley's search for his past also, revealed a Muslim ancestry. The village of Juffore in the Gambia from where his ancestor was taken as a slave has been and still is, according to Haley, completely Muslim.

It is impossible here to give a full account of and do justice to the Manding Conference, fascinating and enriching as it was, just as the conference did not naturally do justice to Manding history and civilization. This was acknowledged in that the study of this history and civilization is comparatively new and there remain vast areas of research to be dealt with and much source material especially in Arabic which remain untouched partly because few of those dealing with the area have a competent knowledge of Arabic. On the other hand there were complaints that there was too much dependence on Arabic sources especially the accounts of Ibn Khaldun, the geographer al-Bakri, and the inveterate traveller Ibn Battuta who incidentally spoke of the people of Mali in superlative terms when he visited there in 1352-3:

"They are seldom unjust", he said after having described lands as remote as Russia, Persia, India and China, "and have a greater abhorrence of injustice than any other people . . . There is complete security in their country. Neither traveller nor inhabitant in it has anything to fear from robbers or men of violence . . . They are careful to observe the hours of prayer".

This leads us back to our starting point: the place of Islam in West Africa and in particular in Manding civilisation. The

session at the Conference on "Religion and the Manding" brought out the strength and weaknesses of Islam and some of the current controversy surrounding the future of religion in the area.

Some of the problems posed were:

Since there were a number of styles of Islamic living and understanding represented in Africa as a whole, how can we be sure that in talking about one that we are talking about the other?

Arising from this, is it more appropriate to speak of the Africanisation of Islam rather than the Islamisation of Africa? More specifically, is it more appropriate to speak of what Islam owes to the Manding (and the Fula for example) than what the Manding owes to Islam?

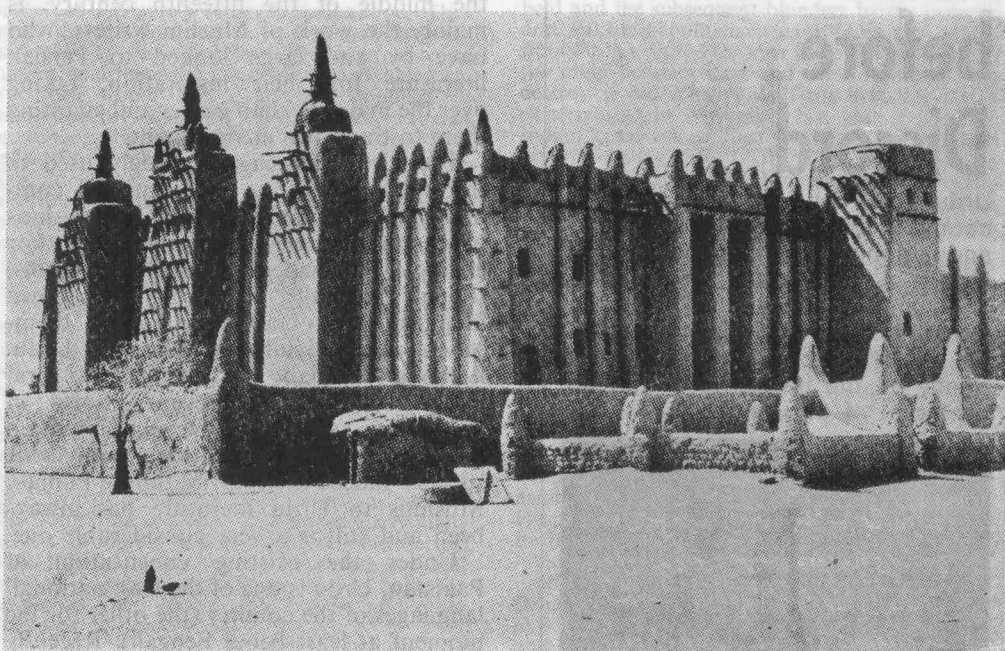
There was a fundamental difference of approach to these questions from those scholars who took Islam as their standpoint and those who were committed to the authenticity of African religion and its preservation.

To begin with there was a useful categorisation of the levels at which Islam was practised. There was the Islamicised African who had a knowledge of Arabic and was looked upon as an elite in the society. He represented a tradition of profound learning at par with the *ulama* in the rest of the Muslim world. He generally had a rational attitude to his religion and might be influenced by sufi traditions and orders like the Tijaniyya or the Qadiriyya.

There was another type of Muslim who displayed a pragmatic attitude towards religion. He would use charms and take part in a cosmopolitan society, crossing ethnic and tribal boundaries as a result of his being part of the universal character of Islam.

Then there was the Islamicised pagan. He would have the style and the imprints of a Muslim character. He would adopt Muslim names and would have a special relationship with the *marabouts* or 'Muslim holy men'. Yet he would not allow the absolute superiority of Islam. He would go to the Jum'a prayer on Friday and afterwards go to the divination man who was not a Muslim. He would still feel the need for African symbols and live a life of dualism. (Incidentally there would be the Christian parent who would have a sick child and go to the Muslim marabout for a solution. The marabout would kill a cock pronouncing *Bismillah* and give a remedy).

Then there is the person who has paganised Islam. He would adopt certain Islamic names usually because of the



Mosque at Djenné, Mali

social status they bring yet his whole belief system would be far removed from Islam.

It was in these two last categories especially that some participants found justification in speaking of the 'Africanisation of Islam' and the evolution of a 'syncretistic' religion. The majority opinion, however maintained that this was not syncretism but dualism. These asserted that even if there was a Muslim who practised animist tradition, he would be aware of this part of his life which was not Muslim. The problem of defining what is Islam and who is a Muslim in this case is not peculiar to Africa alone but to other parts of the Muslim world. The whole Muslim community despite lapses and digressions was *aspiring* to achieve what one professor called *normative* Islam. He asserted that it was "high time we should get into the Arabic texts which are indispensable for any serious discussion of Islam in West Africa."

This aspiring to achieve normative Islam led to some discussions on the famous *Jihad* movements of the nineteenth century. Not enough study has been done on them yet, but they were initiated to bring back backsliding Muslims to the faith and as a response to the threat and challenge of westernising forces which came as an alternative to Islam. A continuation of this attitude to the present day was seen in the example of some Muslims in Gambia who are resistant to western education and as a result many

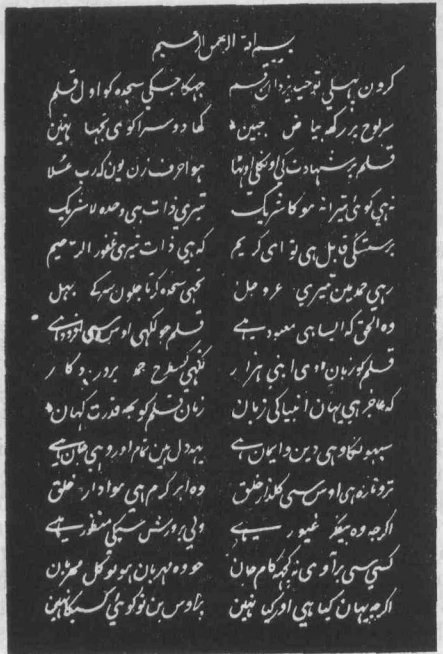
government schools are being closed down.

The bulk of the discussions centred around Islam. There was a passing reference to Jewish colonies in Mauritania and a request for some information on Christianity as the youngest religion in the area. This could not be fulfilled apart from some obvious correlation between Christianity and European colonialism and the assertion that "in order to succeed both Christianity and Islam must Africanise themselves". Those who were calling for a greater place for African religion did not do anything positive for their case. There were no papers on traditional religion and this was seen as one of the gaps in the conference.

In 1803 according to one of the papers submitted by an American scholar, the observation was made by a European traveller: "The Mandingos are strict Moahammedans, very zealous in making converts and have spread their religion with much success..." As late as 1927, a Lt. J. Clarkson made the following entry in his diary: "Visited by Canba, a Madingo Maraboo and his family of Port Logo. This nation is strict in Moahmetanism as the Turks themselves." One may ask, is it possible to say the same today? With a growing emphasis on traditional religion and on such concepts as negritude (introduced by Senghor some decades ago) and with the call for the Africanisation of Islam, it is possible that the historic identification of the Madingo with Islam might be diminished.

Urdu, before Discord

Urdu has been in the news in connection with the recent political and regionalist conflicts in Pakistan. **David J. Mathews**, who teaches Urdu and Nepali at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, here touches briefly on the background and the evolution of the language.



A page from Urdu Masnavi, Sahar-ul-bayan, 1853.

Muslims of India and Pakistan and is written in a slightly adapted version of the Persi-Arabic script. Its literature, the first examples of which are known from the middle of the fifteenth century, is mainly the work of Muslim writers, who have by and large looked to Persian literature for their inspiration, taking over the major Persian *genres* and adapting them to their own environment.

The Urdu language is widely used in the subcontinent as a means of communication by many millions of Muslims whose mother tongue is not Urdu. For example, educated Muslim Punjabis, though naturally preferring their own language when talking amongst themselves, usually read and write only Urdu. Although Punjabi possesses a vast oral and folk literature, recent efforts in Pakistan to raise it to the level of a written literary language have met with little success. Indeed the contribution of Punjabi Muslims to Urdu literature has always been and still is a very considerable one.

Under the existing constitution of Pakistan, Urdu is one of the two 'national' languages of the country (the other for the moment at least being Bengali). Recently three of the four provinces of Pakistan—namely Punjab, Baluchistan and the North West Frontier Province—have adopted Urdu rather than one of the provincial languages for official purposes. In the province of Sindh, where rivalry between the protagonists of Urdu and Sindhi (which unlike the other regional languages has a long literary tradition) resulted in serious clashes, it has been agreed to adopt both Urdu and Sindhi at the official level for an interim period of twelve years.

