

# impact

international fortnightly

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Knowing what to do and not being able to do it must be one of the most frustrating and painful exercises for anyone, particularly the leader of a nation. This seems to be the position that President Sadat is in, in dealing with the Russians in his country. Egyptian interests demanded that the ties should be loosened. Knowledge revealed that the Russians were far from the friends of the Egyptians and indeed of the Arabs. And a certain pride stemming from the fact that "Egypt was once the greatest power in its time" and therefore "could not be treated as an ordinary state like Dahomey or Thailand", urged that the Russians had to go.

And so in July last Sadat did what he felt he had to do following the humiliation of finding his 'year of decision' petering out to an uneventful end. He tried to expel the Russians bag and baggage. Apparently the bombastic courtesies had come to an end and each side knew exactly where they stood. The Egyptian public began to know a thing or two about the Russian presence in Egypt and what the Russians thought about the Arabs. What the Russians thought was not very complimentary.

This reality emerged for example in a secret Soviet Communist Party report which was acquired by Egyptian Intelligence. These among other things are what the report said: 'There may be an Arab nation in the making but it is not correct to say that the Arab nation exists as such'. 'Denial of the existence of the Arab nation is hurtful, no doubt, but establishing this existence in the programme is not correct because Marxist-Leninism denies it.' 'Eliminating the consequences of aggression by means of war might lead to a confrontation between the Soviets and the Americans. We shall not go so far unless absolutely necessary.' 'A political solution resulting in the opening of the Suez Canal could increase the contradictions between the monopolies in the United States. This is not the only reason why we do not want war, but also because war would bring calamity to the progressive Arab regimes.' 'The establishment of a Palestinian state raises many issues such as what its extent will be, where and when will it be established'. 'It is clear

## TRAVELLER IN THE TEMPEST

Egypt's new quest for  
relations with Russia

that the draft programme (of the Syrian Communist Party) gives more attention to the Palestine question than is necessary'. 'The slogan of liquidating Israel is not correct either in theory or in political reality. Israel is an established fact. The "liquidation of Zionism in Arab territory" means the elimination of the state of Israel. This means a third world war and therefore is impossible'. 'It is not permissible to support the right of self-determination for one people at the expense of the right of self-determination for another people'. 'The slogan of "liquidating Israel" is not a class slogan or a class attitude'.

Far from denouncing the Soviet Union after such views became known, the question was merely asked: if these are the Soviet views on vital issues in the Arab struggle then how did we lose all these years without subjecting these views to a deep and accurate discussion between us. But before such a discussion could get underway Sadat emphasized that it was not proper to speak of a break with Russia but merely of "an objective pause with the friend". And did he not also call for a meeting after the Soviet advisers had gone to determine a new working relationship between Russia and Egypt?

So the way was left open for a return after a brief freedom to cast "come hither" glances to the Americans or to go around with the begging bowl to West Germany, Britain, Belgrade and even to India. Not having made much headway, for one reason or the other, the obvious thing to do was to go and make it up back with Russia. So Aziz Sidqi the Prime Minister goes to Moscow on 16 October to take up where he left off in early July the task of covering up the breach between the two countries.

The question for Sadat is how to justify the apparent about-turn. Haykal of *Al-Ahram* has done it for him at the end of last month in the third article of his series entitled "A Traveller in the Tempest". He wrote:

"The Soviet Union, the second super-power, made promises it did not fulfil, or at least made pledges but did not completely fulfil them... (but) we must measure the Soviet Union's attitude with different criteria. The Soviet Union had given us only 50 per cent of what we had asked, this is still better than the nothing which others gave us." And to show that Egypt is not going back to the Soviet Union crawling, Haykal wrote:

"We have received from the Soviet Union. This is true. What we have received has its value and its weight... But it is also true that we have given to the Soviet Union. Perhaps the Soviet Union's relation with Egypt, its entry, through Egypt, into the Arab world and Africa and its presence as a result of its relations with Egypt—in the Mediterranean is the outlet which has actually given the Soviet Union the form of a super-power which is now on par with the United States... If it is translated into figures, then Egypt would emerge as the creditor and not the debtor."

This certainly is not a simple calculation, not one which should make Egypt feel particularly proud. The moment of truth has come and gone. Perhaps just as in the period 1958-9 when there was a bitter breach between Nasser and Khrushchev which was healed and which ended up by Egypt being mortgaged to Russia, so the recent breach might be covered up and leave Egypt still tied to Russia, giving more—as Haykal truly said—than she could ever hope to receive.

## Survey

## ● PHILIPPINE MARTIAL LAW ● UGANDA PEACE

# REFORMING PHILIPPINES THROUGH VIOLENCE

Imposition of Martial Law in Philippines last month comes thirteen months before the next general elections. President Ferdinand Marcos, 55, most decorated Filipino in the Second World War, the leader of the Nationalist Party, has been losing ground since after his 'state managed' massive victory for the second term as head of the State, in 1969. The overskill that his election machinery showed to reject him, horrified the people, washed all hopes of election and the promise to stamp out corruption and bring an end to feudalism and restore law and order in the violence-rampant Philippine. Martial law thus comes amidst growing fears that Marcos might try to impose Latin American style dictatorship to perpetuate his power, before his second four year term expires in 1973.

These fears started gaining credence when in August last year, two months before mid-term elections, hand grenades were thrown on a Liberal Party rally in the centre of Manila, killing nine bystanders and injuring 90 others including 8 Liberal Party's Senatorial candidates. President Marcos suspended Habeas Corpus and announced that the country was threatened with Communist insurrection. But in spite of intimidation and harassments during the elections, Liberals won six of the eight seats in the Senate raising their strength from two to eight in a total of 24 seats. Officially recorded death figures during election campaign was 206 with 217 wounded.

Marcos' action suspending Habeas Corpus was challenged in the Supreme Court. The court agreed to review the decision to determine whether the circumstances actually justified such an extreme measure. Meanwhile, the President amended his executive order by partially modifying the suspension. This made it possible for the court to uphold the President's decision, which it did.

Habeas Corpus was however, restored in January this year while at the same time Filipino diplomats abroad were said to be conducting a survey of martial law conditions in Asia and Europe on Marcos' behalf.

Early in September, with charges abound that lobby money had been used to ensure the defeat of the 'Ban Marcos' resolution, a 317-men Constitutional Convention re-writing the constitution voted 155 to 31 to reject the proposal that would prohibit the President or his wife staying in power beyond the present limit of eight years. This gave further support to the fears of the opposition, in spite of President Marcos' denial that he is not planning to stay in power after his second term.

During his seven years in office Marcos

has already been able to establish a firm hold on both the military and the Supreme Court. Senior military posts have been largely filled by officers from his home province of Ilocos with the result that the Army is almost certainly loyal to him.

The present crisis which finally led to the imposition of Martial Law started when a cargo ship allegedly landed arms and supplies for the 'Maoist-oriented' New People's Army (NPA) at a remote fishing port in Isabela Province. The incident was followed quickly by a series of highly publicised bomb attacks in the greater Manila area, beginning in mid-August. Critics say that it was a put-up-job. In June, the opposition Liberal Party candidate for Presidency in 1973, Sen. Benigno Aquino had told an interviewer that 3,000 East European guns have been bought in Hong Kong on behalf of President Marcos to be planted in selected areas.

Amid bomb explosions, opposition claims of Draconian plans by Marcos and Marcos' counter charges accusing Sen. Aquino of conspiring with NPA to overthrow the government, Martial Law was finally clamped down on September 22.

Philippines has a feudalistic society. People born of injustice and oppression are drifted into criminality. This is a country where politics has always been a close neighbour of corruption and corruption easily breeds more and more violence. As one correspondent put it "what can you expect. They've been for four centuries in a Spanish convent and 50 years in Hollywood". While Spanish rule provided feudalism and all the corruption that existed in Madrid, Americans in their 50-years rule until 1946, exported the get-rich-quick society with its entire range of by-products, from girlie bars to gangsters.

The situation is further complicated due to the absence of any sound political party. The two political parties, the ruling Nationalist Party and the opposition Liberal Party which are both pro-American, differ only in one respect—one is in power while the other is in opposition. Both represent the rich and feudal interests of the country whose change of alliance and loyalties have been the main cause of political changes in the country. Both believe in 'strong-man rule with a screen of reforms'.

The incidents in Central Luzon which led to the present crisis represents local discontent and is far from calling a communists danger. Whatever pseudo-Communist or terrorists are there, they have been nurtured by the various governments in power, by supplying them money and arms to fight their enemies or in order to split these factions further.

A survey conducted in 1970, after

Marcos' return for the second term as head of State, found that 10% of the Filipinos were sympathetic to the idea of reform through violence, 16% of all Filipino students and 18% of Manila's population all in this group. Against this background, a subversive group is hardly necessary to inspire individual and political factions to seek to achieve their goals with guns, bombs and dynamite.

Violence in the Philippine reached epidemic levels last year when private armies battling to grab land in southern-most island of Mindanao took 2,000 lives, mostly Muslims. Muslims who are the largest minority (population 4 millions) in a once muslim majority country are now in majority only in Mindanao, Sulu and Palawan islands. They are fast becoming minority even in these areas. Farm-lands which have been tilled by the same family for generations are being wrested from their owners by dubious legal actions by Christians from the North who are being supported by Philippines Constabulary and Police Forces. An agreement between Muslims and the government officials reached last year, failed because the implementation of these non-partisan reforms would have meant Marcos' local party men losing the elections in 1973.

With discontent, corruption and injustice so rampant and arms freely available one need hardly guess which way the country is proceeding to.

## Uganda — 'a colonial conspiracy'

When General Amin seized control from Obote on 25 January 1971, *The Daily Telegraph* (26 January 1971) commented: "Dr. Obote's regime in Uganda was corrupt, racist and cruel . . . anything would be an improvement on it, though presumably there could be even worse". Though formulated rather crudely, that typified the average (official) European attitude to political changes in Asia and Africa. Obote having outlived his utility, so a change was welcome, even though for its own sake. Amin was also able to find acceptance and even commendation because of the Israeli support to the coup. But Amin, who was expected to behave as a protege, asked the Israelis to pack up and get out.

One man who did not accept Amin, was Obote's friend, President Nyerere of Tanzania. Nyerere, a staunch Roman Catholic with a socialist reputation, not only gave asylum to the deposed President but helped him regroup and train his supporters for an eventual march back to Uganda. Since then relations between Uganda and Tanzania have never been cordial. As early as July last year, President Amin had



## Survey

### ● YEMEN — SO CALLED PROGRESSIVES AND SO CALLED REACTIONARIES

talked about a Tanzanian invasion and guerilla incursion; he also mentioned an active Chinese involvement in attempts to oust him.

What exactly led to a total break with Israel is still not disclosed, but there is truth in the Israeli explanation that Amin wanted aircraft and sophisticated arms for punishing Nyerere and Obote. Israel clearly had no desire or interest in obliging him but where it erred was in misreading Amin's unsophisticated no-bluff personality.

The Asians or the Asian problem which had been there, suddenly became a new factor. The expulsion threat was actually made first by Obote's Defence Minister, Onama, as far back as July 1970. In January 1972, President Amin was only admonishing and advising the Asians to integrate with the Africans. He had, however, started becoming unhappy, with Britain, and strongly critical of discrimination against Africa in Britain. The Asians partly victims of their own gullibility are only scape-goats of a more profound politics and if the present deadline stays unaltered, they should be out of Uganda by 7 November.

There is a great deal of truth in the Somali President Barreh's remarks that this conflict like many others is nothing but a colonial conspiracy, they "do not want to see an economically strong and viable community in East Africa". Colonialism or more exactly predatory politics is no doubt a reality, but colonialists are not a super-human breed. Their options and opportunities lie more in the deprived, despotic and childish politics of the Third World than in any intellectual or material superiority. Africa is too big, too rich and too important for the "colonialists" to be left to its own. Unless of course it does come to stand on its own feet.

## The Comradly war in the Yemen

The scale of the latest round of hostilities between the two Yemens may not be very large, but the events leading to them and the issues involved are very complicated indeed. What is at stake is not merely the future of a few border towns and villages or the fact that more than sixty Northern Yemenis, however high ranking they may have been, were coldly murdered when they unwittingly went to the South for "negotiations".

Each side of course blames the other for starting and escalating the conflict and each side has made appeals to other Arab States to help bring an end to the fighting between "brothers". Yet it is difficult to envisage the conciliation delegation of the Arab League having any easy measure of success for several reasons—reasons connected with the ideological, strategic and

economic importance of the whole area. And this naturally involves other powers and countries as well.

South Yemen or the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen finds itself very much isolated in the Arab world, and able to count only on the Ba'athist regime in Iraq for friendship. The National Liberation Front (NLF) which runs the country is ignorantly marxist. Aden styles itself the "Hanoi of the Marxist-Leninist guerilla warfare" which is being waged in neighbouring Dhofar which is part of the oil-rich Sultanate of Oman.

