

impact

international fortnightly

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Signing, signing and signing away



At Tashkent, 1966
President Ayub Khan of Pakistan signs the Tashkent Declaration after a week talks with India. Photo: Uss.



In Dacca, 1971



APPHOS LONDON PS4 COLLECT (SIM-1) SIMLA, INDIA, JULY 3—(AP) Pakistan President Z.A. Bhutto and India's Prime Minister Indira Gandhi sign documents here early Monday morning. Agreement calls for withdrawal of forces from their borders and renunciation of force. (AP RADIO) ml

STEP BY STEP, THE SIMLA PACKAGE

The prospects for the Simla summit were dismal when President Bhutto told a press conference on 2 July that they were caught in a deadlock. He said "Pakistan wanted a durable peace on the basis of justice and fair play. It did not want an unequal treaty imposed on it. An unequal treaty would not be lasting." Earlier the Pakistani officials were reported to have walked out frowning after being rebuffed by their Indian counterparts. But like Tashkent, six years ago when Ayub Khan and Lal Bahadur Shastri had found themselves similarly deadlocked, a midnight miracle occurred and the following morning was signed the agreement on bilateral relations.

Simla Agreement and Tashkent Declaration are not entirely similar. Simla is a progress on Tashkent. At Tashkent, both Ayub and Shastri agreed to resume and reactivate diplomatic, trade and cultural relations, repatriate PoWs, stop mutually hostile propaganda and base relations on the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of each other. Both parties reaffirmed their obligation not to have recourse to force and exert effort to create good relations in accordance with the UN Charter. It was against "this background that Jammu and Kashmir was discussed and each of the sides put forth its respective position". In deference to the Indian position that Jammu and Kashmir are not disputed territories, the Declaration avoided using the word dispute, although it is this very territory over which both had gone to war. Not lacking in profoundness, yet Tashkent was not an 'agreement' it was a 'declaration'.

It was after Tashkent that the simmering resentment against Ayub Khan's dictatorship came to boil leading to his abdication in favour of Yahya Khan and his Martial Law. It is during this period that one finds Mr. Bhutto and Sheikh Mujib achieving emergence on the Pakistani scene: one in West Pakistan on anti-Tashkent and anti-Indian plank and the other in East Pakistan on an autonomy platform. In the national elections that followed in December 1971 both emerged as the majority leaders in each Wing. Since two swords cannot be accommodated in one sheath, Pakistan had but to split itself. The principal responsibility for this break-up certainly lies on the shoulders of the Pakistani politicians and her civil and military leaders, or, to be precise and objective, the ambitious and the selfish, and the stupid amongst them. But India's own role of interference, hostility and aggression during

the post-Tashkent period cannot escape without being noted. Undeniably, it was India's violation of the Tashkent Declaration, that set the stage for the Simla summit.

The Simla agreement embodies the resolve of 'the two countries to put an end to conflict and confrontation' and three successive clauses are given to emphasize 'peaceful means' and 'peaceful co-existence'. Again two clauses speak of, without any irony of course, the agreement to 'respect each other's national unity, territorial integrity, political independence and sovereign equality.' Once again, mutually hostile propaganda is to be stopped, and the two governments agree that their relations shall be governed by the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations and all differences settled peacefully through bilateral negotiations.

The relations are to be normalised step by step through resumption of communications, travel, trade and economic co-operation and exchanges in the fields of science and culture.

In order to initiate the process of the establishment of durable peace each side shall withdraw its forces to his side of the international border within 30 days of 'entry into force' of the agreement. The agreement will 'come into force' from the date on which the instruments of ratification are exchanged. 'In Jammu and Kashmir, the line of control resulting from the ceasefire of December 17, 1971 shall be respected by both sides without prejudice to the recognised position of either side'. Both Mrs. Gandhi and President Bhutto will meet again at a mutually convenient time, and in the meanwhile, representatives of the two sides will meet to discuss modalities for the establishment of durable peace and normalisation of relations including the *questions of repatriation of prisoners of wars and civilian internees, a final settlement of Jammu and Kashmir and the resumption of diplomatic relations.*