Like the majority of the languages now spoken in the northern half of the subcontinent, Urdu is an Indo-Aryan language, ultimately derived from Sanskrit, the classical language of India. The process of its development from Sanskrit is in many ways analagous to that of the Romance languages from Latin. Much of the vocabulury of Urdu, however, has been taken over from Persian (or Arabic through Persian) and to a smaller extent from Turkish.

The term Urdu, which is a Turkish word meaning a military camp, does not seem to have been applied to the language itself until the end of the 17th century. The earliest writers refer to the language by such terms as *Hindi* or *Hindavi* (Persian words simply meaning 'Indian'), or as *rekhta* (a Persian adjective meaning 'mixed'). There are several theories concerning the exact origins of Urdu. The most widely accepted theory is that when the Turkish and Persian speaking Muslim armies invaded India in the 12th century, the Indo-Aryan *lingua franca* spoken in and around Delhi was adopted by the soldiers of the imperial camp, who introduced into it large numbers of words from Persian, Turkish and their religious language, Arabic. The language which

gradually emerged then came to serve as a medium of communication between the Muslim soldiers and the native populace. Persian, however remained the language of the Delhi court and it was two centuries before Urdu was seriously regarded as a literary medium in northern India, its original homeland.

As early as the 14th century, the sufi saints realized the potentialities of this newly emerged and highly adaptable language and when preaching to the unconverted preferred to use it rather than Persian, which could only be understood by the cultured elite. The contribution of the early sufis and their followers to the development and spread of Urdu in the subcontinent should not be underestimated and their writings, however crude the language, provide us with the first recognizable examples of Urdu we possess.

With the wandering sufis and the armies of the expanding Delhi Sultanate, Urdu came to the south of India. After the establishment of the independent Muslim kingdoms of the Deccan, which were no longer subject to the Persianizing influences of the north, it soon became a popular literary language, enjoying the patronage of the southern courts. To this day, Hyderabad (Deccan) is regarded as one of the most important centres for Urdu in the subcontinent.

In Delhi, however, although Urdu was becoming more and more widely spoken by the people, Persian persisted as the language of culture until the beginning of the 18th century, when the southern poet, Vali, who has been described as 'the Chaucer of Urdu literature' visited Delhi and helped turn the tide in favour of Urdu. With the generation after Vali came the first great age of Urdu literature in the north, and Delhi rapidly became the centre *par excellence* of the Urdu speaking world.

From the point of view of morphology and structure, as mentioned already, Urdu is almost identical with modern Hindi, which in its present form is a comparatively recent creation. In ordinary situations, the two languages are mutually intelligible and speakers of Hindi and Urdu rarely have any difficulty in communicating with each other. The two languages, however, diverge considerably at the literary level. Firstly there is the difference of script; Hindi is written in the *devanagari* script, which was originally used to write Sanskrit, while Urdu is written in the Persio-Arabic script. Secondly, Urdu draws much of its technical vocabulary from Persian, while Hindi, like the majority of the other languages of India, relies more and more on Sanskrit as its source. Even before Hindi became the official language of the Indian Union, a deliberate attempt was made to 'purify' Hindi by replacing commonly used Urdu words with less well-known words taken from Sanskrit.

According to a recent census, Urdu is spoken as a mother tongue by some thirty million people living mainly in northern India and Pakistan. The cities of Delhi and Lucknow are traditionally regarded as the greatest centres of Urdu literature, but since the partition of the subcontinent in 1947, Karachi and Lahore have also acquired great importance in this respect. The figures quoted from the census reports, however, give a somewhat misleading picture, for Urdu is used as a *lingua franca* by great numbers of people whose mother tongue is something other than Urdu, and along with Hindi (with which at the simplest level it is more or less identical), it is the most widely spoken and understood language of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent.

Urdu, as opposed to modern or literary Hindi, is primarily associated with the

Pakistan Jubilee — no joys to reap

NASIM AHMAD*

Barely 25 years after the world's biggest Muslim state emerged from the partition of British India, it was cruelly dismembered by a secessionist conflict in East Pakistan and the war with India. A state essentially born on the faith of one hundred million Indian Muslims, who were united behind the demand for a separate Muslim homeland by the brilliant constitutional lawyer, Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Pakistan enjoys little understanding and even less sympathy among the radical and secular westerners. By contrast, there is tremendous appreciation among western liberals of the genesis and problems of Israel, a state inspired by racial as much as by religious motives.

For those Pakistanis who experienced the bloody partition of British India in 1947, the tragic events of 1971 were particularly sad. Extremely poor and lacking proper administration, Pakistan absorbed in 1947 more Muslim refugees from India and Kashmir than those unfortunate Bengalis who more recently fled the troubled province of East Pakistan, to resettle whom India first launched a war by proxy and later a full-scale invasion. The creation of Bangladesh may have solved the refugee problems for India, but it has new and serious problems for all the impoverished peoples of the region.

The great power rivalry in South Asia, the Persian Gulf and the Middle East, which has now only started, is complicating these already difficult problems. The need for a durable and just peace in South Asia cannot therefore be underestimated. The recent meeting between the Indian Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, and President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto of Pakistan, in the Indian hilltown of Simla was a first step in this direction. Through their deeds, and not by words alone, the successor states of the British Raj will have to demonstrate that they sincerely wish to end the tragic confrontation which marred the first quarter-century of their independence. The confrontation, symbolized by the disputed Himalayan state of Kashmir, has been responsible for arms race and conflict in South Asia. It has diverted funds from tractors to tanks, from development to destruction. If unresolved through a just and lasting settlement, this confrontation could precipitate a situation perhaps more tragic and ghastly than the protracted Vietnam war.

In its early days, when Muslim refugees came flooding in by the millions from East Punjab, Delhi, the United Provinces, Bihar, West Bengal and other places in India affected by communal carnage, Pakistan was sustained by the rare unity and dedication of its people. Families housed and fed strangers until the refugees were resettled. Pakistan received not one penny in foreign aid to rehabilitate the refugees from India who constituted about one eighth of its population at birth. The communication explosion which transformed the role and influence of the information media in the sixties had not occurred and the world outside remained largely ignorant of the plight of Muslim refugees who fled from India to Pakistan. But for the selflessness of its people and the dedicated and honest leadership of Mr. Jinnah—called *Quaid-e-Azam* (the great leader)—Pakistan might well have died at birth. The first Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and several other prominent Indians made no secret of their view that Pakistan would not last more than six months. It was perhaps this thought which induced many staunch opponents of partition of India to accept the idea of an independent Pakistan. But they never accepted Mr. Jinnah's 'two nation theory' that the Muslims had an entity of their own and that only an independent Muslim homeland could properly give expression to it.

The emergency of Bengali nationalism and the secessionist movement in East Pakistan has been cited by many Indians as yet another 'nail in the

coffin' of Pakistan's separate nationhood. They argue that religion cannot be a proper basis for nationhood; they welcome the emergence of cultural and linguistic nationalism in Bangladesh. Yet they would like Bangladesh confined to predominantly Muslim East Bengal, so that predominantly Hindu West Bengal stays with India. So a religious 'two-nation theory' is all right for Bengal, but not for the South Asian subcontinent. It only shows that the religious factors in the body-politic of the region cannot be purged. A separation between 'church' and 'state' did not occur even in Ireland, and it is still a long way off in countries like India and Pakistan.

What dismembered Pakistan in 1971 and what threatens the unity of the four West Pakistani provinces can be summed up in one word—greed. When greed replaced goodwill in the early days, the problems began which culminated in the crisis and conflict of last year. While most Muslim refugees from India just managed to survive, the influential and greedy among them secured the allotment of properties vacated by the Hindus and Sikhs who had gone to India. Pakistani bureaucrats found the system of evacuee property allotment a profitable business also for themselves. With little thought for the poor refugees still dwelling in shanty huts, the officials built for themselves villas in Karachi, Lahore and other places.

After the demise of Mr. Jinnah and the first Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan, the bureaucrats sought political power to add to their ill-gotten financial gains. The creation of the 'windfall state' in Pakistan was mainly the work of four former heads of state, Mr. Ghulam Mohammad (a bureaucrat), General Iskander Mirza, Field Marshal Ayub Khan and General Yahya Khan.

Ghulam Mohammad, misused the powers of Governor-General to sack a weak but honest and respected Bengali Prime Minister, Khwaja Nazimuddin. In Generals Mirza and Ayub Khan, Ghulam Mohammad acquired willing allies in the conspiracy against democracy and constitutional government in Pakistan. General Ayub had plans of his own even when he was the commander of the Pakistan army. These were spelt out in his writings as far back as 1956. Ayub regarded countries like Pakistan unfit for democracy as known in the west and he strongly felt that the country should have a political order which the people could understand and work. Not all his ideas were without merit. If the idea of 'basic democracy', eg, proper local self-government, and indirect election of the president through an electoral college had not been thwarted, chiefly by power-hungry officials, some political progress was possible. The principal drawbacks of the Ayub regime—its dependence on a military-bureaucracy-business power complex and the fact that his centralized presidential system did not give adequate representation to the populous province of East Pakistan—finally destroyed it.

Yahya Khan was selected by Ayub Khan as the new commander-in-chief of the Pakistan army, because he was considered a 'politically safe' general. But he was no more politically reliable than many other senior officers, as was amply demonstrated by the situation following the fall of Ayub Khan from office. What is more, his pursuit of the pleasures of the flesh and his excessive drinking habits left him little time or energy to attend to the affairs of state. His stable companion, General Hamid Khan, shared Yahya's weakness for plump women and money.