The regime feels itself surrounded and threatened by imperialist and reactionary enemies chief among which is Saudi Arabia "the centre of orthodox Islamic thinking" which is trying to "eradicate the centre of national and social liberation which our country symbolises". It also feels that the imperialist and reactionary countries have a vested interest in keeping the Yemen underdeveloped and making it difficult to benefit from any oil deposits in the eastern regions. (This is one of the issues in the war in Dhofar.)

With the strait of Bab-el-Mandab, South Yemen controls one of the entrances to the Red Sea. It is because of its important strategic position that the two big communist powers—Russia and China—are very much interested in the area. The Chinese are building a road which would link Aden with the eastern part of the country and are also giving financial and technical aid for the development of agriculture and industry as well as public health facilities. Russia provides experts and funds (with interest, unlike China) to help build dams, wells, irrigation canals and equip and train the armed forces.

The South seeks help from any socialist country which is willing to help because it sees itself surrounded. "We are besieged on all sides," said Premier Ali Nasser. "To the west, the Ethiopians and their Israeli allies, plot and fortify the islands close to Bab-el-Mandab; to the east, British warplanes use the pretext of pursuing the guerrillas in Dhofar to bomb our towns near the border; to the north, counter-revolutionaries from our own country, commanded by dismissed officers, have found refuge with our Northern Yemeni brothers. . . . and are taking part in attacks launched ceaselessly across our northern borders by tribes in the pay of Saudi Arabia."

The counter revolutionaries referred to are in the main those who belong to FLOSY (The Front for the Liberation of Occupied South Yemen) led by Abdul Qawi Maqqawi who lost out to the NLF when Aden gained its independence from the British. This group of expatriate revolutionaries are determined to "free" South Yemen and carry on the fight against "the communist enemy forces" in the south.

They have been supplemented by a large number of officers and other exiles numbering it is said about 300,000 who have fled what they call the tyrannical communist regime in the south which is reducing the country to pauperism.

So far as North Yemen, or the Yemen Arab Republic is concerned, it feels that the South is committed to a policy of uniting Yemen under a progressive socialist government and wiping away what it calls the vestiges of "reaction and imperialism". For this reason the South would not leave the North alone. Some leftist groups which had helped to repel the forces of Imam Badr from Sanaa in the time of the Nasserist 'invasion' are now out of favour with the Sanaa government and they have taken refuge in South Yemen and remain intent on bringing down the Sanaa regime. Sanaa blames the ruling group in the South "ever since it came to power in 1967 of constantly plotting against us and indiscriminately exploding problem after problem in our faces."

The government say that in spite of all this, it kept its cool and invited the mediation of outside Arab governments like Kuwait but these found the South unco-operative. Those across the border however continued their hostilities. These hostilities, it alleges, are in accordance "with a complete plan for revolution and what it (the NLF) calls class warfare which was made public at the Fifth Conference of the National Liberation Front."

As the position stands, the future looks very bleak although Arab commentators and peace missions continue to speak of the basic and natural unity of the whole Yemen and its people: "they are the sons of one homeland, they have the blood of the same nation, the same geographical and natural unity brings them together".

What adds a great deal to the complication of the situation is the presence and interests of other powers. The western powers, including the United States and Britain are known to be backing North Yemen and the exiles from the south. North Yemen has recently improved relations with Saudi Arabia and resumed diplomatic contact with the USA though these actions should not necessarily be taken as being anti-South Yemen. Russia is in a position which suits its enigmatic or double-dealing genius. It has military advisers and a presence in both parts of the Yemen but at the moment feels more obliged to support the South.

The interests of these powers are closely bound up with their own national interests. But one may be justified in feeling that the Arab world has lost a great deal—in terms of independence and in terms of lives—over the (to a large extent) artificial and transplanted conflict between so-called progressives on the one hand and so-called reactionaries on the other.



# Bangladesh between "the believer and the non-believer"

IBN NIZAM

The Bangladesh Information Minister recently asked his country's artists to paint the real life of the people in Bangladesh. It's now almost ten months (officially Bangladesh independence is dated as from 25 March 1971), when Bangladesh came into being, and how the "real life" is like, in Bangladesh today?

The law and order situation is not good but to say this, is to indulge in a gross understatement. Take just one day in the life of Bangladesh and just one newspaper: not Maulana Bhashani's virulently anti-Mujib *Hakkatha* (now banned) or any other 'opposition' paper but the Establishment, also the premier Dacca daily, *The Bangladesh Observer*. It's Monday 2 October, and Monday all the world over is not the day for sensational domestic news.

Mr. Korban Ali, the senior Vice-President of the ruling Awami League's statement on the front page expresses his severe shock at the brutal killing of Mujibur Rahman Howaldar, a party worker and his brother "by some miscreants". Miscreants used to be a familiar phenomenon during the preceding military reign and so it is even now. Miscreant is perhaps Bangladesh's most potent link with its unhappy and tragic past. Korban Ali urged "the government to take proper step(s) all over Bangladesh to stop this killing of (the) Awami League workers". Korban Ali does not belong to the opposition; he is not leading anti-Mujib faction inside the party. The wordings of his statement are significant in more respect than one. He urges the government, and rightly so, to take *proper* steps. Is he saying that the steps so far taken are not proper and adequate? The whole police and administrative apparatus is claimed to have been virtually destroyed during the nine long months of struggle with the military regime. Thousands of trained and experienced Bangladesh officers are held up in West Pakistan, and the law and order apparatus is still in the process of being built up. Then is he not being unrealistic in not appreciating the constraints and compulsions of the country's situation?

Murder is bad, yet no society is ever free of crimes and criminals, but what is the need to make public issue of an individual case of murder? The ruling party Vice-President wants proper measures because Awami League workers are being killed all over Bangladesh. Here one is reminded of the Bangladesh Home Minister's statement last month that the agents of China and Pakistan had till then killed 200 Awami League and its students wing Chatro League workers. Again why so many Awami Leaguers? Why should a nation start killing or become so insensitive to the killing of its own heroes? The question raises certain more fundamental questions.

Back to October 2, back to *Bangladesh Observer*. There are other news: A car is hijacked in Dacca; some armed "miscreants" rob a businessman in Netrakona of Tk. 5,000 (£250); three students murdered in Pabna; armed miscreants attack and rob 30 students in Comilla; again in Netrakona, armed robbers take away cash and jewellery worth Tk. 8400 (£420); there is a "daring dacoity at Pabna" involving cash and goods worth Tk. 14,000 (£700); in Kurigram all business and shops are closed for a day in protest against

assault by "miscreants" on a shopkeeper; and the office of the National Awami Party (Muzaffar Group, at Durgapur ransacked, again by some miscreants. There is a statement from three leaders of the Bhashni NAP condemning attack on Maulana Bhashani's car and party workers at Barisal.

The law and order machinery is not entirely idle or non-existent. First the alleged collaborators (the word alleged is used). More than two half-columns are given to listing the names, parentage etc. of 69 absconding collaborators who are asked to appear before a magistrate in Chittagong on or before 10 October; all their immovable property stands attached. Then there is a report about the ministers in Dr. Abdul Malik's (the last governor under Pakistan) cabinet who have been charged with "allegedly waging war against Bangladesh and collaborating with the Pakistan army". Here the date 25 March 1971 assumes significance; it is the date on which the independence of Bangladesh is supposed to have been declared. On the non-political side, the police arrest 10 persons in connection with "a series of murder of teenagers" in the town. In Netrakona a person carrying a 28 lb. tin of Soyabean oil with the intention of selling it in the blackmarket is arrested, and in Pabna two persons are held for selling two bags of sugar provided by the Indian Red Cross. The real catch, however, comes from Chittagong. The police clamp a curfew and recover: three cars, two motor-launch engines, two speed-boat engines, 96 package of nylon twine, 22 railway-ticket dating machines, and one or two TV set, camera, tape-recorder etc. But only one rifle is recovered and only one person is arrested.

There is no need to look for any statistical significance as such in the above figures and what just happens to appear in a day's news may not necessarily be a true sample of the total situation.

The significance of the situation, however, lies in its face value. That the law and order situation in Bangladesh continues to be bad is not denied in any quarter. Only on 27 September the Awami League Organising Committee (ALOC) had called upon the government to deal severely with the miscreants and rectify the law and order situation.

The ALOC resolution is commendable in that it does not deny that serious problems are there and need the attention of Sheikh Mujib's government. The ruling party executive after recording customary congratulations and achievements, at the same time called upon "the government to further bring down the prices, suggested a more vigorous anti-smuggling drive; felt that the present drive against the corrupt officials should continue", called upon the workers not to raise demand after demand but to increase production, "sounded a note of fresh warning that no one would be allowed to carry on propaganda in the country against the four pillars of the state policy viz. nationalism, democracy, socialism and secularism, and condemned the parochial feelings among the workers and strongly recommended for the removal of the menace".

That is more or less the official picture of Bangladesh and except for details it is true. The ALOC would not have been more correct than in calling parochialism a menace. Parochialism is no doubt a menace but in talking of parochialism one simply talked of the symptom and not the malady. Parochialism amongst the working class is a more serious pointer than in relation to the common run of the *petit bourgeois*.

Whether it is the state of economy, or education, or the civil service, or law and order or the situation of social discipline and cohesion, obviously the Awami League and its leadership have so far been unable to define the Bangladesh ideology, and to convince the people of its soundness and viability.

Awami League's Six Points or even its manifesto provide no basis for a new polity. The ideology now proffered is *Mujibbad*—Mujibism. Based on four principles, Mujibbad is Democracy plus Nationalism plus Socialism plus Secularism, the explanation begins and ends there. There cannot be two views about Democracy; Nationalism is necessary because Bengali culture is so rich and so

important, and there can be no Bangladesh without Bengali nationalism; Socialism is obviously the one and only way to social justice; and Secularism? How else can you avoid religious conflict and do justice to and between people belonging to the various faiths? The formulation, simplistic as it is, makes no sense either to the socialists or the masses. To the Left-Wing the idea of indigenous socialism is ridiculous and socialism only in name. They counter Mujibism is really Capitalism—*Mujibbad? Asal Katha Puibabd!* To the vast majority of the common people, Mujibbad conveys no meaning it is as remote as Titoism or Gaullism.

That this is so, is evident from a clear lack of response among the common people in the task of reconstructing the country, which is very much theirs and needs every iota in support and sacrifice. Even the bureaucracy which had given such an enthusiastic support to Awami League's movement for East Pakistan rights has been overtaken by a mood of uncertainty and sullenness. The whole situation is completely devoid of inspiration.

Significantly many, now think and behave as "Daccains, Chittagonians, Rajshahians and Sylehtis" to the extent that violent fights take place between the various district groups. Sheikh Mujib had to call a public meeting in the Dacca industrial area especially for the purpose of appealing to the workers not to fall into parochialism, The ALOC resolution referred to earlier shows that the advice has not been heeded.

"Who are we", asked *Bangladesh Observer* in its leading article on 20 July, and said: "it is indeed painful that so soon after liberation... the question of our identity is required to be raised."

Bangladesh is showing division not only district-wise but in a more fundamental way. Prof. Muzaffar Ahmad, president of the pro-Moscow N.A.P. told a Dacca meeting on 27 August 'that the country was now divided in two blocks—one believer in independence of Bangladesh and the other non believer in independence'. He said 'that about one crore (10 million) people did not sincerely accept the independence of Bangladesh and 80 percent of the officials belonged to this category'. One believes Prof. Muzaffar was not exaggerating. Responsible Bangladesh politicians confess people coming to them and telling: "Okay to Bangladesh but can't you keep it within Pakistan." Simple people!

The question remains: What is the true personality of Bangladesh?

**Cover Price:** In response to an increasing demand to make *Impact* available on stalls and in order to cover the distribution cost as from the next issue No. 11, the U.K. cover price would be 12p. *The annual subscription rates remain unaltered.*

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## Brisk but uneven development in Nigeria

A. W. HAMID

A Nigerian commentator recently noted that most African mass media organisations were entirely dependent on foreign news agencies like the British owned Reuters, the French owned AFP and the American owned Associated Press for news about Africa and the rest of the world. These foreign news agencies usually attached more importance to events in their countries or areas where their countries are involved than to Africa. As a result, "The American presidential election campaign, for example, receives more attention each day than all the major events in Africa put together. Similarly, the civil war in Northern Ireland, which is just a small corner of Britain, is given wider coverage in one single day than the wars in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau get in a whole month. In this sort of situation most major events in all African countries are hardly ever heard about outside the countries in which they occur. The only time an African country receives decent attention from foreign-owned news agencies is when it has a coup or a civil war. Positive events like economic and social development are hardly reported . . ."

This last observation is peculiarly relevant to Nigeria itself. The country has known the bitterness of civil war and the feverish and far from disinterested reporting of the foreign press. It is now undergoing the "positive" developments of post-war reconstruction. The speed with which this is being done is now beginning to be noted abroad. There is a spirit of confidence in the country which was beyond the expectation of the most optimistic of observers after the attempt of "Biafra" to secede. The country has been able to ride the storm of criticism and pressures and to hold on to the concept of a united Nigeria in a continent where boundaries are artificial and tribal loyalties quite strong.