Despite its long-windedness and cunning, the import of the agreement, is pretty clear. The area affected vitally by the agreement is Jammu and Kashmir. More than 85 per cent of the population of the territory is Muslim and both India and the UN are committed to hold a plebiscite to determine its future. But by agreeing to respect the present line of control and to bilateral settlement of the issues not in accordance with the already agreed-to resolutions of the Security Council, not even the UN Charter itself but in accordance with *the principles and*

purposes of the Charter, Pakistan has practically washed her hands of Kashmir. What has been left to be settled is not the modality of a plebiscite to determine the wishes of the Kashmiri people, but a final settlement of the ceasefire line. India now holds 200 square miles on the Pakistan side of the ceasefire line and Pakistan controls 50 square miles in the Chamb sector.

The withdrawal of Indian troops from areas occupied in (West) Pakistan and discussion on the questions of repatriation (questions of, not actual repatriation) of the PoWs shall commence only 'upon the entry into force of the agreement' which is not the same as *coming into force*. In other words, no matter how humiliating and distasteful it may be, Pakistan's National Assembly was left more or less optionless in the matter of ratifying the agreement. After Pakistan's ratification, India's commitment in respect of the PoWs is no more than to start discussing the *questions of repatriation*. India retains PoWs to bargain over whatever is left of Kashmir and newer issues.

Mr. Bhutto was unable also to move Mrs. Gandhi from her stand that the Pakistani forces had surrendered to a joint Indian-Bangladesh Command and as such their release cannot be discussed except with the Bangladesh government. The agreement is silent on the question of the trial of the PoWs. Obviously some understanding outside the written agreement has been arrived at, and in this respect a Dacca report that while Sheikh Mujib is determined to go ahead with the trials, Mr. Bhutto is thought likely to hand over Gen Niazi and other top generals if Bangladesh agreed to try only a small number of officers, is not without significance.

Much had been made earlier, of India wanting to impose a package deal and Pakistan insisting on a step by step approach. However, the package also includes recognition of Bangladesh (not on its own merits but as a deal with India) and each step in the agreement is so designed as to make Pakistan surrender all her options before India can even start to consider her obligations.

Towards the end of the same press conference some one reminded Mr. Bhutto of his earlier statement that an unequal treaty imposed on one side would not work. Was India trying to impose an unequal treaty, he was asked? President Bhutto replied; 'I did not say that. Every country tries to derive advantage.'

Survey IDEOLOGY OF DEVELOPMENT • METHODIST CHURCH

Indonesian Development

At present Indonesia has a per capita income of US \$80 per year (one of the lowest in the world) but it is estimated that the majority cannot get more than \$25—\$30 annually. Unemployment or underemployment is roughly 30% i.e. almost one in every three Indonesians is unemployed or underemployed. The present population of 124 millions is estimated to reach about 200 million by 1991. This is thought likely to give rise to further unemployment, increase the drift to the cities and make for the establishment of disaffected shanty towns in the major cities. In the next decade or so there will be about a 31% increase in the male population of working age (15 to 64 years).

On the face of it, many would think that Indonesia has progressed well since Sukarno. The life of the cities with the number of new cars on the roads as well as new night clubs and massage parlours (which have been an object of protest by some Indonesians) bespeaks a certain affluence. But the wealth is concentrated in the hands of a minority, mainly businessmen of Chinese origin. Though a number of these lucrative enterprises have senior military officers as frontmen. This may make the task of those calling for a distribution of shares in companies to indigenous Indonesians very much difficult. The corruption is most evident in the two sectors—oil and forestry—which are the most important in providing Indonesia with export earnings.

It is well that President Suharto himself has come out clearly in favour of a juster distribution of wealth in Indonesia. His government with the strong presence of the army within it has increasingly opened itself to the charge of laying Indonesia bare for the big-time developers of the neo-imperialist capitalist world which in this case includes America, Australia and Japan.