There can be little doubt that Shaikh Mujibur Rahman and his Awami League were secessionists. Both when he left London for Dacca last January and in a later interview with the television commentator, David Frost, Mujib acknowledged that he had been working for an independent Bangladesh ever since the birth of Pakistan. But Yahya and his fellow generals aided Mujib for a considerable time both before and after the 1970 elections

in Pakistan perhaps under the advice of those politicians and businessmen who hoped to use Mujib and the Bengali nationalists to check the nascent socialists in West Pakistan led by Mr. Bhutto. The terms under which the elections were held and the subsequent blunders by the generals and Pakistani politicians gave India the opportunity it has waited for ever since 1947 to destroy the unity between East and West Pakistan. And destroy it did, finally, with the invasion of the eastern wing in November last year. Before the Indian conquest of East Pakistan, the province experienced a virtual 'UDI' by the Awami League of Shaikh Mujib and mass murder of non-Bengalis and army officers, followed by military action against the secessionists which turned into mass terror.

The conclusion in August last year of the friendship and defence treaty between Russia and India, and a similar alliance between Russia and Iraq this year, gave a new dimension to the Soviet policy in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf. The Indo-Russian treaty played no small part in the conquest of East Pakistan. From the Kremlin's point of view the Indo-Russian treaty was nothing but a part of the 'collective security' plan for Asia put forward two years ago by Mr. Brezhnev. The Chinese know that these arrangements are directed against them, and it was not without reason that Premier Chou En Lai said last February that through the conquest of East Pakistan, India had lifted 'a stone which will eventually fall upon itself'. China sees the impoverished region of Bengal as the best soil for revolutionary activity in South Asia. Ineptitude of the Mujib government and the rising resentment in Bangladesh against Indian domination of the territory have created new tensions and conflicts in the troubled Bay of Bengal region. America is not oblivious to the power tussle between Russia and China in South Asia. The dangers in South Asia inherent in this power tussle among the Big Three are obvious.

Last year's crisis and conflict which dismembered Pakistan demonstrated that the arrangements Britain made in the subcontinent in 1947 have broken down. What new arrangements (and political map) would eventually emerge, it is still too early to say. President Bhutto is trying to damp down the fissiparous tendencies in the western Pakistani provinces. Further Balkanization of Pakistan would not be to India's advantage. The forces and influences which may fill the vacuum would encourage fissiparous tendencies in India which were momentarily overcome only through the military victory against Pakistan. The euphoria of victory cannot be ever-lasting and only a just and enduring peace coupled with genuine disarmament in South Asia can promote accelerated development and prosperity in the region.

(New Humanist, August 1972, abridged)

manufacturers
of
knitted
outerwear

KNIGHTON KNITWEAR LTD.
15-A Fleetwood Road,
Leicester LE2 1YA, England.
(Phone: 708937)

* Nasim Ahmed is Chief Overseas Correspondent of Dawn, Karachi.

Nota Bene

'HEIGHTISM' is the latest in the sociology of politics or political sociology whatever way one may name it. It is a 'scientific' discovery indeed. Saul Feldman, a sociologist at Case Western Reserve University of the United States has come up with a startling theory about American politics. He claims that statistical analysis shows that American people are obsessed with the 'prejudices' of 'heightism', in more or less the same way as they are, with racism, sexism etc.

Saul Feldman has prepared a chart of Presidential candidates in the US elections since 1900. This shows that with the solitary exception of Calvin Coolidge in 1924, the taller of the two major contestants has always won. The evidence is corroborated by another survey which showed that those graduates of the University of Pittsburgh who were 6 ft. 2 inches and over, received starting salaries 12.4 per cent higher than those under 6 feet.

The burden of this analysis is that George McGovern has a better chance against Richard Nixon. In 1968 Nixon beat Humphrey just by one inch. Now McGovern is an inch taller and is tipped as the winning horse.

Similar sociological researches about other countries might throw new light on the hither-to-fore unexplored parameter of power. Heath too is a simple case against Wilson but the study needs to be extended to Communist block as well where one may have to measure not only height but the girth as well.

Thomas Cooks, the famous travel agents, have announced a new thrill-packed conducted tour of Africa—a visit to the land of the cannibals. The tour is expected to go deep into the jungles and visit the few remaining cannibal tribes. With luck they may also see the cannibals eating human flesh. The trip will cost £800 per person. Eleven 'tourists' including one woman have already booked for the tour.

If the sight of a man eating man is such a prize-view is it necessary to go that far? Opportunities are plenty and nearer home too! You have the metropolitan cities like London, New York, Paris and Tokyo, and you have Ulster too. Vietnam, Mindano (Philippines) and Bangladesh are not too far either.

Does cannibalism consist in eating the flesh of the dead only, or in enjoying the human kill whatever be the form? One is reminded of Montaigne's essay on *Cannibalism* where he raises the issue succinctly: "There is more barbarism in eating men alive, than to feed upon them being dead; to mangle by torture and

torments a body full of lively sense than to roast and eat him after death".

The Israeli military court at Sarafand has sentenced to life imprisonment the self confessed Japanese terrorist, Kozo Okamoto who was one of the three reported to have killed a number of people at Lydda airport last month. Terror at Lydda has been condemned even by the sympathisers of the true Arab guerrilla movement. But certain parts of the Judge's pronouncement deserve deeper reflection and peeping into some historical similarities. The Israeli press itself has shown the way by suggesting that the date of birth of Okamoto, 7th December, coincided with the date of Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour, again 7th December (ignoring the difference in year of course).

The Judge addressing the accused said: "It is worthwhile that you know what your image is . . . you came under the mask of a guest with intentions of murder . . . you have spilled innocent blood. This is your image. You have taken yourself out of the pale of any human society. There is no penalty which is commensurable for the magnitude of your crime".

History has to pronounce its verdict on Israel herself and it may then borrow some of the words of the Israeli 'Judge' Lt. Col. Abraham Frich, ". . . you came under the mask of a guest with intentions of murder . . . you have spilled innocent blood . . ." It was the guests who turned into the terrorist squads of Hagana and Irgun. 'Lydda' of 1972 and Deir Yassin of 1948 are pages in the same book. Both Israel and Okamoto have done their jobs, to quote once again "with willingness and full awareness". Would history discriminate between the two?

ANNUAL ZAKAT PAYMENT FORM

An easy guide to determine and compute zakat liability, a compilation based on all the four juristic schools of thought by Mavghoob Qureshi. 20 mimeograph pages, price 50c, 25p **Al-Manar Press**, Box 391, Palo Alto, California, USA/Newsmedia Book Service, 33 Stroud Green Road, London N4 3EF

PAK PRINTERS

Quality Printers in English, Arabic, Bengali, Urdu and Gujrati

Publishers and Booksellers:
Selection of books on Islam, in English, Urdu and Bengali. Primer for children, separate parts of the Qur'an.

20 HIGHGATE ROAD
BIRMINGHAM B12 OAX, UK,
Tel: 021-4402 047

by Scribe

TERMINATION OF HOSTILITIES IN THE EARLY ARAB CONQUEST

ARAB CONQUEST AD 634-656.
By D. R. Hill, 188 Pages., Cloth, Price £2.10

FROM CONSULTATION TO CONFRONTATION

A study of the Muslim League in British Indian Politics (1906-1912)
By M. Rahman, 313 Pages, Cloth, Price £5.00

THE UMAYYAD CALIPHATE

A Political Study
By 'Abd al-Ameer 'Abd Dixon, 222 Pages, Cloth, Price £5.25

ARAB NAVIGATION IN THE INDIAN OCEAN BEFORE THE COMING OF THE PORTUGUESE

By G. R. Tibbets, 614 Pages, 7 folding maps, Cloth, Price £13.25

LUZAC & CO. LTD.

46 GREAT RUSSELL STREET
LONDON WC1B 3PE

Anthony Nutting, **NASSER** (Constable) £3.95.
Alistair Duncan, **THE NOBLE SANCTUARY: Portrait of a Holy Place in Jerusalem**, (Longman), £2.
A. C. Forrest, **THE UNHOLY LAND**, (McLelland & Stewart) £3.
Stephen Page, **THE USSR AND ARABIA**, (Central Asian Research Centre) £5.
Herbert Feldman, **FROM CRISIS TO CRISIS: Pakistan 1962-1969**, (Oxford) £5.50.
William J. Barnds, **INDIA, PAKISTAN, AND THE GREAT POWERS**, (Pall Mall), £4.25.
Rushbrook Williams, **THE EAST PAKISTAN TRAGEDY**, (Tom Stacy), £2.80.
M. U. Chapra, **ECONOMIC SYSTEM OF ISLAM**, (Islamic Centre), 40p.
A. L. Tibawi, **ENGLISH SPEAKING ORIENTALISTS**, (Islamic Centre), 25p.

Mail Order Book Service

You can order any title to be delivered at your door-steps
Inland Orders for books worth £5 or over post free

NEWSMEDIA BOOK SERVICE

News & Media Ltd.,
33 Stroud Green Rd.,
London N4 3EF

Books

Focus on the Problem World

Nonaligned Third World Annual (NTW Annual), edited by Andrew Carvely, *Book International of D-TE International, Inc.*, Missouri, 366 pages, \$14.00.

Of the numerous studies dealing with the economic, political and cultural, problems of the Third World, which have appeared recently, *NTW Annual* is by far, one of the best and the most penetrating.