The civil war no doubt taught Nigeria many lessons. It was a particularly painful and heart-rending way to find out, for example, who its friends really were and who were its enemies. But find out it did, and Nigeria now is much the better off for it—as General Gowon has been able to show in his lengthy address to the nation on the occasion of its 12th anniversary early this month.

That this progress has been made by a military government is something quite striking. In other parts of Africa and indeed the world where military governments are in power, military rule seems synonymous with obstinate bungling and inefficiency at best, at worst with tyranny and the powerful desire to perpetuate itself. Indeed the outlook for the military regime in Nigeria just after the civil war was not a good one. Up to one year after the

rebellion had been put down in January 1970, there was a mood of disillusion in the country. The end of the civil war had brought many social and economic problems: a wave of armed robbery (which the government decided to put down by public executions), unemployment, inflation, corruption, smuggling, famine in some places, and the ostentatious display of affluence by a few.

In the thick of this situation, General Gowon announced in October 1972 that the army would hand over power to a democratically elected government in 1976, but not before certain tasks were completed. These included the completion of a national census now scheduled for November 1973; a constituent assembly to draft a new constitution before elections for the federal and state legislatures, fulfilment of the current four-year development plan aimed at building a just and egalitarian society and adjustments in state boundaries.

Within months the disillusionment began to be dissipated and confidence to grow. The soldiers began to show that they were not concerned too much with power for its own sake but were generally interested in the issues and problems that confronted the nation. How long this would last remains to be seen.

The regime has been magnanimous to the defeated secessionists. Not demobilizing the army but setting them to such tasks as road building was a most constructive move. The new division of Nigeria into twelve states from the previous four unequal regions was a welcome step. In the new states, the new basis for the recruitment of personnel and the free mobility of trade and labour throughout the country have made for national reconciliation.

The task of redevelopment has been helped by the strong economic position which Nigeria is in. It owes this position largely to oil. In the past four years, Nigerian oil production has risen from 140,000 barrels to almost 2 million barrels a day, making the country the eighth largest oil producing nation in the world. Earnings from oil this year are expected to reach \$1.5 billion—more than half of the government's total income. Revenue from oil has enabled the government to pay off \$600 million war debt, accumulate \$420 million in foreign reserves and project a record \$3.5 billion budget for 1973.

It is this type of buoyant economy which sets Nigeria apart from the other twenty countries in West Africa. However, some of the problems which beset West Africa as a whole are shared by Nigeria as well. Vast areas of the country are afflicted by rural poverty and surprisingly the latest World Bank puts the GNP in

Nigeria at only £120 showing that the bulk of the population do not share in the new found wealth.

Another major problem is that of unemployment. In 1970 it was estimated that the number of unemployed was over 2 million, about 2,030,000, the biggest threat to social stability in Nigeria.

Possibly arising out of rural poverty and unemployment is another problem—the increased migration to urban centres and consequent inadequate housing and overcrowding.

Apart from these overall national problems, some of the states in the federation have specific and acute problems. In the North East State for example, which is made up of four of the 13 provinces that constituted the old Northern Region, the problems of health and education are acute. The health services have been grossly inadequate to cater for the state's 145,000 disabled citizens, 41,700 of whom were blind; 24,953 crippled; 42,407 destitute; 16,992 mentally ill; 16,272 lepers and 16,000 dumb. The state is tackling these health problems by improving existing hospitals and planning new ones like the 500-bed specialist hospital in Maiduguri. In the field of education, only about 15% of pupils of school age went to school in 1970. In the same year only 60 students left secondary school! (The state has a population of 8 million). It is hoped that by 1975, 25% of children of primary school age would be in school. In 1971 enrolment in secondary school increased to 7,100.

Other states are in a happier position. For example, the Midwest State, with its capital at Benin, is highly industrialised, produces the most oil and has a number of ports which handle a fair proportion of Nigeria's import and export trade. The relative position of the North East and the Midwest States is an example of the great disparity that exists from region to region.

The Federal Government is making efforts to see that Nigeria's prosperity is spread over the whole country. The setting up of an inter-state airline and efficient transport systems is just one of the measures to facilitate free mobility of persons and goods throughout the country and promote the goals of "unity, stability and progress". Nigerians realise that they still have a long way to go.

In spite of all this, it is too early to pronounce on the 'achievement' of the military government in Nigeria. Indeed many are the fundamental problems which have yet to be resolved—the problem of uneven and lopsided development, the problem of political maturity and of a smooth and steady progress towards responsible and responsive civilian rule.

# The State in which we are in power

**Datok Muhammad Asri, Chief Minister of the Malaysian state of Kelantan, President *Partai Islam* and Leader of Opposition speaks to **IMPACT****



West Malaysia, Kelantan is in the North-East

Without a highly developed administrative and economic infrastructure, and with inadequate communications with the rest of the country, Kelantan remains a somewhat isolated state in the federal structure that is Malaysia. Kelantan is not the only state but it has one distinction of its own: it is under the administration of the *Partai Islam* (PAS). This makes it one of the only areas in the world where an Islamic party is in 'power'. But events are moving fast. Major changes in the political, economic and educational fields are taking place which would bring Kelantan and the *Partai Islam* out of its state of relative isolation and into the hurly burly of national affairs.

Datok Asri is Chief Minister of the State of Kelantan and leader of the Opposition in the Federal Parliament. He recently paid a visit to Britain as part of a wider tour which took in mainly Middle Eastern countries—Iraq, Kuwait, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Libya. He went to seek scholarships for students and teachers

and financial aid for the state and certain state projects. It was possible for him to do this because the state governments have that much autonomy. But this type of autonomy does leave such states as Trengganu, Kedah, Perlis and Kelantan very much at the mercy of their own internal liabilities.

## This is the position of the state in which we are in power

In the financial field, for example, Kelantan has autonomous powers. But for the last two months of every year, Datok Asri explained, the state has been without any funds. It is without the funds to pay its personnel and every year it has to ask the Federal government for subsidies. This situation precludes any thought of further development, unless some outside help is made available. "This," according to Asri, "is the position of the State in which we are in power. This is why we have to go overseas to seek help."

So far, he added, we have received great help from Kuwait. Although the actual amount is not very great, Kuwait is the only country which has always helped us. We are hoping that other countries would join in helping us. The financial help we get is not being used for normal administrative expenses but only for special projects.

One such special project is the Islamic Centre for Higher Studies (ICHS). Under the constitution of Malaysia, education falls under the jurisdiction of the federal government, except religious education. Kelantan, aware of the need for progress in enlightened religious education and in the field of Islamic da'wah (propagation), established the Islamic Centre for Higher Studies. The present institute concentrates on the Shari and Law and with matters relating to the Malaysian situation in particular. It is hoped that those who qualify would be well equipped to deal with the manifold problems of running a state in the light of present-day needs. The ICHS not only caters for students in Kelantan but for Malaysia as a whole. Students also come from Indonesia and Thailand.

According to Datok Asri the financial burdens of running the ICHS are proving too much for the state. Salaries have to be paid for the whole year. There are plans to put up new buildings and set up new faculties but these are held back by financial considerations. However ICHS most pressing problem now is that its qualifications are not recognised by the federal government even though the University of Malaysia has granted recognition. In an effort to convince the federal government, the ICHS is trying to get international recognition. In his discussions with the Azhar authorities in Egypt, for example, Datok Asri would have tried to convince the Azhar authorities to grant external degrees to ICHS students.

The ICHS also has post-graduate students in al-Azhar itself and one is expected to come to London soon.

The disadvantageous position in which Kelantan is placed in economic, financial and educational matters naturally raised the question whether this was accidental or otherwise. For example, the federal government has an investment policy which is conducted within the framework of its national economic policy. This investment policy is aimed at "reducing and eventually eliminating poverty by raising income levels and increasing employment opportunities for all Malaysians." Yet, the level of investment in Kelantan is almost nil compared to other states. Could this apparent neglect of Kelantan be part of some deliberate policy? *Partai Islam* which is strongest in Kelantan was not affiliated (as other parties are) with the ruling Alliance Party.

## The prospects for investment are very much brighter

Datok Asri himself denied such assumptions or allegations. He said that the disparity was something accidental. Kelantan as a State lacked an infrastructure and therefore was not in a position to attract foreign investors. Situated in the East, it is separated from the centre and somewhat isolated. East-West communication within Malaysia at the moment is very complicated. Now oil is the source of power and this proves expensive for investors. This situation is likely to change soon. With the East-West Highway being built by the Federal Government and the Sungai Siput Highway to Kelantan communications would be very much improved. Also, with help from the Colombo Plan, hydro-electric power would be introduced in a few years time. The prospects for investment would be very much brighter then.

Asked whether there was any danger at present of this uneven development leading to dissatisfaction and alienation as has happened with regional imbalance in other countries recently, Datok Asri stated: "Lately the situation is beginning to be relaxed. Before it was terrible. Kelantan under the *Partai Islam* has been confronting all sorts of pressures but by the help of God these pressures have no effect and we progress in our own way. Since the government has realised that there is no other option but to become friendly with us, *al hamdu lillah*, the co-operation is beginning to be close. It has shown its interest in helping us, although the help is not sufficient as yet. But the situation has changed".

## The key to the coalition

The attempt at greater co-operation between the *Parti Islam* and the federal government which is dominated by UMNO (The United Malay National Organisation) can be seen in the latest suggestion to



form a coalition government. Why the ruling party is at the moment interested in forming a coalition government is a very interesting question indeed. In the past few years, opposition parties have generally fared very badly in Malaysia and it is to be expected that members of the Partai Islam including some senior members, should view the proposed coalition with considerable caution. At the PAS congress this July, the youth in the party were especially critical. They said: "In view of our bitter experiences in the past we should not bow to the Federal government. If this coalition government is only to give us a little power, then there is no meaning in a coalition." In practical politics, some critics of the proposed coalition say that the Partai Islam would be compromised on some of the issues which are likely to have more and more prominence in Malaysian life—problems like racialism and socialism on which Islam has a clear stance. In any case, it is said, the coalition would destroy the myth of an Islamic party in Malaysia.

Datok Asri, however, is more sanguine. He said that his party had studied the question of coalition very carefully and was only going into it provided certain conditions were met. These were that the coalition would not affect Kelantan only but the whole country, at all levels. The Party would have some representation in the Cabinet and this would also be on the understanding that a common platform would be agreed upon. Part of this platform would be an understanding to introduce the "standard" of Islam to the society as a whole. As far as Datok Asri was concerned, this understanding was the "key" to his party joining the coalition government. Because of his own party's lacking the full power to implement or to establish an Islamic state, the coalition would at least be an enabling measure to introduce the values and principles of Islam in the society as a whole.

**Following the rule of pragmatism**

Asked why efforts to introduce these values and principles had to be so calculated when Islam was the state religion in Malaysia, Datok Asri said: "It is true that Islam is the religion of the State according to the constitution. But so far as we can see in more than ten years of independence, Islam is only a symbol. The government has no spirit in the spread of Islam or in implementing its teachings because Malaysia so far is following the rule of pragmatism which is deep-rooted now. Islam is used as a camouflage. We are not denying that many mosques and institutions have been built. But what we need now is to think of how Malaysia can change its colours from the society which is far away from Islam to one which—gradually and eventually—can be considered Islamic. We know that Malaysia is a country of many races and religions

and that Muslims in Malaysia form less than 50% of the population. To work in such, a society is I think, a very complicated matter. So long as that portion of our society which is non-Islamic cannot be brought to an appreciation of Islam, so long would Malaysia remain an Islamic State only in name".

Datok Asri agreed that the policy of openness and of pragmatism could be very portentous for Malaysia. For one thing, there is a possibility that communists could widen their influence. Already the spread of communism from Vietnam has reached Thailand. Although there is increased Russian activity in S.E. Asia, the influence of Russian communists is not as great as that of the Chinese communists. Most of the communist activists in Malaysia are of Chinese origin. The problem of communism is regarded as a big one by the PAS and it is one of the matters which is under close scrutiny and would be of concern to the coalition government.

The policy of pragmatism could also have very serious implications for parliamentary democracy itself. Datok Asri said that it was difficult to calculate how far Malaysia can remain a parliamentary democracy or defend such a system. He noted that the trend of politics in S.E. Asia was in another direction and hinted that Malaysia might have to go this way too if it is to avoid the danger of a further communist insurrection, for example. If the government was trying to find a new way out of this situation, it was essential, Datok Asri felt, for his party to be prepared to face the new possibilities of the future. The role of Partai Islam in a coalition government would be to forestall the possibility of any Malaysian government adopting a more extreme, rightist or leftist position. Asked about what alternative there was to parliamentary democracy in Malaysia, Datok Asri said that he was not in a position to say what the future held in store. To look at Malaysia's future in terms of developments in Indonesia, for example, would not be very wise.