Recently President Suharto, in an address to the Indonesian Engineers and Architects Association, said that economic development would be meaningless if the mass of the population did not feel its effects. Later he said that if "only national production grew, without social justice, it would mean digging a ravine of social injustice which would become deeper and wider". This could lead to some type of "social revolution," he said.

In spite of all this, economic development will be the main aim in the next five years development plan which begins in 1974-5, and according to Professor Sadli who is head of the Investment Board as well as Manpower Minister, social development would only be given priority under "certain popular demands and (as) part of an economic project." Is Indonesia then set for social revolution?

Methodism—Problem of staying modern

The Methodist Conference which met at the beginning of this month at Nottingham dealt with many important matters within the Methodist Church and also with matters affecting other sects and denominations. The statistical returns which were presented to the conference showed a decline in Church membership over the past three years of 50,000. The decline was put down to the fact that many people were no longer prepared to subscribe to membership of a church which carried with it acceptance of a number of credal statements. There was widespread and increasing doubt about many of these statements and in order for a recovery to take place the Methodist Church should focus its attention on the moral and ethical principles of the Christian faith. The Methodist catechism, which was out of date, should be reconsidered. However, the Chairman of the Church membership committee tried to show that the position was not as bad as appeared. There was a membership of 600,000 and 120,000 children had been baptized. Thus, if 50,000 wickets were down, 600,000 were still batting and there were 120,000 at the nursery end.

The Conference, which is the Church's supreme authority, took the serious step to relax its total opposition to alcoholic drinks. The Methodist Church in many quarters has been most noted for its abstinence policy and the new decision would be viewed with great misgivings. The decision was that colleges and other residential premises should be exempted from the ban on the supply, sale and use of alcoholic drinks and the ban should be confined to churches and ancillary premises. Part of the woolliness which has prompted the new step was evident when the secretary of the Church's Christian Citizenship Committee said: "It ought to be possible for the abstainer and the temperate calmly and openly to discuss their different understandings of their calling as Christians on this issue. All too often this has become impossible because the abstainer is regarded as an antidiluvian bigot and the temperate as a disloyal libertarian—the one a burdensome liability and the other a second-class Christian." The Conference, however, accepted that total abstinence should retain an important place in Methodist teaching.

At the Conference, the former Bishop of Woolwich Dr. John Robinson, speaking on law in relation to sex argued in favour of lowering the age of consent to 14 "so that no one having intercourse with a person above that age should automatically be committing a criminal offence." His statement that "the legal age for marriage

clearly ought to be higher than that at which sexual relationships were first permitted" meant in effect that premarital sex was all right. The statement perhaps illustrates some of the difficulties and even absurdities of trying to "put new wine into old bottles."

The conference accepted the recommendations of the Christian citizenship department that Methodist investment in companies with South African interests should be looked into so that the Church can campaign for more just policies for coloured workers. Official Church representatives will attend shareholders' meetings of selected companies to ask questions about policies in South Africa.

In relation to unity with the Church of England which so far has rejected Methodist approaches the Conference adopted a resolution which says that the Methodist Church "look hopefully towards the possibility of a broad-based union of Churches in England" and that the Church is "open to suggestions about how this could be achieved."

The conference gave consideration to a report which said: "To give permission to non-Christian communities, as an expression of Christian love, and the desire to improve community relations, to hold worship in Methodist premises, does not of itself imply any denial of the uniqueness and finality of Christ or any judgment on the truth of other religions."

The Conference decided against the allowing of such use of Methodist premises on the grounds that the buildings would be used and seen fit to be used for purposes other than that for which they were dedicated. No dialogue between these other faiths had yet been established and moreover, non-Christian worship in chapels would undermine the status of missionary work.

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Survey

● BANGLADESH BUDGET ● ALIGARH UNIVERSITY

Bangladesh Budget

The first budget of Bangladesh was presented on 30 June by the Finance Minister Tajuddin Ahmed. The Development Plan outlined in the budget gives top priority to agriculture with a view to attaining self-sufficiency in food supplies within the shortest possible time and to revitalising the rural economy. Second in the allocation of funds comes education with defence following closely behind.