An international team of scholars, journalists and businessmen tries to grapple with the myriad problems of the Third World in this rather ambitious undertaking. The focus is on the Middle East, Africa and Asia, although Latin America has not been excluded. The method, in a way, is unique. The "Annual" is more than a mere collection of articles and papers. The editors have taken upon themselves the task of research and supplementation, with the result that the "Annual" has become a document of reference, containing a wealth of bibliographic and statistical information—some 2,500 citations in 1,250 footnotes! The Annual contains nineteen articles and one essay (11 dealing with the Muslim world), thirteen editorial notes (8 dealing with the Muslim world), 2 interviews with leading world figures Gunnar Myrdal and Ivan D. Illich), 3 valuable bibliographies on Libya, the non-aligned Third World and Gunnar Myrdal etc. All this makes the "Annual" indispensable for any researcher on the Third World.

David M. Williams surveys the Nigerian scene, emerging from the debris of a civil/international war. He spells out, in the politico-economic context of contemporary Nigeria, the problems of the future, particularly of fostering 'a sense of nationhood and unity' within, and resurrection of wider cooperation between the African nations, adversely affected by the role of certain African countries in the Civil war. A close-up on the Big Power interests in Nigeria is also provided.

Alvin W. Wolfe writes in depth on Tanzania-Zambia Railway built with Chinese money and technical guidance and looked upon by many as an escape route from neo-colonial control. The article is informative as well as perceptive of the tensions and aspirations of the African people engaged in economic and political development. The author, however, is not optimistic (and slightly so) about the Zambian capacity to take-off after the evolution of the new transport system. Its primary products are so dependent upon the developed countries that there is no 'easy road' to freedom.

Khurshid Ahmad delineates the Third World's dilemma of development.

He suggests that the failure of the developmental effort should be traced to the historical legacy and the contemporary framework of Western and Socialist imperialisms and to an uncritical extension of the Western growth theory to the Third World. The result is that the ideals, strategies and plans for development are at variance with the real needs of societies which have an entirely different socio-cultural infrastructure. He feels that correct questions are yet to be formulated to seek correct solutions.

By far the best and most thoughtful is the study of Libya. It is a careful analysis of the Libyan scene with all its internal and external ramifications and throws light on the whys and hows of the quest and uneasiness of the new Libyan leadership which sometimes so upsets Western observers. It is also an illuminating critique of the American policy in the Arab World, a policy which neither upholds any moral idealism nor even the best political and economic interests of the United States. It is a paradox of contemporary history that a great nation has been so overwhelmed by an articulate and a small minority, as to become very much oblivious of its own national interest. The article is followed by an exhaustive chronological bibliography on Libya (723 entries).

Other articles on the Middle East deal with the economic development of Jordan (Richard J. Ward, "Jordan in a Turbulent World: Its Prospects"); the Palestinian refugees (one article and one detailed editorial note); Israel, its real nature ("A specialized instance of European colonization" p. 174); and the Israeli record in the Middle East (pp. 192-206). Nancy Boone's essay on "An American opinion on the Arab-Israel's Conflict" is balanced and refreshing; though not necessarily representative of the American opinion.

Professor T. B. Irving writes on the Islamic architecture and craftsmanship and in a broad illuminating survey tries to capture the spirit of Islamic Culture (Tawheed, leading to unity within the world) and its manifestations in artifacts. Gustav Thaiss makes a sociological study of the modernization of Islamic Society in Persia, while Ismail Serageldin writes on "The search for identity among Muslim Youth" in the UAR.

Japan, Malaysia, India and Pakistan dominate the section on Asia. By and large the editors have maintained a fair degree of objectivity and balance. It is unfortunate the same cannot be said of some of their observations on India and Pakistan. On occasions they become apologetic about India (p. 336, section on Indian foreign policy and note 19) and

admonitive about Pakistan. One does get a mixing of facts and opinions.

The "Annual", on the whole raises correct issues and presents the problems of the Third World in their proper perspective. A compilation of this type is bound to be a spectrum of viewpoints and contributions cannot but vary not merely in length and detail but also in levels of analytical perception and scholarship. Nevertheless, the *NTW Annual* is a work of painstaking research and scholarship and should be read with interest and profit.

K. B. Nazir

For young Muslims

(i) **Introduction to the Qur'an, (ii) Introduction to the Hadith** by Abdur Rahman Doi, *Islamic Publications Bureau, Lagos*, 134 and 156 pages, unpriced.

The Holy Qur'an and Hadith are the basic sources of Islamic teachings, and provide guidance in all walks of life. It is desirable to learn Arabic and study the Divine Book and Sunnah of the Prophet in their original splendour. But one cannot expect every Muslim to learn Arabic before he can know about Islam. Hence there is a way of translating and presenting these books in other languages and make them more accessible to the Muslim masses, or indeed to the non-Muslims as well. Although there are English translations of the Qur'an and Hadith which contain learned introductions and commentaries to help mature readers, as yet there are very few books written in English for school children. Muslim Educational Trust London has done some pioneering work in this country and has produced two excellent primers on Islam. Dr. Abdur Rahman Doi of the University of Ife, Nigeria, has now compiled these excellent books for use in Nigerian schools which are quite suitable for use elsewhere also.

"Introduction to the Qur'an" comprises chapters on the compilation of the Qur'an, the importance of Qur'an, the contents of Qur'an, the comparison of Meccan and Medinite surahs and commentaries of Qur'an. This is followed by selections from the Qur'an on the moral teachings of the Book. Arabic text is given first, then transliteration in English followed by translation and brief commentary.

Introduction to Hadith follows a similar style. It has chapters on the life of the Prophet, development of the sciences of Hadith, importance of the Hadith and the six authentic collections. The rest of the book is a selection of Hadith arranged under various useful subject headings.

These books should help in a better understanding of Islam and serve to introduce it to young Muslims.

A. R. Siddiqui

Selection, imitation and reaction

Modern Islamic Literature, edited by James Kritzeck, *Holt, Rinehart and Winston*, New York, 310 pages, \$10.

This is an anthology of short literary excerpts of poems, popular tales, short stories, novels, plays and memoirs by Muslim authors who lived during the European colonial era and in subsequent periods, i.e. 1800 to 1950's.

For a historical appreciation of this colonial literature, a brief excursion into the political scene of Muslim countries in the 19th century seems pertinent.

The 19th century witnessed the greatest expansion of European colonialism. Part of North Africa was colonised by France; the coast of East Africa had been divided between Britain, Italy, Germany and Portugal. A large portion of Muslim Central Asia and Transcaucasia was annexed by Russia and the Persian Gulf territories came under British tutelage. Prior to these developments, the Indian sub-continent had been colonised by the British. The East Indies came under the Dutch colonial rule. The Ottoman State withstood these onslaughts only upto the First World War. Preceding the Great War, movements were organised to instigate the Syrian and Lebanese Arabs against the Ottomans which ultimately succeeded in dismembering it after the war. "The nationalisms behind European imperialisms in the nineteenth century", says James Kritzeck, "seeded their counterpart throughout the Islamic World. It was really the Christian missionaries and their already Christian pupils, for example, who invented Arab nationalism" (p.9). Thus nationalism as a divisive political doctrine wrecked the Ottoman State in the first place, splitting them into small and feuding nations, and exposing them more than ever to foreign intrigues and influences.

The Muslim authors of the colonial period imbibed Western culture, and adopted European literary forms as well as norms. The new genre was essentially based on Western secular and nationalistic ideas. Ziya Gökalp of Turkey is the most eminent representative of the latter school (cf. "The Ideal of Nationalism", pp. 65-68). Alongside this uncritical reaction to European ideas, one can also discern a different type of response: Pan-Islamism and Islamic reforms. 'Abd al-Rahman al-Kawakibi and Muhammad Abduh, a disciple of Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, typify this latter school (Cf. Abduh, "Religious and Human Progress," pp. 53-61; al-Kawakibi, "The Virtues of the Arab", pp. 62-64).

In the literary texts of *Modern Islamic Literature*, two major currents of thought

are unmistakably discernible, i.e. the Western and the Islamic; the former as an offensive force and the latter a defensive one. Consequently, one also notices a conflict between the forces of modernism and conservatism. The ever unsettling condition of the Muslim society produced a bigger and a newer under-dog and the new bellettrists are seen paying more and more literary attention to them (Cf. M. Taymur: "Uncle Mutawalli", pp 79-86; Resat Nuri Güntekin, "The Convent School", pp. 103-108). As it should have been, the new literature was a movement away from beliefs and values, and one naturally comes across an overt display of scepticism and agnosticism. The story entitled "Merdekman" by Muchtar Lubis of Indonesia is a case in point. The characters of this story, a labour leader, a poet and a young writer discuss—although superficially—Western ideologies such as Communism, Existentialism etc., and express scepticism regarding Islam. In the midst of the debate, the young writer Ies pleads for Islam, but apologetically and suggests 'the idea of seeking a new dynamism in Islam'. Says he: "The conditions we see today in Islamic countries are not the fault of Islam, but of some Muslims who disregard the teachings of their religion... Since the majority of our people adhere to the religious teachings of Islam, couldn't Islam then become a tremendous force in the development of our people?" (p 260).

Halide Edib, like Kamal Atatürk is a disciple of Ziya Gökalp; in her story "A Change of Faith" says: "Islam to me is not a religion, it is a way of living, a mere label and a code of human relationship" (p. 144). This is a love-hate relationship; sure neither of one's love for Islam, nor otherwise.

The anthology provides some empirical as well as theoretical views on the question of racial equality in Islam. That racial prejudice is not a problem at all in Islam, this universally acknowledged view has recently come to be questioned by some Orientalists. How far is this true?