Datok Asri returned in the end to speak of the constitutional problems which Kelantan was facing in the implementing of Shari'a Law and to the financial problems of the state. Asked why indeed there should be financial problems, when Malaysia was one of the richest countries in S.E. Asia, Datok Asri agreed that Malaysia was certainly very rich. Its Gross National Product (GNP) was the second highest in S.E. Asia after Japan. But, he said in a country where there was "free enterprise" the criterion of measuring rich and poor cannot be based on GNP. In Malaysia he said:

*"Yang kaya, kaya benar; tapi yang miskin, miskin benar."*

"The rich are very rich, but the poor are very poor".

With this touching recognition of the

injustices of our time—the growing power and wealth of huge international conglomerates and the grinding poverty of ordinary folk, Datok Asri underlined the crux of the problem being faced—the problem of social justice! How much relevance has party politics and constitutional debates to this central issue is a matter which have to be borne uppermost in the mind. It is a question no doubt which Datok Asri and the government in Kelantan would be watching as the state prepares itself for the coming of the investors.

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# A slow death for the 'Biharis'

**Impact REPORT  
ON A PROBLEM  
THAT IS ALIVE  
AND FESTERING**



TRAGEDY AND INNOCENCE

To the international press the plight of the Biharis in Bangladesh is now a non-problem. Except occasional write-ups when there is an eruption of violence such as the indiscriminate slaughter of hundreds at Khulna early this year, or odd reviews of the report of the Minority Rights Group, there is very little in the media concerning the situation of the Biharis. To get some picture, even though it may be hazy, of what is happening one has to turn to over 45 church and international relief organisations—such as Christian Organisation for Relief, ICRC, UNICEF, Catholic Relief Service, 'Concern', CARE, Christian Aid, Brothers to All Men, and Save the Children Fund etc.—who are in some contact with the situation. But that is not saying much.

Philip Jackson, communication director of OXFAM, on his return from Bangladesh late last July said, "I think one could safely say that the situation has slightly improved but that is not saying much because it was at rock bottom".

In contrast, Peter Kuhn, in a communication on behalf of the Swiss relief organisation, 'Medico International', dated 11 September comments: "I have been in charge of relief actions in Biafra but not even in the camps there did I find such inhuman conditions. The Biharis are not allowed to leave the camps or to take up employment. Their houses, shops and flats remain confiscated and occupied by Ben-

galis, and their bank accounts are blocked. Nearly 80% of the children in the camp have diseases and ring-worm. Medical attention in the camp is practically non-existent".

A meeting of the Friends of Bangladesh Mission of Reconciliation, held on Friday 22 September, concluded that the Bihari problem is very much alive. Chris Pratt of Operation Omega, who has just returned from Bangladesh, agreed that the situation is little better but emphasised that isolated cases of improvement have been greatly magnified. "The situation in Bangladesh as a whole is very bad; and it is particularly bad for the non-Bengalis", she said. The state of security has improved but one often hears of people disappearing, especially the women. There are nightly fire fights in the major cities and looting is common place. In Bogra, for example, people are frightened to walk 400 yards to the free hospital. There is a 'blanket order' from the Government that non-Bengalis may not leave the country for any reason whatsoever. Well intentioned Bengalis, and there are many, concerned about the Biharis are taking great risks and are thus forced to work in secret.

Biharis are living on meagre—'vastly insufficient'—rations, many just surviving on one rice meal a day. Often they are forced to sell as much as one-third of their rations to buy other basic necessities. There is corruption all round: many

supplies going via Bangladesh Red Cross end up on the black market. A vast number of Biharis, (estimates vary between forty and fifty thousand) are in prison charged as 'collaborator'. Bribery is the simplest method of getting people into jail and out again. The overcrowding sanitation and drainage is simply appalling. At one camp in Mohammedpur there are over a thousand people crammed in a community centre and the rest in makeshift tents amid open sewage channels with two water points and six latrines for a total of 6,000 people. No person has left this colony to go out for seven months. Half the Bihari population is under sixteen and the death rate, especially amongst children, is very high. Scabies and other skin diseases are very common. Blindness, too, is fairly widespread amongst the children. In short, Biharis are not living by any standard; but dying a slow death.

Operation Omega is perhaps one of the smallest organisation working in Bangladesh; but is certainly amongst the active. In a recent report of Bihari colonies in which Omega is initiating projects, they describe the situation in Saidpur in the following words: "There are 150,000 Biharis in Saidpur, of whom at least 120,000 are in need of food from the relief agencies. The Bangla Jyoti, a joint committee which Omega helped to create, has been distributing two kilos of wheat per head per



week, although on one recent occasion there was no relief coming through for four to six weeks. The housing situation is very poor, the people are crowded, and the emergency plastic shelters which had been built are inadequate. There is also a severe shortage of medicines. The Government has issued less than one kilo of food grains per head throughout May, and issued 150 takas (£7.50) to each needy family between January and June. The ICRC are working with the Bangla Jyoti to rehabilitate people in their own towns, and the Bangladesh Red Cross have taken over milk-feeding programme for 7,000 children. Some 1,300 Biharis have been re-employed by the railways, where 5,500 previously worked, yet this is promising. Mortality has increased from an estimated 450 in January to 750-800 in May. About half or more of all deaths are of children under ten. The death rate is at present about twelve per cent; at least three times the national average. Five to six are reported as being arrested daily; some given bail, and then re-arrested".

Speaking of the camp at Mymensingh the report says that there are approximately 4,500 Biharis in the middle of 300,000 Bengalis. Around 1,600, of whom 60% are children under the age of twelve, are living in a camp on the outskirts of the town. They are living in makeshift tents with leaking roofs. There are three water points, six latrines, and two wells. The drains are open and there is no electric supply. At Sardarbahadar camp, near Chittagong, 1,500 people are living in a small school. The water tap is turned on for half an hour in the morning and in the afternoon. "So there is a frantic scramble to fill up pots before the supply stops."

The Biharis suffer also from lack of leadership and bad leadership. "It is very difficult to get them to do something for themselves." The Government, too has complained that few Biharis are willing to come forward as leaders or spokesmen, "but this is because leaders previously had been arrested as 'collaborators' ". Any positive step by virtually anyone to help the Biharis results in being dubbed as 'collaborator'. The Bihari morale is low and some even greet visitors with the request 'Give us poison'.

What emerges from these accounts is a shallow, transparent bowl in which we see the Bihari problem alive, very much alive, bubbling, brewing and could at any time develop into a human disaster on an astronomical scale. "Bengali intellectuals", said Chris Pratt, "dislike what is happening to the non-Bengalis"; but alas, their lips are sealed in public for the fear of being persecuted.

As for the leadership, it has so far shown no real capability to deal with the problem at any level, whether secular or socialist or democratic or Islamic and that is the reason why Pakistan too would not touch them even with a pair of tongs.

## Nota Bene

Blackmail is becoming a staple diet in world politics. Kampala, Munich and Tel Aviv have been recent pace-setters. The latest dish is from Paris. The chef, Monsieur Gabriel Aranda claims to have in his sink kitchen some 136 files of discreditable material concerning 48 political figures in France. His disclosures are coming piece-meal in the Jack Anderson fashion, but with the added ingredient that they will continue if the arms sale to Libya is not stopped. Lest there be any charge of 'Semitism', he clarifies he is not a Jew; he is Catholic, conservative and a Gaullist. His conscience is uneasy, not because of corruption in political high-ups as such, but on the French policy towards the Arabs. (Recall not the French Policy towards Israel until June 1967 and what it did to arm her with mirages and gun-boats etc. to aggress and to expand).

The Aranda episode is not merely a case in political blackmail, it is also a new type of hijacking. Aranda has 'hijacked' a number of documents from the Government files and is demanding as 'ransom' a change in the French foreign policy.

However, if France stops selling arms to the Arabs, which it does merely for the sake of the hard currency it brings, would that be sufficient to condone all acts of corruption, both national and international?

□ □ □

Elections in a modern democracy have their comic sparks. In the elections portrayed in Dicken's *Pickwick Papers*, candidates had to kiss the heads of filthy children of the poor to steal votes from the destitute. Presidential candidates in the US have to engage themselves in similar exercises. Only the filthy children of Charles Dickens have been replaced by the wealthy bosses of the American Capitalism. Russia's charge on educated emigrants, it is alleged, is going to cost President Nixon quite a few valuable votes, as if Nixon is the author of Russia's emigration policy! McGovern promises to refuse trade with Russia as a favoured nation if this 'tax' continues. To counter-balance this the Nixon-lobby is playing upon the immense support his administration has given to Israel, including the latest veto on the UN's condemnation of Israel's massacre of innocent people in Lebanon and Syria. For posterity all these may sound no more than election comics but the difference between the *Pickwickian* elections and the US elections of 1972 is that these comic pranks mean so much tragedy to the weaker nations.

□ □ □

The Russian charge on educated

emigrants too has its comic irony.

A group of Jewish economists, some of them themselves emigrants from Russia and East Europe, has been labouring for the last twelve years to popularise the concept of education as investment. Garry S. Becker, Theodore Shultz, Simon Kuznets, Mark Blaug and others have insisted that expenditure on education is in the nature of investment and its value should be ascertained in the light of the return it yields to the individual and the society. The concept of education for the sake of culture, they said, was a luxury and a snobbish fad. The real worth of education should be measured in terms of its economic and financial productivity.

The Russian crime seems to be to have accepted this viewpoint and carried it to its logical limits. The charge is not on Jews alone, it is on the educated. The argument is that the Soviet society has invested in the education of these people in the hope that they will pay back the society what it had so far spent on them. Now that they are migrating for good from the country, the society has a right to ask and recover at least a part of its investment. The problem seems very much to be a boomerang of a (Jewish) theory that education is an investment activity.

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## Science & Society

IMPACT science report

# Population, pollution, elimination of human dimorphism. . .

The meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science at Leicester early last month brought into focus several social and cultural aspects of Science.

The Association, formed some 140 years ago, is a forum for the British scientists and receives a grant of £20,000 a year from the Department of Education and Science through the Royal Society. The Leicester meeting was attended by 1800 people including 500 students and Bays members (The British Association of Young Scientists BAYS was formed by BAAS in 1969 to tap the science talent among the school children, and the Association has now decided to hold a student BA Conference in January 1974. Efforts will be made to set up a student organisation in the universities, polytechnics and colleges of education.

Besides sectional meetings on engineering, anthropology, geography, meteorology and psychology etc., there were symposia devoted to topics like the biological effects of pollution and energy resources in Britain and abroad.

Prof. Kenneth Mellanby, speaking on the biological effects of pollution said that stabilizing population through voluntary birth control had side-effects which demanded improved methods of pollution control. Britain has nearly reached the state of the so-called 'zero population growth'. The average family size is a little over two and almost all children survive to maturity. The vigorous, clever, rich or successful do not leave the largest number of descendants, and children of all social and economical classes have similar chances of reaching the breeding age. Prof. Mellanby said we should realise that this human policy of stabilizing population by birth control, may prevent any marked improvement in "our stock". It may ensure that no 'superman' is ever evolved.

He said there are flaws in the argument that all living organisms have become adapted to their environment and that man should be able to adapt successfully to pollution. Man is a slow breeder and has too long a generation time to be able to react as quickly as other organisms. The nearer we are to a zero population growth, the less genetic adaptation is possible.

There are many instances where a pollutant acted as a new factor in natural selection and altered the genetic structure of some forms of life. Prof. Mellanby thought it was unlikely that a pollutant should act as a mutagen on the human race but gave the warning that once a mutation occurred the process was irreversible and it was obviously wise to keep substances that might have that property to the lowest possible levels.

The symposium on energy resources in Britain and overseas brought to surface the trends in energy supply with predictions that supplies of natural crude oil would reach a peak in the 1990's and then decline steadily to cause rise in prices. Dr. R. S. Pease, director of Culham Laboratory, and Dr. T. N. Marsham of the UK Atomic Energy Authority reactor group at Risby were optimistic that nuclear power, whether fusion or fission, can meet the crisis. Mr. G. Armstrong, Chief Geologist, National Coal Board, however, complained that the OECD countries show little sense of urgency about the possibility of an energy crisis in the 1980's. Controversy over energy crisis brought some sharp comments from the general public in letters to editors appearing in daily newspapers. One writer said as long as our expectations of a constant increase in the standard of living is not changed, technical improvements as suggested by pollution conscious scientists simply postpone the inevitable by a few years.

Dr. Corinne Hutt of the human development research unit, Department of Experimental Psychology, Oxford University, in her paper to the psychology section on sex differences in human development stressed that the elimination of

dimorphism (two forms) in a functional sense would be distinctly disadvantageous. It would be a needless waste of specialised skill. Dr. Hutt explained that the different physical forms of male and female initiate their development from the moment of conception and are reflected in intellectual and psychological differences. Physical and physiological features equipped the slower developing male for a more active and strenuous life and enabled him to make more prodigious efforts than the female. The efforts of women are characteristically much more modest but can be maintained over a longer period.

She said that research has indicated that girls are far more co-operative than boys, while boys are far more aggressive—the obverse of co-operation. But that aggressive instinct, primarily a function of the sexual differentiation of the brain, was linked to ambition and drive and helped a man to achieve his aims. The redifferentiation of roles that is often demanded would mean a concession to masculine goals and values, of status and prestige, of competition, of power. 'It means an undermining or even rejection of feminine qualities and interests, with consequent frustration'. Dr. Hutt believed that the elimination of dimorphism would result in a reduction of variety. "A species is successful in direct proportion to the degree of biological variety it represents. The reduction of such variety by whatever means it can only be a regrettable and retrograde step".