The major source of revenue is custom and excise duties. However, more than 72 per cent of the Development budget (Taka 5,172 million; Taka 19 = £1) is expected to be met through foreign aid, 56 per cent of which has already been committed. Mr. Tajuddin said that this aid was being accepted from various sources without any strings attached. "We would starve if necessary, but would not accept loan with strings," he emphasised.

One of the overall aims of the budget is to narrow the gap between lower and higher income groups and so help in laying the foundations of a socialist society. Some of the significant items which stand out in the budget are the abolition of duty on fertilisers and baby foods. There have been reductions in the import duty on low lift pumps, cotton yarn and cotton fabrics. This reducing of protection for the textile industry might be seen as a big blow to the industry which has flourished in the country.

The textile industry has been under great uncertainty recently. Prior to the budget about 200 industries, including some textile ones, were to be "de-invested". The Adamjee Mills, one of the 200, but the biggest in Asia and the most modern in the world, valued at several million rupees, was offered for sale—"de-investment"—about two months ago to the Sahu-Jain group of India for 1.5m Taka, which was reduced to 1.1m. This was refused by the Calcutta group whose bid was only Tk. 0.8m.

Aligarh University — a question of character

In the Indian elections of 1971, Muslims voted en-masse for Mrs. Gandhi's Congress who made a categorical promise about Muslim cultural and economic rights and restoring the minority character of Aligarh Muslim University which had been eroded systematically since independence (*Impact*, 22 Oct-Nov. 1971). While Muslims hopefully expected the pledge to be honoured, on June 2, the Indian Parliament passed the Aligarh Muslim University (Amendment) Bill which does nothing of the sort. The rules

require a week's notice for the introduction of a bill but this was waived and the Bill rushed through despite protest by Muslims and other opposition leaders.

The Bill restores the residential status of the University and the name 'Aligarh Muslim University' is retained, but that is the only place where the word 'Muslim' appears in the whole Bill. And that is all.

The control of the University passes from the hands of the University Court—an elected body—to the Executive Council which would consist of a majority of University teachers i.e. University employees. Nowhere in the Bill or otherwise, it is assured that the majority of the students and staff at the University will be Muslims. The employee Executive Council will submit a panel of names to the Indian President who is designated Visitor to the University. The Visitor will then appoint one as the Vice Chancellor. To summarise: the Visitor appoints the Vice Chancellor who employs the staff who form the Executive Council which submits a panel of names for the Visitor to choose the Vice Chancellor. The University Court (total members 104, 64 internal and 40 external members), a body elected by the Muslim community will be there to deliberate but without any executive or financial control. One obvious long term effect of this denial of participation and democratic control is the likely slackening of financial support from the Muslim Community making the University preponderantly dependent on government grant and lead to an eventual 'integration' without any more qualms or agitation. The Muslim argument so far has been that it is they who had established the University and it is they who mainly found it.

Article 30 (1) and (2) of the Indian Constitution lays down: "All minorities whether based on religion or language shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice.

"State shall not in granting aid to educational institutions discriminate against educational institutions on ground that it is under the management of a minority, whether based on religion or language".

The Baig Committee appointed in 1968 by Mrs. Gandhi had *unanimously* recommended that a clause to the effect that "Notwithstanding any judgement, decree or order of any Court or Tribunal to the contrary, the Aligarh Muslim University shall be deemed to have been established by the Muslim minority of India as an educational institution of their choice", be incorporated in future legislation. Earlier in 1961, another official committee, Chatterji Committee, had upheld the view that the institution was established by private charity, namely by the contribution of the Muslim minority and that the

appearance of its name on the Federal list "does not, in any view of the law, change its character as a minority institution". Mrs. Gandhi rejected the demand to declare the University, a minority institution and said Aligarh is a national institution.

Despite all this it is claimed that Aligarh will remain an important centre of Islamic studies—ostensibly in the sense that Harvard and Cambridge are Islamic centres. The Education Minister, Dr. Nurul Hasan, a Muslim and a card carrying ex-communist who piloted the Bill said the object really was to strengthen the 'progressive' as against the 'obscurantist' elements in the University.