According to Muhammad Abduh, "Islam removed all racial distinctions within humanity, in common dignity of relationship with God, of participation in human kind, in race group and particular setting, as well as in the dignity of being in the way of the highest attainments prepared of God for men." (Cf. Abduh, p. 56). On the other end of the spectrum the late Aga Khan, while discussing the racial tensions between Asians, Africans and Europeans in East and Central Africa, states: "Whenever the indigenous population is Muslim, there is remarkably little racial antagonism, or sense of bitterness against the Europeans,

inspite of the Europeans' obvious economic superiority. Islam after all is a soil in which sentiments of this sort do not take root or flourish easily. This is not a shallow or fatalistic resignation; it is something much more profound in the essence of the teachings of Islam—a basic convention that in the eyes of God all men, regardless of colour or class or economic condition, are equal. From this belief there springs an unmistakable self-respect whose deepest effects are in the subconscious, preventing the growth of bitterness or any sense of inferiority or jealousy, by one man of another's economic advantage" ("Looking Forward", pp. 251-2).

The anthology should be seen as part of the efforts to project the self-image of the Eastern peoples before the Western readers. It follows the pattern of an earlier work entitled "Anthology of Islamic Literature" first published in 1964. The literary texts in the present selection cover many languages spoken in Muslim countries like Arabic, Turkish, Persian, Urdu, Hausa, Somali and Javanese. Contributions of a little over forty Muslim authors and poets have been included. In spite of its extensive base, the anthology is far from 'representative' of the Islamic literature of the 19th and 20th centuries. There are important omissions. Bengali, for example, is rich in Islamic literature. But no sample of Bengali Islamic literature has been included in the anthology. One also misses Pashto, Sindhi and Kurdish which are important regional languages. The anthology did not do any justice with the Islamic literature in Albania, Yugoslavia, Turkestan(s) on the one hand and Mali, Chad, Mauretania and East Africa on the other. Even the well-known literary masterpieces in many languages have been omitted. Omar Pound, an amateur translator of Persian poetry is projected to the exclusion of eminent scholars.

The translators in the anthology include famous Orientalists such as R. A. Nicholson, E. G. Browne, A. J. Arberry, Bernard Lewis, Kenneth Cragg, Mervin Hiskett, E. Wilson, Hilary Wayment, Bruce Lawrence, B. Raffel, H. Howarth, Nurdin Salam, Ibrahim Shukrullah, Niazi Berkes, Ibrahim Musa'ad, C. G. Campbell, and Denys Johnson-Davies.

The prefatory note preceding each text in the anthology may serve as useful *aide-memoire* for students of the literary history of the modern Islamic Orient. However, the transliteration system applied to the Arabic, Persian and Turkish words lack uniformity, and is largely archaic. It does not take into account the internationally approved transliteration systems. The arrangement of the texts is random, and it does not seem to follow any chronological or alphabetical order. Selective as it is, nevertheless the anthology opens the doors to an interesting and vast portrait gallery of Oriental life.

Dr. M. A. J. Beg

Briefing

High Road to Command: The Diaries of Major-General Sir Edmund Ironside, 1920-1922 Edited by Lord Ironside, *Leo Cooper*, £4.95.

A tough Scot and the youngest Major-General in the British Army, Sir Edmund Ironside was the man Lloyd George sent out to settle accounts with the vanquished Turkey after the first World War. Before sending him the P.M. pointedly asked him if he was pro-Turks. "No", he said, "I am pro-British". Racing through Rumania he rejuvenated the British army facing the Turks under Mustafa Kemal. Then he cheered up the young Shah of Persia who was terribly frightened of the Bolsheviks; at the same time quietly preparing a junior lieutenant-colonel, Raza Khan, to seize power from the terror-stricken Shah. His last adventure proved an end of his active career when a small plane carrying him from Tehran to Baghdad crashed in a dust storm braking both his thighs. Virtually a cripple for the rest of his life, mentally he remained alive and active. He was appointed as the commandant of the Staff College.

African Liberation Movements: Contemporary Struggles against White Minority Rule, by Richard Gibson, *O.U.P. for Institute of Race Relations*, £3.50.

A comprehensive guide to African nationalist movements, their factions, rival groups and men behind them. The guerrilla organisations too are covered with all their fury. Every African country receives detailed treatment giving each country's present and proposed name e.g., Azania for South Africa and Zimbabwe for Rhodesia. The volume makes a complete Who's Who on African politics, particularly the Liberation Movements.

The Slave Trade, The Story of Transatlantic Slavery by Oliver Ransford, *John Murray*, £3.50.

A full account of the Slave Trade carried out by the European Nations which the author views as the root-cause of the colour and race prejudices found in countries like Britain, South Africa and America even today.

The Government of Ethiopia by Margery Perham, *Faber and Faber*, £5.50.

A study in Ethiopian Government, its evolution and problems. The perennial problem of Ethiopia, like many other Afro-Asian countries is the unity. The present ruler has somehow managed to preserve it, but will his successors be able to do so, is a big question. Another outstanding problem is that of modernisation. About the new generation—the students, the author remarks: "It is surprising that the students at the University... have not shown even more restlessness".

Egypt: Imperialism and Revolution by Jacques Berque translated by Jean Stewart, *Faber*, £15.00

Published in French, back in 1967, the author, a renowned expert on Middle East affairs, explores aspects of the Egyptian life particularly between the years 1870 and 1950. With great patience and pains he tries to explain the interaction of the various contending forces within the British and the Egyptian ruling circles on the life of the common people. A study of the Egyptian scene, past and present, it is based on the technique that seeks to interpret colonisation and decolonisation in search of a thesis that is yet to develop.

Palestine Papers 1917-1922 by Doreen Ingrams, *John Murray*, £3.00.

The official British documents on the problem of Palestine including Cabinet papers, Foreign Office and Colonial Office files, memoranda of men like Curzon, Allenby, T. E. Lawrence, Herbert Samuel and Winston Churchill, and correspondence with Dr. Weizmann and the Amir Feisal. The compiler has arranged the papers

in a way that they speak for themselves with brief editorial notes to give their background and to introduce the writers.

Bernard Shaw, Collected Letters Vol. II, 1898-1910, edited by Dan H. Laurence, *Max Reinhardt*, £6.00.

Published seven years after the first volume: two more are still to come. Shaw's activities were so varied and vast that a fuller and complete picture of his is hard to come by in any single volume. Once he himself wrote to his biographer, Archibald Henderson, "my activities have lain in so many watertight compartments that nobody has yet given anything but a sectional and inaccurate account of me". In his letters one may reasonably expect something more if not complete, but one is puzzled to find just another masked glimpse of the man. For the trouble with Shaw is that he is more concerned with what he does or what he is prevented from doing rather than what he feels. That is perhaps why even St. John Ervine's Bernard Shaw (*Constable*, £4.50) fails to catch him at his best and fullest.

The Europeans: Who are we? by Richard Mayne, *Weidenfeld and Nicolson*, £2.00.

A study in the historic identity of Europe and the Europeans, in terms of their ethnography and anthropology which may finally find expression in the Common Market.

Dear Author by Michael Legat, *Pelham*, £1.80.

A collection of letters on the art of writing and publishing; contains useful information and advice for authors. Those interested in the art of authorship and publishing may read it with benefit together with Clive Bingley's *The Business of Book Publishing Pergamon*, £2.80.

Burma and Pakistan: A Comparative Study of Development by Mya Maung, *Praeger*, New York.

A study in economic development and social transformation in the context of the two countries' respective 'religio-political' background.

Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50, Vol. 2 Edited by Durga Das, *Nava Jivan*, Rs.25.00

Patel was the most influential Indian leader after Gandhi and Nehru and the present volume of Sardar Patel's correspondence unravels the internal conflicts and contradictions of the Indian National Congress. The correspondence deals with preparations for the Central and Provincial elections of the early 1946 which formed the basis of the partition. The first volume covered issues such as Kashmir.

The Muslims in Yugoslavia (in Arabic) by Ghanam Sultan Aman and Muhammad Yusuf-al-Ghanam, *Darul Bayan*, Kuwait.

It is an attempt to depict the position and problems of the Muslims and Islam in Yugoslavia. Most of the observations are based on the authors' own experiences during their stay in that country as research students. The book is divided into six chapters covering almost all the aspects of the Muslims' life in Yugoslavia.

Islamic Education, Its Traditions and Modernization into the Arab National Systems by A. L. Tibawi, to be published in September by *Luzac*, £4.50.

First comprehensive study of the subject by an established authority on Islamic history and education at present attached to the University of London's Institute of Education. The book treats Islamic education from the rise of Islam to the nineteenth century when modern western ideas were introduced. It deals with the fragmentation of the religious educational system into regional or national systems down to 1967. There is also an interpretation of a number of educational and general cultural problems common to the countries which make up the Arab League.

A Selection of Islamic Titles

The Holy Qur'an, Translation and Commentary by Abdullah Yusuf Ali, two vols: £4.50, three vols: £5.00.

Meaning of the Glorious Qur'an, by M. Pickthal, 464pp, 40p.

The Qur'an, Interpreted by A. J. Arberry, 673pp, 90p.

Introduction to the Qur'an by Dr. Abdur Rahman Doi, 134pp, 75p.

Introduction the Hadith by Dr. Abdur Rahman Doi, 155pp, 85p.

Essays on the Life of Muhammed by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, 394pp, £2.

Prophethood in Islam by Abdul Hameed Siddiqui, 92pp, 40p.

Islam and the World by Abul Hasan Ali Nadavi, 210pp, 30p.