In the Meteorology Section, Prof. H. H. Lamb, director of the climatic research unit at the University of East Anglia, in his paper on the present state of knowledge of the causes of climatic change said that analysis of weather records for long-term trends in the climate show that Britain is heading for a cold spell in the mid-1980's and average temperatures will not recover their present levels until around 2015.

This is because the frequency of the South-Westerly winds, which are responsible for mild climate in Britain, is beginning to diminish. Although the average drop in temperature may be only about 1°C, this would mean a drier but colder weather, increasing snow coverage period in some areas from 3 or 4 days to 24 or 25 days a year. The forecasts are based on the work of scientists who have analysed deep ice cores from Greenland and the Antarctic. In these cores they have found variations in oxygen isotope which give an indication of past temperatures.

These variations of climate occur in different time periods, some as short as 2 or 22 years, others as long as 40,000 years.

That engineers and doctors need a human touch in their training was stressed by Prof. D. Keith-Lucas, head of aircraft design, Cranfield Institute of Technology, and Dr. D. Hamilton, of the Department of Surgery at Glasgow's Western Infirmary. Prof. Keith-Lucas said that a profound change in thinking was needed. Engineers had been brought up to regard precise numerical results as their be-all and end-all. They must learn to be equally at home in the imprecise world of social planning and human needs. They must learn that it was possible to make judgements without recourse to numbers. He wanted engineering to be included in a curriculum for humanity and social science, and economics and sociology included in the curriculum for engineering.

Dr. Hamilton stressed that doctors and surgeons should show a greater social awareness by doing more to eliminate the causes of illness and injury. He said, at the moment the medical profession is solely concerned with the treatment of disease without looking back at the root cause. Kidney failure, for instance, often followed a sore throat which in itself could be the result of bad housing and overcrowding. They should bring out to the open the importance of these factors in causing

illness.

Dr. Frank Blackaby, Deputy Director, National Institute of Economics and Social Research, speaking during a session on 'peace research' said terrorists or revolutionaries sooner or later are going to steal a nuclear weapon and use it for blackmail. That is just one danger from the mere existence of the world's stockpile of nuclear weapons.

This warning on nuclear hijacking has since generated a great deal of controversy. Scientists attending Pugwash Conference on World Affairs in Oxford have endorsed these fears. A *Sunday Times* team investigating the dangers of nuclear material shipments falling into the hands of the terrorists showed that such a hijacking is possible since most of these shipments specially by scheduled passenger flights or by lorries are unguarded and are not escorted by the police. The easiest target in Britain, for example, would be the lorry shipments of fuel transported to the prototype 'fast' reactor at Dounreay in the far north of Scotland, one of the 11 British power stations using nuclear energy. The fuel, flat disc shaped pellets, could be carried around in small boxes. Each pellet contains a high proportion of plutonium. More discriminating and better informed terrorists, the report said, would probably attack the shipment of almost pure plutonium which the British Nuclear Fuels plant at Windscale (Cumberland) exports by air. (The US has banned nuclear materials travelling in passenger flights because of this risk).

An underground magazine recently described in detail how to make a 'people's bomb' (*Undercurrents*, Vol. 1: 2). On this professor Joseph Ritblat, a former atomic scientist, and now professor of Physics at a London hospital said: "It is relatively simple to make a bomb of at least low efficiency once you have got hold of some plutonium."

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# Economic Outlook

## IMPACT REPORT

### AFRICA

Algeria's next 4-year development plan is expected to provide for an investment of nearly £5,000m. double the investment in the current plan. Under the new trade agreement with Russia, for 1972/73, the trade between the two countries is expected to increase by 50% on the present level. During the past eight years, trade exchanges between Algeria and Russia have increased sevenfold... A cultural and scientific agreement has been signed with Poland and a wheat agreement entered with Canada for the import of 500,000 tons of wheat... Algeria had a balance of payments surplus of 152m dinars in 1971.

Morocco has signed an agreement with Romania for the establishment of a stock breeding complex to produce 5,000 head of cattle and 3,000 head of sheep per year. Nigeria is to export 5,000 tons of coal to Morocco.

China has pledged financial aid valued at US \$40m to Tunisia. Canada is to supply her C\$1.5m. worth of wheat, and France will loan Fr. 100m for the second Maghrib Chemical Industrial Unit.

Libya signed a contract with a German firm to build sardine packing plants at Khums and Zuwarah, with an output capacity of about 30 tons per eight hours. The plants will cost 1.38m. dinars and take about 13 months to build... Libya's National Oil Corporation and Italy's ENI have formed a 50:50 company for the development of oil concession in Block 100. Starting with 10m tons a year, the output is expected to go upto 15m tons.

### WEST ASIA

Turkey has announced a 5 per cent tax rebate on raw cotton export. She is expecting a record crop of about 775,000 tons, more than 50 per cent of which is available for export... Turkey's 3rd Plan is expected to provide for a total investment of £8,100m.

Israel has sold six Commodore Jet 1123 aircraft to the USA and one to Mexico at £50,000 each.

Russia is to assist Syria in surveying for the Damascus-Hums railway and supply a large batch of rolling stock in the next 3 years.

According to the 11th Annual report of the Saudi Monetary Agency, Saudi Arabia had an accelerated rate of economic growth in the year 1970-71. There was a notable increase in oil revenues, a substantial increase in the Riyal expenditure and a revival of the non-oil private sector. Total imports particularly those in the private sector, money supply and total deposit of the commercial banks, all registered significant increases. Oil production rose by 20 per cent to 1.7 billion barrels; oil revenue increased by 68 per cent to \$1.9 billion; and the GNP registered a growth of about 19 per cent, from SR 13.4 billion in 1969-70 to SR 15.9 billion in 1970/71. In the field of education, the number of students rose from 179,000 in 1962-63 to 539,000 in 1970-71. The total budgetary appropriations on education now amount to 12 per cent. Per capita income has risen to SR 3,000 and large increases have taken place in allocations for projects in agricultural, water, research, education, health and municipal sectors.

Iraq signed an agreement with Russia: (1) to establish an oil refinery in Iraq with an annual output of 2.5 m. tons (2) to raise North Rumaylah oilfield output to 40-50 tons a year in the second half of 1975. (3) all Soviet loans to be repaid in crude oil in the next 2 years... Iraq has sent 27 trade unions workers for training in East Germany... A Bangladesh delegation is to visit Iraq and finalise barter trade arrangements.

Iran proposes to initiate economic and agricultural co-operation with Yugoslavia and Rumania. The Tabriz engineering works built with Czechoslovak assistance has been opened. When fully operational, it will produce 10,000

tons of varied equipment per year and employ 3,000 workers... In order to help expedite a flow of freight with Russia, work has begun on the electrification of the Tabriz Jolfa railway line... A small but well-equipped airport has been established at the controversial Tumb island in the Gulf.

Kuwait is to export 35,000 tons of fertilizers to China. The Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic development has granted a loan of KD 7.35m for building the Sitrah power station in Bahrain.

Bahrain became the 120th member of the IME. Soviet Union is giving a 35-ton capacity fish processing plant to South Yemen. The agricultural ministry has placed restriction on the cultivation of *Qat*.

### SOUTH AND SOUTH EAST ASIA

Iran is to assist in setting up a \$50m. aluminium plant in Pakistan... America has provided a short-term debt relief of \$51m. and agreed to a commodity assistance programme valued at \$60m. USA has given a 40-year low-interest loan of \$5.6m. for the Tarbela dam project; will also give 600,000 tons of wheat under PL. 480 programme... A Rs. 60m sugar mill is to be established in Sind with Chinese cooperation... A power station based on Sui gas is to set up in Baluchistan... PIA is to start a new international service to Kuala Lumpur-Singapore-Djakarta and extend the Tokyo service to Honolulu. *Suhur* and *iftiar* is to be provided on all flights during Ramadan.

India will export jute, tea and engineering goods worth Rs3.10m. to Egypt... The first unit of the Rajasthan atomic power project near Kota will soon start supplying 20 Mw. to the Rajasthan grid; the power level will be increased to 50-100 Mw. by May 1973... A nuclear research centre is to start functioning in Srinagar, Kashmir in the next 3-6 months.

Bangladesh has exported nearly 38,000 tons of furnace oil to India... The Commerce Minister said the entire India-Bangladesh trade relations are under review, and that the present trade imbalance between the two countries was of the order 1:49. He said under the existing bilateral agreement no jute and fish could as yet be exported to India. The cloth imported by the State Corporation is to be distributed through ration cards.

The trade surplus for the first quarter of the year in Malaysia amounted to M\$37.5m., 123.5m less than last year due to drop in export of rubber and logs. A consortium of 34 foreign banks has agreed to loan C\$50m. to finance development projects in Malaysia... Malaysia is offering low-cost labour to invite European investors to establish industries in the country... The Japanese-run copper mine has struck gold deposit in Sabah.

The price index of nine essential commodities in Indonesia has risen since August. The rate of inflation for the past 8 months has also gone up by 1 per cent. The Iron and Steel Works in Djakarta is facing shortage of iron ore which is being imported. The Printing Ink Company in Surakarta which opened last February is so far running at 15-20 per cent capacity... In West Java 300 factories have been built with a foreign capital investment of US \$22.5m and a domestic investment of 9,000m. Rupiahs... Rumania is to extend economic and technical assistance in mining, forest products, petro-chemicals and fertilizers industry etc... The Ministry of Industry secretary said Indonesia needed a strong and loyal entrepreneurial middle class for capital formation and technical development.

● Ali Fathi Talhah led an Egyptian industrial delegation to China. Kuwaiti oil Minister visited Spain to discuss further development of trade relations. Turkey received visits from a Nigerian trade delegation and the Sudanese Trade minister. Indian Planning Minister D. P. Dhar invited to visit Iraq. Prof. J. K. Galbraith, led a delegation of the presidents of the American Economic Association to China. Geoffrey Rippon, Britain's Common Market negotiator visited Dacca and Delhi. Keith White presently General Manager of David Samuel Trust appointed to head the new British-Bangladesh Bank. M. Yunus, Director-General in Pakistan's Foreign Office designated Minister for Air Services Agreement and attached to PIA.

### 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, 60p.

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

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

**Introduction to 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.

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## Books

### History of a fall

**A Political Study of Pakistan** by Safdar Mahmood, *Ashraf*, Lahore, 395 pages Rs. 20.

A welcome addition to the growing literature on the political developments in Pakistan from 1947-1971, the book is possibly the first full-scale study by a Pakistani author covering the most crucial period in the country's history. The author deserves our thanks for his attempt at a dispassionate analysis of the circumstances leading to the fall of Dacca.

More than half of the book traverses familiar grounds. The chapters concerning the historical background; the ideology; framing of the constitution; the dilemma of democracy; the working and programmes of the political parties; the foreign policy; and the problems of national integration hardly add to our existing knowledge. Some are avoidably long while others are sketchy.

Instead of a lengthy summary of the first constitution (pp75-103), the author could have more fruitfully concentrated on describing its evolution, and the role of various pressure groups and individuals involved in the making of the constitution. The chapter, "The Political Parties—Working and Programmes" required much more attention and research. There is an abundance of source material concerning the origin and growth of the Awami Muslim League, The Awami League, the Krishak Sramik Party, the Nizam-e-Islam and other political parties and groups of the pre-Ayub era. These are scattered in newspaper reports, party-literature, writings of political activists and memoirs of several leading politicians. Unpublished material might also have been gathered, at least partly, by interviewing important surviving politicians.

The author rightly holds Ghulam Muhammad as responsible for undermining democratic conventions and institutions in Pakistan, but the terrible consequences of his high-handedness need to be clearly spelled out. If any single man can be held responsible for the destruction of Pakistan's solidarity then that man was Ghulam Muhammad. He dismissed Khwaja Nazimuddin from Prime Ministership; appointed Muhammad Ali Bogra, the then Pakistan's envoy to the USA, as the country's Prime Minister; dissolved the Constituent Assembly and forced him to form a new cabinet with two generals—Iskander Mirza and Ayub Khan. And this led to the alienation of East Pakistan, and eventually its separation from West Pakistan.

Iskander Mirza and Ayub Khan had collaborated with Ghulam Muhammad for the realisation of their respective ends. Together they worked for the ouster of Ghulam Muhammad by Iskander Mirza,

who in his turn, was unceremoniously chucked out by Ayub Khan. But in his analysis of Mirza and Ayub Khan's role the author has not taken notice of the close relationship that existed between the two generals during the earlier years. It was Mirza, then Defence Secretary, who recommended Ayub Khan for the post of Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army. Again, it was Mirza, this time the Interior Minister, who was responsible for the extension of Ayub Khan's term of office as C-in-C.