This unfolds the game but only a minor part of it. The 'progressives' amongst Muslims may have their own altruistic ends to pursue, but Mrs. Gandhi after having out-progressed the various communist factions in India now needs to out-smart the Jansangh and woo the 'Hindu' vote. Besides the much desired continuity and stability, this may also save her the awkwardness of leaning on the Muslim vote and making awkward promises.

So while the Indian Muslims are worried and agitated over the character of the Aligarh Muslim University, the more important thing to be concerned about is the character of Indian politics and Indian leadership.

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INDEPENDENT MUSLIM VIEWPOINT ON CURRENT AFFAIRS

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MUSLIMS IN INDIA

“If democracy meant freedom and dissent, then Muslims should be as much free to exercise that right . . .”

Dr. M. A. J. Faridi speaking to *IMPACT*

In 1947, when India and Pakistan achieved freedom, Dr. Mohammad Abdul Jalil Faridi was not in politics; he was practising medicine in Lucknow. Perhaps politics did not need him; there were already enough on the political bandwagon.

To Muslims in India, the vast majority of them, the Pakistan dream had come to mean a panacea. It was going to be an Islamic homeland and not only the subcontinent, the whole world was going to be a better place, automatically. The All India Muslim League, to which they had so passionately clung to, and which had now become Pakistan's ruling party was not sure as to its role in an independent and preponderantly Hindu India. Jinnah vaguely felt that Muslims may cease to be Muslims and Hindus cease to be Hindus in the political sense. Abul Kalam Azad, one of the very few leading Muslims who opposed Pakistan, held high hopes of Indian secularism. He had been the President of the Indian National Congress, senior in Politics to Nehru, and then a Minister of Education. He advised the Muslim Leaguers to dissolve the League. Their rights, he assured were safe. Azad persuaded the pro-Congress Jamiat-ul-ulema to renounce politics and function purely as a social organisation. The Muslim League in India was, however, not formally disbanded (the Indian Union Muslim League still continues to function in South India), it was simply abandoned by its leadership. Many withdrew from politics, some literally fled to Pakistan, others joined the Indian National Congress and became nationalists overnight. Indian Muslims had achieved a singular unity under the Muslim League and now all of a sudden they found themselves in a state of total chaos and disorganisation.

Soon after independence, the socialist block in the Congress got disenchanted with Nehru's aristocratic socialism, and formed the Praja Socialist Party—the People's Socialist Party. The Praja Socialists appeared genuinely secular and socialist and Dr. Faridi felt this pointed the way to India's multi-cultural and multi-religious polity. He joined the PSP. Did the experience work?

“For 12 years I was the leader of the PSP in the State Assembly in UP. Whenever I said anything about the problems faced by Muslims, the whole Party backed me, but they had no power, they had power only to abuse the government. But the day PSP came to power in the SVD coalition no one bothered about those problems. So I left the Praja Socialist Party. I told them that whenever a question came up which affected Muslims and you are in a position to help, you don't, because you fear you may lose Hindu votes. They would say, in private, Faridi you are quite right. We will try to rectify this and do that, but at the back of their mind was the Hindu majority which they dare not displease.

On coming out of the Praja Socialist Party, Dr. Faridi organised the Muslim Majlis which is active in the North Indian State of Uttar Pradesh. With the experience of the All India Muslim League being so fresh, it is perhaps too much to expect the Indian Muslims reaching just yet for a national organisation. Having lived in isolation and disorganisation for a quarter of a century, it would need a great deal of togetherness and self-sacrifice, on the part of the provincial leaders and organisations to unite into a single organisation. At present, a co-ordinating and consultative platform is provided by the All India Muslim Majlis-e-Mushawarat (All India Muslim Consultative Council) which consists of the Muslim League, Muslim Majlis, Jamaat-e-Islami, Jamiat-ul-ulema etc. Dr. Faridi is the Secretary of this Consultative Council.