Western Civilisation, Islam & Muslims by Abul Hasan Ali Nadavi, 200pp, £1.20 (reduced price).

Towards Understanding Islam by Abul A'la Maudoodi, 180pp, 40p.

Living Religions of the World by Abdullah Masdoosi, 363pp, £1.

A Guide Book on Haj by Maulana Badre Alam, 96pp, 25p.

Is Religion a thing of the past by M. Asad 24pp, 5p.

Qadianism, a critical study by Abul Hasan Ali Nadavi, 152pp, 75p.

The Middle East Crisis by Chaudhry Ghulam Muhammad, 168pp, 40p.

Postage & Packing extra

For Most Books on Islam
in Urdu, Arabic, Bengali and Turkish

ISLAMIC BOOK CENTRE

148 Liverpool Road, London N1 1LA
(Phone 01-607 7971)

To travel hopefully is a better thing than to arrive

**Dawn is where
your travel
starts—in
comfort and in
economy**

Special fares for USA, Middle East, Indo-Pak subcontinent & South East Asia

Dawn Travels Ltd.

3 Panton St., Haymarket,
London S.W.1

Phone: 01-930 9971 (Two Lines)

THE OMEGA STORY

"Involved in whatever goes around"

ZIA SARDAR

O.O.—that's Operation Omega. Omega describes itself as a non-violent direct action group with a pacifist and humanitarian outlook. Before the birth of Omega on 5 June 1971, its members were active in the Bangladesh cause. In August 1971, they sprang into the news by trying to take relief supplies into East Pakistan by defying Pakistan border force. But the story of Omega is best told by the group itself.

Harvey Griffith, an active member of Omega, who has spent several days in a Pakistani prison, traces the origins of the group: "Omega emerged as a group of individuals who responded to the plight of the Bengalis during the Pakistani occupation. They went to Calcutta with the intention of taking relief supplies across the borders. Omega does not believe that international boundaries are a valid separation between people who are dying and those who are taking relief to them. We purchased relief supplies—saris, lungis, high protein food—and drove in two landrover type vehicles."

Andrew Brown, who has just left for Bangladesh, picked up the story: "No permission had been sought from the Pakistani authorities to cross the border, although they had been given notice of our intentions, and the reasons for them. The first team was arrested by the Pakistani army and thrown out within 24 hours, but subsequent nine missions did manage to 'crash' in."

During the operations two Omega members were arrested by the Pakistani army and sent to prison for two years. A spokesman of Omega had then said, "these sentences are savage and appalling. The sentences prove that the Pakistan government is far more concerned at guarding its so-called 'sovereignty' than letting the people of East Bengal have food, or let humanitarians distribute it". The two volunteers were released after two months when the Indian army invaded.

Omega's political outlook is somewhat hazy. Most describe themselves as pacifist. Andrew Brown, talking about the group as a whole: "Omega does not have, for instance, a Marxist or a Maoist policy in its operations. All of us are involved in whatever goes on around us". Christine Pratt, who is just about to come back from Bangladesh, writes referring to the Bhari situation: "this is a desperate situation, politics are vastly complex factors, but at least let the people be kept alive until the politiking is over and their future is decided."

What relations does Omega have with other political activist groups? Action Bangladesh, for example? Harvey Griffith, again: "We are just good friends. They

were in on the conception of Omega. However, we are not responsible for their actions. We are not connected with their supplying of arms to the Mukti Bahini. I stress that we are a non-violent group: every volunteer who goes out to Bangladesh pledges non-violence; he even goes to the extent of refusing armed escort."

Relations with other agencies—such as Oxfam, War on Want, Christian Aid—are good. Oxfam has just given Omega £500 towards their work for the Biharis.

Before sending its volunteers to Bangladesh, Omega briefs them thoroughly, mostly using the literature it has prepared for itself. An Omega pamphlet pin-points the problem: why are the Biharis discriminated against in Bangladesh? "Biharis are naturally discriminated against because: 1) they speak Urdu, not Bengali, 2) they formed the administrative class under the Pakistan regime, 3) some of them undoubtedly did collaborate, 4) they take Islam far more seriously than the Bengalis, 5) they have a reputation for being 'dirtier' than the Bengalis." Now that the problem has been recognised what can be done to solve it? Harvey Griffith explains what can be done and what is being done: "The greatest contribution Omega can give to Bangladesh is to attempt some form of reconciliation between the Biharis and the Bengalis as this is creating an unstable situation. The Biharis are in a very awkward and painful position at the moment. We are not clear exactly how we can aid the Biharis best. However, we are working on the following lines: encouraging Biharis to join the Awami League and discouraging them from the unrealistic pleas of repatriation. We are teaching Bengali to Bihari adults and also running schools for Bihari children, jointly taught by Bihari and Bengali students. We are also thinking about distributing government forms to be signed by the Biharis affirming loyalty and intent to stay in Bangladesh. We are exploring Intermediate Technology techniques to create some form of employment for these people who are just sitting around and brooding over their troubles; to create small cottage industries for them to work on and also to enable sympathetic Bengalis not wishing to be associated with the Right Wing elements who will do anything to ensure that the Biharis are used as scapegoats for all mistakes and as outlet for their frustration... You see, they are using Biharis to further their own aim".

Omega has its eyes on other causes too. It plans to send a group to a position off Walvis Bay—Namibia's major port. There they will try to stop ships going in or out of the port and will try to explain to them that they are playing a role in the exploita-

tion of Namibia and its people.

Why volunteer for Omega? Barry Considine, a relative newcomer gives his reasons: "First of all there is the obvious need to do something about this (situation of the Biharis) sort of thing. Then there is the concern one feels for other people's plight. Finally, working for Omega is very satisfying, as one can direct all one's experience into one goal. But all these are minor reasons to the straight and simple urge I felt to help build a free, stable community in Bangladesh." He goes on to add, "I will like to do something similar in Northern Ireland situation but there I will be just another Irishman."

Jane Fordham came in in October 1971. "This was seven months after Omega was first formed. I came in purely as a response to the situation in Bangladesh and I think that majority of people within Omega did so for the same reason. I saw Omega as a rather daring relief agency. But soon realised that this was far from the truth even though the press only picked up the relief aspect and totally ignored the political and protest aspect of it. To me Omega has summed up all the vague thoughts that I had in my mind for a long time which had not been sorted out and systemised. When I came in I found that not only there were other people who were able to articulate what I had been thinking but also they were actually putting these thoughts into practice. Well, the phrase that is used round here is 'to lie your body on the line!' When I talked to her, Jane was unhappy. Christine Pratt had written from Bangladesh: "This hurts me, but I have to say it. 'Ladies would not, I fear, be suitable', except possibly here in Dacca where they can team up with other volunteers in the camp and come home at night." But Jane, who thought that this was due to 'Muslim culture', was determined, "If Omega won't send me I will go myself." Eventually Omega let her go.

GREASELESS HAIR TONIC

That Never Fails

Lotion made out of harmless herbs. The only lotion that arrests hair-loss, holds it in place, thickens and lengthens thin hair, cures dandruff and greasy condition and regrows thick and long hair if pores are still open. About 115 cc. bottle = £2. Send P.O. or cheque to:—

HERB-WATER HAIR CURE LTD., (imp)
70/68, Ockendon Road, London, N.1.

CHANGE OF ADDRESS

Please advise soonest possible. It may take four weeks before you start receiving *Impact* at your new address. Enclose the old address label.

U.K. TABLIGHI CONFERENCE

A Six Point Call to Faith

Sheffield, the steel heart of industrial Britain was the venue of a unique Conference. About 5000-6000 Pakistani, Indian, Bangladeshi, Saudi, Algerian, African and American Muslims spent four days (13-16 July) in marquees put in the school compound in Coleridge Road, listening to the Amir of the Tablighi Jamaat, Maulana Inamul Hasan, popularly known as Hazratji, and other ulema from India and Pakistan who dilated on the supreme need to understand and propagate the *Kalima* (no god but Allah and Muhammad is His Messenger) and of morality and character.

Hazratji called upon the ulema, to apply the knowledge they had. He said, to be able to identify, for example, a gun from a photograph is knowledge indeed, to possess it is also knowledge, but to use it is the real knowledge. It is not enough to lead people in prayer, he said, people have also to be invited to the mosque.

The Tablighi Jamaat owes its origin to the efforts of its founder Maulana Mohammad Ilyas, who 33 years ago started the work amongst Muslims of Mewat in India who were so illiterate and ignorant as not being able to recite even the *Kalima*. The work has since found a natural but unchanged extension among other Muslim communities outside the subcontinent.

The Jamaat has adopted a Six Point programme emphasising on (1) *Kalima* (2) *Salat* (3) *Zik* and *Umr*—remembrance and knowledge of Allah (4) *Ikrām*—respect for a Muslim (5) *Ikhlas*—purity of intention, and (6) Devoting time for *dawah*. The organisational structure

is informal and on some what *sufi* lines, and those who associate are requested to devote some time (3 to 120 days) to tabligh—going round in groups and inviting people to *Kalima* and the other five points. It is felt that people do not practise Islam because of their usual surroundings and so the need to draw them out and give them a sort of a crash course. The work so far is mostly confined amongst those who are Muslims already.

The founder of the *Jamaat*, Maulana Ilyas also wrote a book entitled "*Islamic Politics*" but the *Jamaat* scrupulously avoids taking part in politics.

These four days in Sheffield had their own unique and rich spiritual quality and should leave a more than ephemeral mark on the people's lives who attended. At the end of the Conference 60 voluntary groups were formed to go around for Tabligh in various parts of Britain and elsewhere.