Iskander Mirza was a master in intrigue but Ayub Khan tricked him into imposing martial law and abrogating the constitution thus making him absolutely dependent on the Martial Law Administrator, i.e. Ayub Khan himself. The book neglects to trace the true nature and method of Ayub Khan's assumption of power in October 1958.

Safdar Mahmood is appreciative of Ayub Khan's concern for the ideology of Pakistan and observes that "Ayub Khan, like his predecessors, also resorted to Islam as a unifying force" (p280). However, like most of his predecessors Ayub had no genuine desire to formulate policies on the basis of Islam. As Professor Rajkumar Chakravarty, a Hindu member of the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan had asserted on the floor of the House, most of the policy makers talked of Islam in order to safeguard their own political status rather than to serve the cause of Islam or of Pakistan. Professor Chakravarty observed that if the leadership had a genuine interest in Islam then they could have easily enforced at least some of the basic provisions of the Islamic law regarding 'drinking, gambling, prostitution and Riba'.

The communist and the leftist factor in the politics of East Pakistan is overrated. This is because the author has heavily and uncritically relied upon Tariq Ali's *Pakistan: Military Rule or People's Power* (Cape, 1970). Tariq Ali's statement that the United Front in East Pakistan was the product of leftist initiative is as untrue as his claim that in 1954 there were 26 communists in East Pakistan Legislative Assembly. In 1953-1954, some communists had managed to get into the East Pakistan Assembly under a rightist cloak but they did not number more than a dozen.

The analysis of the events immediately preceding the 1970-71 crisis has left many important questions unanswered. Why did Yahya replace the Governor and the General Officer Commanding of East Pakistan immediately before the start of his military action. Why did he choose Mr. Bhutto as his special envoy to China and later on to the UN and what precisely were the links between the two? Why did the Pakistan Army stand immobilised on the Western front during the war? And why did Yahya agree to cease fire at the particular moment when he did?

Dr. M. R. Ali

## a, b, c of arms race

**The Military Balance 1972-1973**, *International Institute for Strategic Studies*, London, £0-65

*The Military Balance* is an annual publication and within its covers we find, almost complete, the a b c of arms race. It is divided into three sections: 'countries and principal pacts', 'tables' and 'balances'. The first section is further sub-divided into six parts: the United States and the Soviet Union, the Alliances and Europe, the Middle East and the Mediterranean, Sub-Saharan Africa, Asia and Australasia and Latin America. Each of these sub-sections start off with a short, sharp factual note on the relevant pacts and treaties. The section on the Alliance and Europe, for example, contains a write-up on the Warsaw pact followed by country notes. Besides giving a breakdown for the army, navy and air force of each country, *The Military Balance* also lists other statistical information of military value such as on population, para-military forces, estimated GNP and defence expenditure. The first part of Section One contains a comparative analysis of the military strength of the US and the Soviet Union. China, 'not having yet demonstrated any operational nuclear capability of substance' is given a separate small article which includes some comments on its nuclear weapons. Although the atomic strength (a) of all the major world powers is analysed no comments are made on the biological (b) and chemical stockpiles (c) which are no less a threat than the nuclear weapons.

Section two, 'tables', is crammed with information on brute force. Table 1 is on 'Nuclear Delivery Vehicles' and compares the strength and characteristics of (i) missiles and artillery, (ii) aircraft and (iii) historical changes of strength between the US and the Soviet Union and NATO and Warsaw Pact countries. The categories include type, maximum range, estimated warhead yield and number deployed. The next three tables follow a similar comparison of 'Defence Expenditure and Economics', Military Manpower and GNP. Table 5 outlines 'Tank Characteristics' without which much of the information contained on armoured vehicles will be pretty difficult to understand. The final table lists the 'Major Identified Arms Agreements' between July 1971 and June 1972.

The final section contains two appendices: lengthy strategic and analytical articles discussing the various aspects of 'SALT and the Strategic Balance' and 'The Theatre Balance between NATO and the Warsaw Pact'. The three sections make a handy reference book providing useful information on the military strength of the countries of the world. This year's edition also includes Latin America, some small



African and Asian states, like the Shaikdom of Ras al Khaimah whose navy consists of four motor powered dinghies. For including the guerilla organisations like Pathet-Lao, whose military strength is understandably very difficult to assess, the IISS should be congratulated; the institute should have also included other non-national military organisations such as Al-Fatah.

Although the IISS claims that its publications are also intended for non-specialist use, the major drawback of *The Military Balance* is common use of abbreviations. With over one hundred abbreviations (which have to be memorized to fully enjoy the book), together with names of arms and equipment (like BTR-152 or AML-245) one reads the book as though in a foreign language. The table on tank characteristics helps. Similar tables on the characteristics of other equipment, one feels, would add to the benefit of the non-specialist readers.

In some cases there is only a vague indication of the numerical strength of particular equipment. Thus, Yugoslavia has 'several hundred' T54/55 tanks. Sometimes the actual name of an equipment is omitted, e.g., Syria may have anti-tank missiles, but they are ancient Russian 'Saggers' or the new German 'Hot'?

The major event which upset the military balance most last year was the India-Pakistan war. It will therefore be interesting to focus on the entries under India and Pakistan. The entry under 'Pakistan' only relates to former West Pakistan except for the figures for GNP, which, also covers East Pakistan. The total armed forces of Pakistan—395,000—include some 90,000 prisoners of war. In 1971/72 Pakistan, according to the IISS, had an armed strength of 365,000. This year it is reduced to 278,000. The total naval force is minus one submarine and two destroyers and some other small naval crafts. The combat aircrafts have been reduced to 200 from 285. This seems a little strange as this year's breakdown is *exactly* the same as last years except that this year one light bomber Il-28 squadron (16 aircraft) is not listed. There is no entry for Bangladesh 'because of the difficulty in establishing firm figures'.

India, it seems has reduced its army by 20,000 (from 860,000 to 840,000). The navy is smaller by 12,000 men—from 40,000 to 28,000—but the statistic is strange in view of India's recent expansion in naval power. Indian air force, however, has gone up from 80,000 to 92,000 personnel and the number of combat aircrafts is up from 625 to 650.

Since the countries are not equally or fully co-operative and some figures are estimated, and as the official figures cannot always be trusted, 'the result' as the IISS themselves admit, 'should not be regarded as a comprehensive guide' or the figures taken uncritically.

Jamal Sardar

## Briefing

**India, Russia, China and Bangladesh**, by J. A. Naik, S. Chand and Co., New Delhi, Rs 20

Deals with the role and policy of India, Russia and China before and after the separation of Bangladesh from Pakistan. About China, Naik says: "Now that the balance of power in the (Indo-Pak subcontinent) region has gone against the Sino-Pak alliance, the Chinese may try to come out of their involvement in Pakistan on some face saving pretext and improve relations with India to check growing Russian influence in the region". With Soviet Russia emerging "as China's principal enemy in this region, the Chinese leadership is likely to befriend Russia's principal allies and friends like India and Bangladesh". But the author admits that "it is unlikely that the Chinese will settle the border issue with India until they have (evolved) a policy of settling disputes with India or are in a position to dictate terms to her".

Naik tries to explain the difference in the policies of Russia and China towards Bangladesh in relation to their constitutions. While Article 17 of the Constitution of the USSR affirms and reserves the right of the federal units (Union Republics) to secede, Article 3 of the Chinese Constitution view the areas inhabited by different nationalities as "inalienable parts of the Chinese People's Republic". To the author this answers the question why Soviet Union helped India in detaching Bangladesh from Pakistan while China regarded it as Pakistan's internal problem. Chapter V, traces back the history of Indo-Russian relations to mid-1969 and onwards when Brezhnev in the world Communist Congress emphasised the need and importance of "the task of creating a system of collective security in Asia". The book closes with a strong case for manufacturing nuclear bomb in India.

**Social Sciences as Sorcery**, by Stanislaw Andreski, *Deutsch*, £2-95

Professor Andreski shows how much of the work done by the sociologists under the respectable cover of "research" is a mere 're-search'. It is this parasitic existence of pseudo-intellectuals on each other's dogmas and beliefs that comes under his ruthless attack. A sociologist himself, Andreski says he is "not prompted by an obscurantist prejudice against systematic study of human affairs". He describes his attitude as a "desperate optimism" and refuses to cast back longing eyes on the "good old days and dogmas". He says that the only check against trivial and meaningless 'research' is provided by the financial realities: "The market . . . often constitutes the chief (or even only) bulwark against an orthodoxy imposed by bureaucratic machine".

**Islam, between Ignorant Followers and Incapable Scholars**, by Abdul Qader Audah, *I.I.F.S.O.*, 85c

An important essay by the renowned Egyptian scholar and jurist, executed in 1954 for 'plotting' against the late President Nasser. In a clear and cogent style, Audah shows that if one finds the Muslim situation going from bad to worse, its real cause lies in "their ignorance of the system of Islamic Jurisprudence—and their negligence in applying it, notwithstanding its perfection and excellence". They do not realise that their tenacious clinging to the colonial and antiquated secular laws has disrupted their social fibre and brought upon them their present weakness and humiliation.

**The Nigerian Civil War**, by John de St Jorre, *Hodder and Stoughton*, £5-50

The story of a nation at war with itself, which the author says is neither pure history nor pure journalism, "an attempt to cut through the choking fog of myth and propaganda that obscured the conflict, and to clarify the causes and course of the war while highlighting its rights and wrongs". St. Jorre makes a sensational revelation on the role of the mercenaries (The Hired Guns) in

an attempt to explain why the federal forces failed to storm and put out of action the makeshift airstrip at Uli used right up to the end. The author says it was all a part of a collusion between the mercenaries of both sides: "Uli presented the mercenaries with the double-edged dilemma. If they knocked it out, the war would quickly come to an end and they would all be out of a most lucrative job; and then to close the airport and keep it closed, they would have had to shoot down a number of relief and arms planes, thus killing their own mercenary comrades on the other side". Result: a mutual non-interference, Uli remained open and the war dragged on as long as one year.

**Planet in Peril—Man and the Biosphere Today** by Raymond F. Dasmann, *World Publishing*, \$8-95

This is a UNESCO book aimed at creating an informal public opinion in regards to the well being of the biosphere which is showing signs of illness because of expanding and uncontrolled technology.

It was only a short while ago when one heard the prophets of hope and prosperity claiming that the solution to all human suffering was in material well being and the best tool to achieve this is Science. This 'one-dimensional' approach has led to a situation of uncontrolled growth rate and misuse of technology, and in turn a polluted environment. To solve the pollution problem, the book suggests that the 'quality of life' should be made uniform. To achieve this human population should be held at a level at which 'rational' use of land and technology could be made. In other words a *perfect* birth control. In a situation where the 'haves' minority enjoys supreme political power, what this control could do to the 'have-nots' majority can be anybody's guess.

**ISVS Statistical Directory** compiled by the International Secretariat for Volunteer Service, *ISVS*, \$2-25

Covers about 160 countries and includes tables by country and by continent of the numbers of volunteers and development service personnel. Also lists over 260 volunteer and development service organisations with address, telephone number, number of volunteers, country of service and programme description.

## Listing

**A History of the Russian Secret Service** by Richard Deacon, *Muller* £5-80 From Ivan the Terrible and the Oprichnina down to the modern times, the story of the most formidable secret service with separate detailed descriptions of the prominent spy masters. **Jomo Kenyatta: A Political Biography** by Guy Arnold, *Dent*, £3-50.

**Heath and Heathmen** by Andrew Roth, *Routledge and Kegan Paul*, £2-25. A new biography of the British Premier, Mr. Edward Heath.

**Leon Trotsky: 1905** translated by Anya Bostock, *Allen Lane the Penguin Press*, £4-95.

**Love of God** by Dr. Mir Valiuddin, *Sufi Publication Co.*, £1-35.

**Imperialism and Free Trade** (Lancashire and India in the mid-19th century) by Pharnetty, *Manchester University Press*, £3-00

**Growing Unpopularity of Church** by D. L. S. Harman, Published by the Author, £0-50. Survey report on reasons why fewer people are going to church and why many youths are being attracted towards some oriental religious movements.

**The Dialectical Myth** by Joseph Stuky, *St. Gregory Publication Co.*, £0-35. Discusses social and political effects in this century of the search for 'pure reason'; illuminated by analogy between dialectics and the game of chess.

**Edwardians in Love** (a Social History of Edwardian Permissiveness) *Hutchinson*, £2-50.

**The New Oxford Book of English Verse 1250-1950** edited by Helen Gardner, *Oxford University Press*, £3-25.

**Was Christ Crucified?** by Ahmed Deedat, 17 Gulshan Terrace, Bunder Road, Karachi-1, pp 48. **Choice for the Muslims**, by Mahmood Ahmed Khan, Kuwait, pp 16.



## Social Monitor

### The disturbed minds

In the United States, every one person in ten is mentally ill or suffers from serious emotional instability of some degree or other. New York's Commissioner for Mental Health has gone further to say that not more than 20 per cent of the city's inhabitants could properly be classified as mentally fit. (*The Times*, 26 February 71).