Still, there are a number of Muslims in the now splintered socialist party, in both the ruling and the opposition Congress and the various Communist factions. So why do Muslims insist on having separate organisations of their own?

“Firstly, as you have my own experience, this has not worked. The truly nationalist among the Muslims have always been defeated by the majority communalism . . . One State Minister came to me after his defeat in 1967 and said 'believe me Faridi, the Muslim legislators in our Party never present their case with such vehemence and conviction as you do'.

“He was right, the problem is that if they do that they are labelled as Communalists and would not be given a party ticket next time. When the Aligarh Muslim University bill was being discussed in the Congress Assembly Party, someone mentioned Muslim rights etc., Mrs. Gandhi remarked: ‘we do not talk about communal matters, here’.

“About three months back there was a very nice editorial in *Hindustan Times*. It was the main editorial and it said that now that Congress has won by such a big majority and this victory is entirely due to a solid Muslim support it is time that the promises made to them are fulfilled, but at the same time it advised the Muslims to give up pressure tactics. I wrote to Verghese, the editor and he was kind enough to publish it. But suppose, I wrote, despite her promises and in spite of your advice, Mrs. Gandhi does not fulfil her promise would you suggest an alternative? You ask us to give up our organisation and merge within the national stream. We are prepared to do that, but when they do not give us our rights, what are we to do except to exercise our democratic rights?

“How can you face organised opposition, even deep-seated hostility, from a position of disorganisation or disunity. In India, the Sikhs have got the Akali Dal. DMK represents non-Brahmins in the South. You have Christian parties also in South India. So why take exception to Muslims organising themselves for their constitutional rights? Naturally Mrs. Gandhi did not regard Muslim League as communal when she made an alliance with it in Kerala. So like others we too want to retain our identity as Muslims, our heritage, our values, our language and our mode of life.

But India is a secular State?

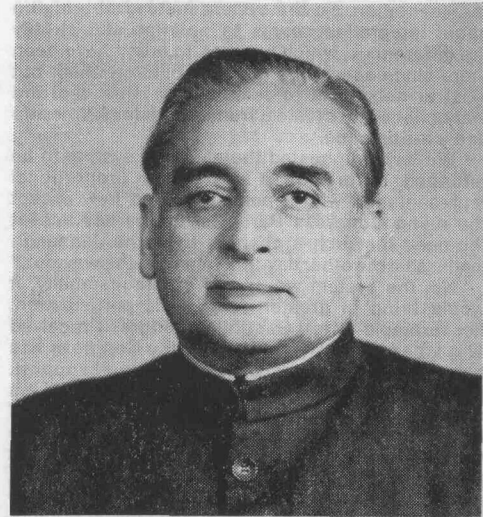
“Yes, but secular does not mean anti-religion. It is secular in the sense that the State has no religion. It does not mean that its citizens should cease to have any religion. No one claims that. In my view, only a government can be secular, an individual cannot be secular. You cannot expect Faridi to be secular. He can be an atheist, but he can't be secular; it would not mean anything. Governments are based on ideology which can be secular or non-secular but to say that in a secular State, the Hindus, the Muslims, the Christians, the Parsis cannot live as their religion asks them to live is ridiculous. Even our constitution and our leaders do not attribute such a meaning to secularism, that all these religions should be abolished.”

What they say simply means that one can be a Hindu, a Muslim or a Christian in his private life, they don't mind it. But why bring it in politics, why bring it in education?

“You forget that in India we have a unique problem which does not exist anywhere else in the world. I mean the caste system . . .”

That has been abolished?

“Yes, but the untouchables are there, the backward classes are there, as far as the social and



Dr M. A. J. Faridi

economic realities are concerned. No one denies that nepotism exists in India, so a Kayasth would favour a Kayasth, a Brahmin would favour a Brahmin and so on and believe it or not even now the presidents and secretaries of all political parties are Brahmins. Whether it is Communist, or Communist-Marxist or Jansangh or Congress or BKD, it is either Madholimaya or Joshi or Dange or Namboodripad or Mrs. Indira Gandhi, or Sharma, they all are Brahmins.