Muslim Students in Britain discuss Revolution and Renovation

For the fourth time in nine years, Manchester played host to the FOSIS—Federation of Students Islamic Societies in the UK and Eire. The occasion was the Ninth Annual Conference of the Federation held on 21, 22 & 23 July at Owen's Park, a smart residential unit of University of Manchester. One day earlier most of the official business of the Federation was carried out in the Council meetings. After the opening speech by the President, Dawud Owen, the Council—which is the supreme body of the FOSIS—adopted the minutes of the last conference, the General Secretary and Treasurer's report, and the report on *The Muslim*, the Federations magazine. These outlined FOSIS activities for the session 1971/72.

The open session devoted itself to talks, discussions and a symposium on 'Spectrum of Tajdeed'. The 120 participants heard Khurshid Ahmad on the 'Finality of Prophethood and the need for Tajdeed'. Mr. Ahmed explained the significance of the completion of Allah's message and the need for *Tajdeed* that flowed therefore. He went on to discuss, at some length, the difference between *tajaddud* (modernism) and *tajdeed* (revival). *Tajdeed*, he said was a positive response as against modernism which was reactionary. The following morning Hasan Ibrahim Gwarzo gave a scholarly talk on 'Principles of Tajdeed'. Explaining the meaning of *tajdeed*, he discussed its nature, the role of *mujaddids* and their place in history. M. H. Faruqi spoke on Revolution and Renovation. A return to Islam is return to normalcy and not revolution, he said.

In the panel discussion on 'Place of *Tassawuf* in Islam' it was immediately evident that there were as many opinions as the number of partici-

pants. The discussion concluded that *tassawuf* is a part of life within Islam and not without it; there is no *tassawuf* to the exclusion of life as ordained by Islam.

The most fruitful part of the Conference was in the discussion groups. Their reports are expected to be published in *The Muslim*.

PAKISTAN DAY IN UK

In a message issued on the eve of Pakistan Day on 14 August, Mian Mumtaz Daultana, the Pakistan Ambassador, said that the country's progress and welfare depended entirely on strengthening its ideological foundations and adherence to the Quaid's motto: *Faith, Discipline and Unity*. ● The Ambassador will be addressing Pakistan Day meetings in Edingurgh on 9, in Glasgow on 10 and in London on 12 and 13 August. Rally by Tahrik Khilafat-e-Rashidah in Trafalgar Square on 20 August. ● Pakistan Women Organisation exhibition on 12-13 August at Islamic Centre, London. ● Eastern Friends League, Anson Hall, Chichef Road, NW2 on 13 August, 2 p.m.

new spectrum

ROUND-UP

□ All Britain Anjuman Taraqqi-e-Urdu foundation meeting elected Raja Mahmudabad as President, Dr. Ralph Russel, Dr. K. Islam and Dr. K. H. Quadri, Vice Presidents and S. M. Shah as General Secretary; (Address: 10, Westgate Terrace, London SW10 9BJ, Tel. 01-370-1356)

□ A meeting of the newly formed Pakistan Medical Association expressed concern over the refusal of the General Medical Council to register the Pakistani doctors for general medical practice. The Pakistani doctors would in future be eligible only for hospital jobs, mostly junior. ● The Association elected Dr. Zulfiqar Ali as President, Dr. Shahid Hasan Shah as General Secretary, an executive and four regional Vice-Presidents.

□ Pakistan Students Federation in Great Britain has condemned attempts to create a new linguistic schism in Pakistan and demanded that Urdu be made the official language in all provinces. ● Mazhar Quazi who is also the acting President of the People's Party (UK) has dissociated from Pakistan Youth Federation because of the PYF's stand on the language issue.

□ Anjuman-e-Nau, elected Siraj Gilani, as President, and M. A. Haider as General Secretary.

□ A meeting attended by representatives from Ashton, Manchester, Burnley, Oldham, Bolton, Rochdale, Nelson, and Blackburn, elected M. A. Pasha and Dr. A. R. Khan as President and secretary respectively of the Federation of Pakistani Associations in Great Britain.

□ South London Islamic Centre meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday at 384, Streatham High Road, London SW16 from 7-10 p.m.

□ Ninth Annual Conference of the UK Islamic Mission to be held at Baird Hall, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow, 26-28 August. Prof. T. B. Irving, (Tennessee, USA) will address.

□ Mr. Ashraf Ali, Planner in Education and Welfare, Islamic Cultural Centre, London has invited attention of those wishing to enter a teachers training college next September that the Borough Road College of Education, Isleworth, Middlesex is offering a teaching course which shall also include a special course on Islam organised with the assistance of the Centre. Candidates may apply direct to Mr. H. W. Marratt or contact Mr. Ali.

□ Silent demonstration by Pakistan Council (Overseas) on 6 August against suppression of human rights in Bangladesh before London Clinic where Sheikh Mujib is convalescing after appendix and gall-bladder operations.

□ Jamiat-ul-Muslimeen, (18 Speedwell Road, Birmingham 5), elected Haji Taj Muhammad, President. ● Neelim Sultan Zabiti won the National Environment Competition organised by the UN Youth Association.

INTEGRATED EDUCATION IN ISLAM—a pioneering effort

Sixteen teachers deputed by the Muslim Education Trust, London have been imparting "in-school" education in Islam to Muslim children going to county schools in a number of important towns and cities in Britain.

This comes out in a report released by the Trust at the end of the school-year which concluded last month.

The Muslim Education Trust, an educational charity registered with the Department of Education an Science aims at integrating Islamic education within the school framework. As a pilot project the Trust sends its teachers to county schools to teach Islam within the school hours. During the school year 1971-72, its teachers served 47 county schools in London, Birmingham, Luton, Walsall, Nottingham, Manchester and Bradford. The number of pupils attending ranged between 1,400-1,600.

With the assistance of local associations, Islamic education classes outside school premises and school hours were also organised at some places.

The Trust has published two excellent primers on Islam for children of eleven years or more. These are also useful as a simple but lucid introduction to Islam for the beginner. Further publication of the series on "Salat", "Haj and Zakat", "Life of the blessed Prophet" etc. is held up because of paucity of funds to finance production and promotion.

U.S.A. & EUROPE

□ CCIM, the Consultative Committee of Indian Muslims in USA and Canada has demanded abrogation of the recent Indian enactment which infringes on the autonomy and Muslim Character of the Aligarh Muslim University. ● The Annual Conference of the CCIM to be held at St. Charles, Missouri from 2-4 September.

□ Third Annual meeting of AMSE—Association of Muslim Scientists and Engineers, USA and Canada, at St. Charles, Missouri, from 2-4 September.

□ Tenth Annual Convention of the Muslim Students Association of the USA and Canada, also at St. Charles, Missouri, from 2-4 September.

□ The Annual Convention of the Federation of Islamic Associations in the USA and Canada in New York City, August 18-20.

□ The Islamic Centre in Rome (Centro Islamico Culturale d'Italia, via L. Settembrini, 38, Abitaz,—via della Balduine, 120, Rome) has started publishing a monthly news bulletin on Muslim World. The Centre also holds regular Friday prayers and a monthly study circle on Islam.

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

AFGHANISTAN. Under a five-year agreement Soviet Union would send experts to work in the topographic, geological and geophysical fields. ● An agreement also signed with China on Civil air transportation on 20 July. ● China to build a 200-250 bed hospital for Afghanistan free of charge, according to the instruments signed on July 25.

BANGLADESH. Foreign Minister said, he had dispelled doubts in some countries that the Soviet Union had been given a naval base in Bangladesh. He added his visit to Indonesia had shattered the impression given by Pakistan that there was some hope of reunification. Indonesia would actively support the entry of Bangladesh into the UN, he said. ● The Law Minister said arrangements have almost been finalized to place the draft constitution of the country before the Constituent Assembly in the form of a bill. ● Sh. Mujib referring to the recent disturbances in Pakistan said Mr. Bhutto should put his own house in order before talking of recognising Bangladesh and added that he did not care much about recognition. ● Poland, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria have indicated £35m. credit to Bangladesh. ● A 5-year agreement signed with West Germany on technical and economic co-operation in the training of specialists, managerial personnel and scientists from Bangladesh. ● A joint survey of the river systems in Bangladesh and the Eastern region of India was started. This is the first joint venture to control floods in Bangladesh. ● USSR to provide more Belarus tractors and necessary equipment for repairs and servicing. The Soviet Union would also supply machinery, construction material and technical know-how for the general electric manufacturing plant being set up at Dacca to be completed by 1975 at a cost of 350m. taka.

BAHRAIN. The First General Election for 22 seats of a 44-member constituent Council to take place on December 1. The remaining seats to be filled by the members of the Cabinet and 10 other persons nominated by the government.

CANADA. China's Ambassador, Yao Kuang, proposed to the Vice-Rector of Montreal University for an exchange of students. ● More than 600 Canadians to attend the Canadian Trade Fair in Peking in August and present about 400 technical papers in standard Chinese.

EGYPT. President Sada'at while asking all Soviet military specialists and experts to leave Egypt announced that military installations and equipment set up inside Egypt since 1967 are the property of the Arab Republic of Egypt and under its administration. ● The Nasr Motor Company produced this year vehicles worth £24m. and its export of motor vehicles to 10 Arab countries exceeded £6m. this year. ● Egypt's industrial oil and mineral output in the period 1st July-31st December 1971, totalled £E1,441m. ● An Indian, M. S. Oberoi, Chairman of a chain of 16 hotels in Asia, to build a \$10m, 350-room luxury hotel in Cairo's central Tahrir Square.