In Britain the situation is not very much different. It is generally believed that at least one third of patients consulting their doctors (GPs) have conditions which may be emotional in origin. In 1970, the mentally disordered occupied 45 per cent of all hospital beds. Over 36.5 million working days were lost in 1968/69 through mental illness. It is now estimated that one in six women and one in nine men will enter hospital at least once in their life because of mental illness.

Like so many other ailments, mental disorder is enveloped in semantic confusion. We can split the term 'mental disorder' into two: mental handicap and mental illness.

Mental illness is an illness needing curative and therapeutic treatment. Mental handicap is an innate condition for which, as yet, there is no cure.

Mental handicap is of several types and of all grades from complete idiocy to that of the high-grade mentally defective who is merely unable to understand and transact complicated business. Idiocy is defined as mental deficiency which arises from malnutrition or disease of the nerve centres occurring either before birth or before the evolution of the mental faculties in childhood. Idiots are generally unable to guard themselves from common physical dangers. Imbecility is a slightly milder stage of the same defect and imbeciles are incapable of managing themselves or their affairs. Feeble-mindedness is a term which covers the less marked case of defect, to which the name *amentia* is also applied. The term *moron* is also applied to the highest grade of mentally defective person who is able to transact work requiring reason and judgement, but in social matters is dependent upon the help or guidance of other people. A special class of moral imbeciles is also recognised, consisting of persons who from an early age display mental defects with vicious or criminal propensities, and on whom punishment has little or no effect.

The increase in living standards seem to have little effect on the state of the society's mental health, in fact the effect is very

much to the contrary: better food, better clothes, better housing, education and health have all led to 'an unprecedented increase of mental disease, and even to new forms of mental disorder.' The society here in the West is faced with more mental troubles, more indiscipline and less happiness. There is much more loneliness, more ruthlessness, more stress, and certainly more suicide attempts and use of drugs.

But why?

Dr. Terence Morris, Professor of Sociology at the London School of Economics and Political Science, places the blame on technology: men caged in cities could behave like laboratory rats—self-centred, confused and potentially aggressive.

Dr. Robert Prall, a leading American psychiatrist feels that many people thinking they do not want their children to grow up "inhibited" or "repressed" let them "get away with murder" and go overboard in terms of permissiveness. Mental and emotional discipline has to be learnt, and be taught to children by the parents at a very early age.

But do parents themselves learn? Very few parents teach their children mental and emotional control. When the child grows up and faces adult responsibilities, it is much too much for him; he "goes to pieces". There is such an alarming increase in mentally and emotionally disturbed young people.

When the mind is loose it is permissive, and permissiveness produces more mental problems; it's as simple as that. But there is another, perhaps more important factor: quest for a meaning and purpose in life. Everyone yearns for an answer to the question: has life a purpose? The Church has been unable to answer this and many disillusioned turn to other avenues such as drugs, spurious spiritualism, and even superficial radicalism witchcraft. Not infrequently, this disorientation leads to more serious forms of mental tragedies.

*In order to create concern, the National Association for Mental Health in Britain will be observing a 'Mind Week' from 22 to 28 October.*

**ERRATA**—In Prof. M. Hamidullah's article "Prayer and Fasting in abnormal zones" (*Impact*, Vol. 2: 7), page 9, para 2, line 4, please read *normalcy* instead of 'normally'. The correct sentence runs: "... normal and abnormal zones on the basis of normalcy or otherwise ..."

## Letters

### "English Mother Tongue"

Recent advertisements in the British Press of the teaching vacancies in some of the Muslim countries of the Middle East and Africa reflect an attitude which is remarkable for its discrimination against the Muslims and all non-English born candidates. Whether the teacher required is for humanities or Sciences or language, these advertisements in most cases say that the candidate, must be of 'English mother tongue'. This summarily disqualifies all other non-English born candidates who, in spite of being otherwise well qualified are deprived of a free, fair and open competition. Those who have the same or better educational attainments and professional experience, the same or better degrees from a British University and therefore the same or better claim to eligibility are considered ineligible to apply because of their 'non-English origin'.

With malice to none, it is only fair to believe that other things being equal, a suitably qualified Muslim teacher should be more desirable in a Muslim country than a suitably qualified non-Muslim teacher, and certainly the response of the former is more natural and spontaneous than that of the latter. But unfortunately the recruiting agencies of some Middle East countries, seem to ignore this vital point. The policy sadly lacks the minimum standard of justice and fair-play.

It is also surprising that most of these countries advertise their vacancies not through their embassies but through other recruiting agencies in the UK. These agencies, have their own selection committees consisting of 'English-born' members who even otherwise prefer to select the 'English-born' candidate.

I am open to correction, and someone can convince me the wisdom of this policy—not from the viewpoint of justice or fair play, but for pure secular national interest.

London W. 2.

SYED AHMAD

### Mujib and Secession

Mr. Ataur Rahman Khan, in his interview (*Impact*, Vol. 2: 8), has argued that Sheikh Mujib was not a secessionist because he never said so. Is Mr. Khan so naive as to think that anyone working for the disintegration of a country would openly state his intentions? Yes, Mujib did not say that he was a secessionist until after his release from prison in January 1972 when he admitted at two different occasions that he had been working for the independence of East Bengal for all these years.

That Mujib and his associates wanted secession can be easily ascertained from their speeches and actions during the 1969-70 election campaign and after. By taking a very inflexible stand on the Six Points, Mujib prevented the emergence of a compromise.

Had he and others from West Pakistan been statesmen and not self-seeking mediocres, they could have prevented the horrible tragedies which later occurred in East Pakistan.

Charleston, Ill., USA

ABDUL LATEEF

### Translations of the Holy Qur'an

In response to Mr. Hasan's and Dr. Hamidullah's recent letter in *Impact*, 8-12 September, may I cite just one example in error from both Yusuf Ali and Pickthall's translations.

As against the accepted view, Yusuf Ali regards *riba* as usury and holds that it excludes commercial interest, his commentary No. 324 under Verse 275 of Sura II refers. Pickthall has translated Verse No. 57 of Sura II as 'We wronged them not but they ...' The correct translation on the other hand is: 'To us they did no harm but they harmed their own souls'; the difference in meaning is obvious.

I, therefore, support the view that there is a need to prepare a detailed review of these translations; this does not necessarily condemn them.

M. AZEEMUDDIN

Jeddah



# Muslim Students in North America: a decade of pioneering experience

## IMPACT Report

For the Muslim Student Association of the United States and Canada—which has just held its Tenth Annual Conference—the year 1971/72 marked many 'first' steps. Earlier in the year they held their first Humanities Seminar the outcome of which has been an organisation which will aim at developing the Islamic Social Sciences as a correlated field of study. North America Islamic Trust (NAIT) was established this year to 'ensure the continuity of the MSA work, to safeguard its assets and to find ways of generating income.' Women's Committee convened the First Women's Conference; and there was the First National Youth Camp. All these new projects were taken up as those picked up earlier by the MSA in its decade of evolution gained momentum; while admittedly some just withered away.

Of the projects which flourished, Islamic Correspondence Course is a glaring example. This is most popular to inmates in the US prisons—many of whom accept Islam while serving their sentences—and individuals in Africa, particularly in Nigeria and Ghana. The MSA Book Service has continued to expand, somewhat exponentially. The sales in 1972, estimated up to June, come up to \$27,000. The Headquarters has increased its activities manifold. The Printing Press has been put on the right footing, and sales are picking up. In operation since 1968 has been the Muslim Co-operative Project which serves as an Islamic Bank offering an interest free saving place and lending money at zero interest. The publishing side too is going reasonably well although it proved difficult to produce *Al-Ittihad*, the organ of the Association, six times a year; and only a few issues of *The Newsletter* could appear. But many books and booklets have been published or reprinted this year.

The MSA has 106 affiliated local chapters and some three thousand individual members. The grass roots of the Association are its local chapters: most of them carry out the field work necessary to organise and provide facilities needed to carry out an Islamic way of life in a non-Islamic surrounding. Many local chapters have started adult Arabic classes and Islamic schools for children. Some send out their members to the local prisons to locate Muslim inmates, teach and help them in their rehabilitation. At the regional level the MSA held over twenty camps in addition to a number of seminars and symposia held all over the United States and Canada. The major national activity of the MSA is the Annual Convention.

The Tenth Annual Convention was held at the Lindenwood College, St. Charles, Missouri from 1-4 September 1972. The theme of the convention showed a community orientation: Islam and Muslims in North America. Over 900 delegates and participants attended lectures, discussions and workshops of the Convention. Amongst them were delegates from Libya, India, Carib-

bean Islands and Turkey.

The general assembly, in reviewing the Ninth Annual Report, made an introspective survey of the outgoing year. It decided to endorse the idea of establishing an Islamic University in the United States, to form a Central Consultative Council to co-ordinate the Islamic activities in North America, and to form sub-committees to identify sources of misrepresentation of Islam, ascertain their credibility, collect and classify the relevant material and take steps for possible legal action.

The general assembly adopted resolutions reaffirming support for all genuine liberation movements and freedom struggles in Palestine, Chad, Eriteria, Comoro Island, Philippines, Thailand, Iran and other Muslim areas; condemning persecution of Muslims under communist rule; calling all possible help for the Biharis; demanding that Iran immediately releases the innocent Iranians imprisoned without specific charges or condemned after farcical and secret trials, in particular the Muslim scholar Ayatullah Taleghani; declaring that only the Islamic socio-political system can terminate the occupation of Palestine and other occupied Muslim lands; and appealing to all Muslims to set aside their differences and join together in emancipating themselves as well as the humanity.

The assembly elected the following executive for 1972/73:

Jamal Al-barzini — President, Sirajuddin Ahmed — Vice President, Muhammad Badr — Internal Sec., Hisham Badran — Community Sec., Rasheed Al-Ameeri — Finance Sec., El Tijani A. Abu Gideiri — Publication Sec., Jaffar Husain — N.E.R. Rep., Iqbal Unus — S.E.R. Rep., Ataur Rahman — N.C.R. Rep., Dr. Yahya Abdurrahman — S.C.R. Rep., Munzir Kahl — Mountain Region Rep., Muinuddin Shaikh — W. Coast Rep., Abdul Hai Patel — Canadian R. Rep.,

### In the News

Anisul Islam Mahmud, appointed Senior Research Associate, School of Social Studies, East Anglia University. Bashir Maan, Glasgow Councillor, nominated prospective parliamentary candidate by the Labour party. Dr. Nazir Ally President Waltham Forest Islamic Association, appointed honorary J.P.

## new spectrum

Ramadan 5 — 18, 1392

### An iconoclastic view of the European culture

IMPACT Reporter

Paul Keeler ranged very widely in his talk on "The Place of European Man and Other Cultures of the World" which was given at the Islamic Cultural Centre on Saturday 23 September and sponsored by the London Islamic Circle.

In many respects an iconoclast, he suggested for example that the Europeans inheritance was very much a northern barbarian one and not one taken exclusively from the Greco-Roman world. He also stated that the impact of Muslim learning, science and trade, on Europe had not been given due importance and recognition. He mentioned the paradox of the European going out into the world and not being able to have a meaningful contact with other peoples and cultures. More than this because of his aggressive and acquisitive desires, he had destroyed these peoples and their cultures. He cited as examples the case of the Red Indians in North America and the current genocide of Amerindians in parts of South America. This was brought out in the French papers fifteen years ago but has been given some attention in the British press only since the last two years. He felt

convinced that the Europeans had not surpassed all others in terms of culture and suggested that though narrow and insular views, of people like Mr. Enoch Powell, "should be taken seriously" as these underline a certain incapacity to come to grips with the appalling problems of our times.

● A week earlier, on 16th September Professor Syed Ali Ashraf of Karachi gave a talk on "The Role of Languages in the Scientific and Cultural Development of the Muslim Countries Today" and suggested that Arabic be made compulsory in all non-Arab Muslim countries. He said although main communication should be in the local language but this was necessary for the understanding of the Quran and the Hadith i.e. Islam. English can be taught as a functional language for international communication.

### ISLAM, A CHARITABLE RELIGION

From Ilyas Mahmoud

Lord Combermere, B.D. and, a member of the staff of the University of London Extra-Mural Studies gave a talk on "Oriental Religions: Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism" at the Library Hall, Crouch End, North London on 22 September. His explanation was half-hearted, lacking in depth. There was nothing to interest anyone who had not heard of Islam before. Whatever credit had to be given was in the past tense: "Muslims were tolerant"... Islam was a charitable religion". He felt that the Muslims were very active in this country and emphasized that in West Africa Islam was rapidly gaining converts at the rate of 4:1 against Christianity.

The lecture was illustrated. The slide showing chapters of Qur'an was shown upside down. In trying to explain why a slide on Muslims in prayer did not include women, Lord

Combermere said Islam was basically a man's religion and that women were debarred from mosques.

In any case the wisdom of the whole presentation can be questioned i.e. the wisdom of categorising Islam as an 'oriental' religion and comparing it with idolatrous systems as Hinduism and Buddhism. In speaking about Islam, there was only one reference to "other monotheistic religions such as Judaism and Christianity". Evidently these are considered 'occidental' religions.