INDIA. The Assam Chief Minister told the provincial Assembly that the CIA is very active in the North Eastern region, particularly Assam. ● Mrs. Indira Gandhi, speaking on Simla Agreement, said, India's interest lies in getting rid of third party interference and in resolving mutual problems bilaterally. She said India is in a position of strength, but we should not humiliate Pakistan. She asked the people to view the Simla Pact in the long term and should be conscious of what is going to happen 50 or 100 years hence. ● The trade turn-over between India and the USSR is expected to rise to a record level of Rs.3,870m. ● India to export 400,000 ophthalmic lenses to the Soviet Union. ● Bharat Electronics Limited (BEL) announced manufacture of a 100 KW medium-wave transmitter which was 72% Indian made at a cost of 1,205m. rupees. Further transmitters would be entirely Indian made. ● Preparatory work started on atomic power station of 470 MW capacity in Bulandshahar (U.P.) ● The Central Jewish Board of India petitioned Mrs. Indira Gandhi to intervene to end the persecution of the 3,500 Syrian Jews by the Syrian Government.

INDONESIA. The recent Indonesian-Malaysian General Border Committee meeting in Prapat, Medan, discussed the stepping up of military co-operation between the two countries, including naval and air force co-operation. ● President Suharto appointed 47 generals to the National Congress. The armed forces have been allocated 100 seats in the 460-seat Congress due to elect a new President in October next year.

IRAQ. A trade protocol signed on 15 July with USSR which doubles Iraq's imports of Soviet goods. ● The revolutionary Command Council ratified a decree establishing a Syriac language academy in Baghdad, to revise Syriac language in education and scientific and literary works.

ISRAEL. American magazine Ramparts disclosed that Israeli Defence Minister intended to take Cairo and Damascus during the 1967 six-day war but changed his mind under US pressure. ● Direct telephone link established between Israel and USA ● Cambodia to open an embassy in Jerusalem.

LIBYA. Chairman Qadhafi accused "London" of seeking to harm the Libyan leadership by broadcasting rumours of internal differences.

MALAYSIA. The Airforce is to buy five F.5 aircraft from USA at \$33m. each.

MOROCCO. Poland to give a loan of \$30m. to Morocco for the import of development equipment from Poland. ● Another agreement signed with Czechoslovak mining corporation on co-operation and prospecting for copper in Nadur Province. ● International Bank agreed to give \$48m. loan towards dams and water projects.

NIGERIA. Nigeria and India to intensify co-operation. The visiting

Foreign Minister said India would assist any Indian industrialist who wanted to establish heavy industry in Nigeria.

PAKISTAN. President Bhutto and the Sind Chief Minister, Mumtaz Ali Bhutto, appealed to all those who had left their homes during the recent language riots to return to their homes assuring them full protection. ● The Punjab Assembly through a resolution recommended to the Central government to ban Freemasons' clubs. ● President Bhutto said he supported the 'Jia Sind' move but added the greatness of Sind does not lie in brothers fighting against brothers. ● The Punjab Chief Minister, Malik Mehraj Khalid, told the provincial Assembly that the Government would make every possible effort to provide relief to the Punjabi settlers affected by the recent disturbances in Sind and to facilitate their return and rehabilitation. ● First August observed as the Freedom of the Press Day. Working Journalists went on a 24 hr. strike on July 25. Two persons killed, 50 wounded when Police opened fire in Karachi on a procession taken out to support the freedom of the Press demand. ● Rs.2.5m. sanctioned by the Government for the rehabilitation of those affected by the language-riots. ● The Jia Sind leader G. M. Sayed in an interview said he is organising a Bangladesh style movement to either end exploitation of Sindhis or lead to the emergence of an independent Sindh. The Central government should deal with only defence, foreign affairs and currency, he said ● Following an Indian Memorandum to the UN demanding the withdrawal of the UN observers from Kashmir on the ground that the ceasefire line they supervised no longer existed after the war, Pakistan told World body that as the question of Kashmir has not been withdrawn from the UN, the UN observers' role has not yet ended.

SAUDI ARABIA. The statistics published by the Ministry of education show that 432,864 students studied during last academic year. Some 550 University students graduated in the same period. In the next three years thirty new primary girl schools to be opened. Besides a number of girl students will be awarded scholarships this year to study medicine in Pakistan.

SUDAN. The Council of Ministers decided to restore diplomatic relations with the USA. ● A five-nation consortium including Pakistan, Libya, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Lebanon, to be set up to finance industrial projects in Sudan. ● This season's cotton harvest estimated at 246,000 tons.

TUNISIA. President Bourguiba praised President Sada'at's action in ending "the occupation by the Soviet Army".

TURKEY. The Senate and the National Assembly at a joint meeting on 19 July approved the extension for another two months of martial law, which has been in force in 11 Provinces for 15 months now.

UGANDA. President Amin said in an interview the creation of an African Common Market would promote unity and would serve to guard Africa's economic and political independence and stop Israelis from making Africa dry.

PEOPLE

Faruk N. Berk, Turkish diplomat appointed UN Disaster Relief Coordinator. ● Harold Lever, Zionist Labour M.P. joined the board of the *New Statesman*. ● Sen. James Eastland 69, elected president US Senate. ● President Americo Thomaz re-elected Portugal's Chief of State.

VISITS

President Michel Micombero of Burundi to the Republic of Zaire. ● Umar as-Saqaf, Saudi Arabian Minister of Foreign Affairs to Uganda. ● Malecela, Tanzanian Foreign Minister to Guyana and Cuba. ● President Sada'at of Egypt to Libya. ● Mansur al-Kikhya, the Libyan Foreign Minister to Malta. ● Abdullah al-Khamiri, South Yemen Information Minister to Syria. ● King Hasan II of Morocco to France. ● Murtada Sa'id Abd al-Baqi, the Iraqi Foreign Minister, to USSR and Afghanistan. ● Maj-Gen. Ahmad Bin Khalifah Al-Thani, the Qatar Army Commander to Jordan. ● French Minister of Posts and Telecommunications to Iraq. ● Izzat ad-Duri, Iraqi Agrarian Reform Minister, to USSR. ● Shaykh Khalifah Bin Zayid Al Nahayyan, Crown Prince and Muhammad Habrushi, Finance Minister of Abu Dhabi to France. ● Hafiz Badawi, Chairman People's Assembly (Egypt) to Tunisia. ● Taha al-Jazrawi, Iraqi Minister of Industry to Bulgaria and East Germany. ● Mansur Ruhani, Iran's Minister of Agriculture and National Resources to Yugoslavia. ● Sami Sufan, Arab Federation minister of State, and Chairman of the Economic Affairs Council, to Libya. ● Captain Kissima Doukara, Mali's Defence Minister, to China. ● Moni Singh, the Bangladesh Communist Party leader, to Moscow. ● Podsterob, the Soviet Ambassador-at-large, to India. ● Sh. Mujib, Bangladesh P.M., to London. ● Abdus Samad, Bangladesh Foreign Minister to Indonesia and Thailand. ● Ghaus Bakhsh Raisani, the Pakistan Minister for Food and Agriculture, to South Yemen Arab Republic, Oman, Bahrain and Qatar. ● Friedmar-clausnitzer, Deputy Minister for external Economic Relations of GDR to Bangladesh. ● Dr. Kissinger the US President's Advisor to Paris. ● P. N. Haksar, Principal Secretary to the Indian Premier, to Bangladesh. ● T. N. Kaul, Indian Foreign Secretary, to Nepal. ● Yusuf K. al-Mukhlid, Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly of Kuwait to China. ● Adnan al-Qassab, Chairman Iraqi National Oil Co. to Japan and India. ● Mahmud Riad, the Arab League Secretary-General to Sudan, Saudi Arabia, Yemen Arab Republic and the People's Republic of Yemen. ● King Hussain of Jordan to Iran. ● Amir Abdullah, the Iraqi Minister of State to Czechoslovakia. ● Mrs. Gamal Nasser to Yugoslavia. ● Lord Carrington, UK Defence Secretary to Nigeria. ● Major Aboul Kassem Mohammad Ibrahim, Sudanese Health Minister to Libya. ● Mr. Abdul Ghaffar Ibn Baba, Malaysian Minister of National and Rural development, to Saudi Arabia. ● H. K. Yang, Nationalist China's Foreign Minister to Saudi Arabia. ● Sheikh Hassan Al-Mishari, Saudi Arabia's Minister of Agriculture and water to Cairo and Lebanon. ● Omar Abdul Qader Faqih, Saudi Arabia's Minister of Commerce and Industry to Britain.

DIPLOMATS

Sheikh Awani Dajani, Saudi Arabia's Ambassador to Nationalist China, Japan and South Korea. ● Abd-al-Hamid Abd ar-Razzaq Sa'd al-Buhayyan, Kuwaiti Ambassador to China. ● Wang Chin-Chuan, China's first Ambassador to the Republic of Senegal. ● Zainal Abidin Bin Sulung, Malaysian Ambassador to Indonesia. ● Bashir Ahmad, Pakistan's Ambassador to Tanzania. ● Turgut Memencioğlu, Turkey's new Ambassador to Britain.

DIED

Lin Piao, death admitted officially by Chinese government, in air crash on 12 September 1971. ● Paul-Henri Spaak, 73, former Belgian F. M. and P.M., Secretary-General Nato, in Brussels on 31 July. ● Charu Muzumdar, 65, founder of the Maoist Naxalite Movement in India, on 28 July, in Calcutta. ● King Jigme Dorji Wangchuk, 43, of Bhutan, on 21 July, in Nairobi.