So far as Islam was concerned, the lecture did not further the Haringey motto on Adult Education which is *Learning for Living* and one hopes that in any future programme, the sponsors would remedy the partial treatment of Islam by inviting really knowledgeable speakers.

### ROUND UP

**Feed the Hungry Month in Washington:** The Islamic Party of North America has declared Ramadan as "Feed the Hungry Month". At the headquarters branch of the Party in Washington, D.C. poor people of all religions will be offered food during the month of Ramadan.

**The Anjuman-e-Nau (UK)** in co-operation with Pakistan Welfare Association, Wembley, Pakistan's Women Movement, London, PIA and Pakistan Embassy, has sent 31 bales of used clothing for distribution amongst the 'Bihari' refugees in Karachi. The Anjuman proposes to

establish a lady's industrial home in Orangi Town, Karachi.

**Pakistan Students Protest:** A meeting of the Pakistan Students Federation in London has opposed the move to revert to running the Hostel canteen through contractors and asked that it be run by the students themselves on a no-profit basis.

**Ramadan meetings in London:** The Islamic Cultural Centre, London is organising a lecture programme on 'Battle of Badr' and "Conquest of Mecca" on 24 and 31, October respectively. Lectures begin at 7.00 p.m., *iftar* available. ● **Joint Iftar:** The London Islamic Circle will be holding a collective *iftar* every Saturday at 146, Park Road, NW8.



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

**ALBANIA.** A 2-year cultural agreement signed between Albania and Egypt.

**AUSTRALIA.** Citizenship legislation for mixed race families from Papua (New Guinea) wanting to live permanently in Australia, is to be introduced soon.

**BANGLADESH.** The Constituent Assembly is to meet in Dacca on 12th October. ● In order to purge corrupt elements 44 members of the Constituent Assembly have so far been expelled from the ruling Awami League and the C.A. ● Chief Election Commissioner, Justice Idris announced that work on preparing electoral rolls had begun; general elections expected to be held early next year. ● A charge-sheet has been drawn up and trial begun of Dr. A. M. Malik, the former East Pakistan Governor and his ministers for trial under Collaborators Order. ● Sheikh Mujib sent a telegram to King Faisal requesting facilities for "Bangladesh" Muslims to perform Haj.

**GHANA.** A countrywide search has been launched for suitable girls to feature in a \$0.7m film on Ghana, portraying the social and business aspects of the Ghanaian life. The object is to attract foreign interest in Ghanaian life. In an anti-hoarding campaign the combined security forces are to conduct house to house search; defaulters face a military tribunal.

**INDIA.** The Chairman of the ruling Congress Party, Mr. Sharma said that CIA was stepping up its activities against India. ● Allegations made by the South Vietnamese F.M. that India had allowed Soviet military supplies to North Vietnam through her territory has been denied. ● Authorities have started taking disciplinary action against the staff and students who had taken part in the recent agitation against the Aligarh Muslim University Act.

**IRAQ.** In order to ensure that each minority is grouped together, boundaries are to be redrawn within or between certain administrative units.

**ISLAMIC AFFAIRS.** The 14th session of the Foundation Committee, Muslim World League, to be held at Mecca from 16 November; a new Secretary General will be elected. ● The International Islamic Research Conference held in Cairo has called upon the Arab and Islamic Head of States to take a firm stand against Israel and provide moral and material assistance to the Palestinian people.

**ISRAEL.** Entry of Arab workers from occupied territories to Israel was banned for three days, after repeated attacks on Arabs by Israelis in which seven were reported missing, and their cars set on fire in Jerusalem and other places. ● "Development and Civilian Affairs" in the Sharm al Sheikh area are to be transferred from the defence to the development ministry. ● Labour Minister stated that 46,000 workers from the occupied territories were working in Israel. ● Mr. Eban said "The American veto was an international event of the greatest importance. It helped to restore the international equilibrium and would

cut off one of the consolation prizes whereby Arabs used to console themselves... we ourselves have an opportunity of seeing that life is not easy for them..." President Amin he said, was one exception to international solidarity with Israel but he is "surely one of the wickedest men who have ever walked across the stage of history". ● Mr. Rogers signed an agreement to establish a bi-national American-Israeli Science Foundation to promote and support research and technological co-operation with Israel. ● The Editor of *Sovetish Khaymland*, Mr. Vergelis alleged that in Israel at the top of social ladder are Jews born in Israel, next come immigrants from N. America and Europe, then those from E. Europe and at the bottom are Jews from India, China and Japan.

**JORDAN.** On the occasion of the 20th Anniversary of his accession to the throne, King Hussain ordered release of 166 political detainees. He said we are for peace based on justice and shall never accept a substitute for Jerusalem. ● The US Assistant Military Attaché in Amman, Major Richard Barret is reported to have been arrested by Syria while returning from Beirut where his wife lives.

**LEBANON.** Lebanon has called for an international investigation on the possibility of Israel having used toxic gases in S. Lebanon; a man has already died and two others are critical because of gas poisoning. ● Ban has been placed on the printing, publication, possession and circulation of material which "disturbs security".

**LIBYA.** The new Egyptian-Libyan unified state, with the capital at Cairo, will be a consultative democratic republic and would welcome any other Arab State to join the constitution. Specialized committees are to be formed to achieve in stages the aims of unity.

**PAKISTAN.** Six Pakistani PoW's were shot dead by Indian guards in a camp in Madhya Pradesh State. ● President Bhutto said they were taking cautionary measures against Indian troop movements. As to the Simla Agreement, he said, its fate depended also on India. Earlier on 19 September, the President had said that the delay in the withdrawal of troops violated UN resolutions as well as the Simla Agreement but he is not "going to make an issue of this."

● Pakistan told UNGA that it did not oppose the entry into the UN of Bangladesh, she only wanted a postponement. ● Jamaat-e-Islami leader, Maluana Maudoodi appealed to President Bhutto to follow a policy of tolerance, patience and justice. The policy of anger, terror and vengeance, he said, did not bode well for the country's future. Maulana Maudoodi has announced retirement from the party presidency for health reasons and the Party will elect a new Amir by end of October. ● Law Minister Kasuri said President Bhutto and the People's Party are committed to a federal parliamentary constitution. Governor Bizengo of Baluchistan, said that NAP, JUI and the People's

Party should agree on a joint programme as this was the only way to solve internal and external problems and bring peace to the subcontinent. ● Mufti Mahmood, the Sarhad CM said his party would insist on the constitution specifying Islam as official religion. ● An official board is to be set up to import educative and informative films, and discourage the import of vulgar films. ● **PHILIPPINES.** A telegram from Manila received by the Conference of Ulama in Cairo described how the Philippine Islamic University in Mindanao was burnt by the Christians in the Philippines. About 4,000 books in Arabic and English were burnt. The University provided for 5,000 students and contained 5 faculties and a number of higher institutes. ● President Marcos proclaimed martial law after claiming a paralysis of national and local governments due to 'Peoples Army' and other communist operations. He said that in Mindanao and Sulu 1,000 civilians and 2,000 armed Christians and Muslims have been killed to date.

**MALAWI.** Any cinema and club owner or manager showing obscene films is to be arrested and his licence withdrawn.

**NIGERIA.** The population census to be conducted in 1973. ● Nigeria will scrutinise documents to detect aliens who are staying illegally.

**NORTH VIETNAM.** An American Christian delegation, which recently toured Nam Ha and Ninh Binh, the two provinces inhabited by Christians and saw damage including one of the oldest Cathedrals, has said that it would arouse the consciousness of the American Christians about the immorality of the US war.

**SAUDI ARABIA.** An allocation of SR 50m has been made for the extension of the Prophet's Mosque in Medina. ● A number of civil servants are to be sent to Netherlands and other European countries for training in public and development administration.

**TURKEY.** The martial law in the 11 provinces has been extended for another two months period.

**UNITED KINGDOM.** The Bishop of Wakefield, Dr. Eric Treacy, has published a special service of blessing for a pastorally desirable marriage between divorced people that has already taken place in registrar's office. The service can be held in a church in the presence of a public congregation.

**USSR.** Moscow has denied that Soviet influence in the Indian Ocean is increasing, causing anxiety and threatening the security of Indonesia.

● A team of American and Soviet scientists studying atmosphere and ocean in tropical parts of the Atlantic is planning continued co-operation in joint research in the Arctic, Antarctic and the Oceans. ● Dr. Glen Seaborg of the National Laboratory at Berkeley, USA visited the Institute for Joint Nuclear Research, Dubna, near Moscow. ● Radio Moscow said that the official language in the Jewish autonomous republic of Birobjan is Yiddish, Jews outside this region may learn

Yiddish or Hebrew like any other language. Hebrew books are published only in Israel, but the government promotes newspapers, books etc in Yiddish.

## PEOPLE

Dr. Abdul Zahir, Afghan P.M. resigned. Khalid al Qusabi appointed Vice-Governor, Saudi Monetary Agency. Dr. Ahmad Ali, present Vice-Rector of Jeddah University, appointed Deputy Minister of Technical Education. Dr. Mohammed Abdu Yamani appointed new Vice-Rector. Dr. I. H. Usmani, Pakistan former Atomic Chief under investigation for 'passing Chinese atomic secrets to the US. Abd al-Fattah al-Yasin appointed Chairman, Iraqi Company for Oil Operations. Brig. Abraham Mendler replaces retiring Maj-Gen. Dan Laner as Commander of Israel's forces in Sinai. Soviet F.M. Gromyko met Sir Alec Douglas-Home in New York and also US Secretary Rogers. President Tito wished further accomplishment to Pope Paul on his 75th birthday. California University Los Angeles campus refused reappointment to Miss Angela Davis. F.M. Mousa Shafiq appointed new Afghan P.M. Kadir Misroglu, Turkish lawyer and publisher of controversial biography *Hayat re Hatiratim* detained under Martial Law. Pakistan's Law Minister Mahmood Ali Kasuri resigned. A. H. Pirzadah given charge in addition to Education.

## DIPLOMATS

Kuwaiti Ambassador Jafar Khalid Muhammad, awarded Bulgarian Order of the Madara Horseman, first class. Tsao Chih and Ko Hua China's new Ambassador to Nepal and Ghana respectively. Rudolf Panz new Czech Ambassador to Bangladesh. Tomodok, a senior F.O. official, Indonesia's consul in Portuguese Timor. Wolfgang Kenschel, East Germany's new Ambassador to Syria. K. M. Qaiser, formerly Pakistan's envoy to Peking appointed Bangladesh ambassador to Burma.

## VISITS

Umer as-Saqqa, Saudi F.M. to Baghdad and UN. Dr. Josef Biro, Hungarian Trade Minister to Kuwait. Tun Abdul Razak to Poland and USSR. Osman Badran, Egyptian Minister of Land Reclamation, to Bulgaria. Speaker Abdullah Riazi, headed an Iranian parliamentary delegation to Czechoslovakia. King Zahir Shah to Turkey. Soviet Mufti Babakhanov to Baghdad. A British College of Defence Studies mission visited the G.H.Q. in Amman. S. A. Dange, Chairman of the Communist Party of India to Belgrade. Domoprofoto, Vice-President Indonesian Assembly to Yugoslavia. Indian National Congress delegation to Bulgaria. Indian Foreign Secretary, T. N. Kaul, to Ulan Bator, Mongolia. India's Planning Minister, D. P. Dhar, to Moscow. Didie Ratsiraka, the Malagasy F.M. to Moscow. Tunisian Minister of Culture to Kremlin. Raj Bahadur, Indian Transport Minister to Poland. M. Anwar Ali, Governor Saudi Monetary Agency to USA and Britain. Maj. Abd al-Zahir, Chairman of the Abu Dhabi National Conservancy Council, to Damascus. Farhad Masudi, Deputy Director, of the Iranian paper *Ettela'at* to USSR. Queen Farah and Premier Hoveyda to Peking. Hasan Kutbi Saudi minister of aqaf to Morocco. Col. Osei-Owusu, Managing Director of Ghana's Food Distribution Corporation to Israel. Nepal's Prince Bikram Shah to China. President Bakr to Turkey and USSR. Yemen. P.M. Mohsin al-Ayni to Tripoli. Kuwait speaker Khalid Ghunaim to Vatican. Queen Elizabeth II to Australia. President Pompidou invited to China. President Numeiry to Britain in March 1973. British Gen. Sir Michael Carver to Turkey. Vice-President of Cyprus and President of the Turkish Cyprus Muslim Administration Dr. Fazil Kuechuk to Ankara. Indian President Giri to Ethiopia. Maj. Bashir Hawwidi, member R.C.C. and Secretary-General Libyan ASU to Mauritania, Guinea, Mali, Upper Volta and Nigar.

## DIED

Dr. L. S. B. Leakey, 69, anthropologist and palaeontologist. Dr. John Hutchinson, 88, systematic botanist. Minhajuddin, scholar, editor Pushto and Persian weekly *Faiz*, and Islamic leader assassinated in Kabul on 14 September. C. C. Desai, 72, Indian envoy to Pakistan, and Ceylon, in New Delhi on 22 September.