“The Upper-castes—Brahmins, Chatri and Vaishya constitute no more than 5 per cent of the total Indian population, but they hold 90 per cent of wealth and command total political power. This has been so since hundreds of years. Even during the Muslim rule, the executive power was held by the Brahmins and the Rajputs; they were ministers and army commanders. Mr. Shyam Sundar, a sheduled-caste leader said that we never had Islamic rule in India. Had it been so there would have been no untouchables, they would have achieved liberation. We have stayed untouchable, he said, because Muslims did not behave as Muslims. That is the greatest blot on Muslim history in India. Secularism in India, has, therefore, much to do with the caste system and not because there are Muslims etc. in the country. There is no other way of proclaiming legal equality between the various castes, sub-castes etc.”

Indian secularism is now 25 years old and how does it sum up? Is Communalism on the way out? Has there emerged something like one Indian nation?

“I think the problem is not truly religious. Much of it arises from the caste-orientation of the Indian society, our electoral system, and the system of education.

“In India, we have elections of one kind or another going on all through the year, village councils, municipalities, State and Central Assemblies, bye-elections, mid-term elections and so on. All these elections are held on the basis of a simple majority vote. In this situation every caste or religious group tries to send its own candidate. Since there are not many constituencies where a

Muslims in India interview with Dr. Faridi

caste or a group has an over-whelming majority this leads to tensions and violent conflicts. Thus the system keeps one reminding that he belongs to this caste or that, and once elected a candidate tries to see that his caste is rewarded, so that he may be re-elected.

"The representation is democratic only in the sense that it has been achieved through a majority vote but it is essentially caste-oriented. Those who fail to win, develop a definite feeling of non-representation. So the system instead of bringing about integration serves to polarise and stratify the differences, which one has to admit have been there since ages. One cannot obliterate them but what is needed is to remove the injustices and inequalities and create a frame-work for fellowship and co-existence.

"We have suggested the electoral system to be reformed to provide a system of proportional representation with a party list. And now except the ruling Congress Party, all the parties accept the need for such a change. Even the Jansangh leader said the other day that this was the way out."

"No, the system would not create instability, it would bring in greater democratic participation. For example Mrs. Gandhi's Congress received 42% votes but 72% seats. In UP the Congress has been ruling with only 36 per cent electoral support. Is it a democratic situation? A person lost his security deposit, that is he got less than 1/6th of the votes polled, but still won the election. There were 13 candidates and the votes split up in that fashion. Such instances are many.

"Now comes in Communalism. The *Hindustan Times*, commented that Faridi has started preaching communal representation, but it has nothing to do with that. Here in a multi-member constituency you submit a list and ask people to vote for the whole list, i.e., for the party and not for the individual. How can this be communalism. The system is prevalent in 35 countries, it is mostly the Commonwealth countries which have a single majority system. The failure of the single majority system in India can also be seen in the number of election petitions, legal disputes and violent clashes that come up after every election. So, far from being communal, proportional representation would in fact promote a true national integration."

Meanwhile, what do you propose to do about the never-ending cycle of anti-Muslim riots or communal riots, as you call them?

"Yes, it is a serious problem and we have made some suggestions to the government. A good development has been that whenever there is a riot we investigate. We send our Assembly members and workers including people from the Hindu community. Only last month there was a riot in Azamgarh. Our people were at the scene when the whole thing was fresh. They go to police, see people who may possibly be in prison, estimate damage to life and property, meet the persons affected and try to pin-point the real cause of the trouble. This makes it difficult for things to be swept under the carpet. Within a week or so a factual and objective report is available. These reports are published, at least in UP, and sometimes the government would receive our report earlier than from its own authorities. It does have an effect, at least in pinching some conscience. In Azamgarh, for instance, it were not the Hindus who had rioted against the Muslims, it was the police, and the authorities wanted to give it a communal colour. We cannot do more, but this helps to reassure the Muslims that they are not entirely neglected and helpless."

Yet looking at statistics one finds that the number of anti-Muslim riots has not shown a downward trend?

"Yes it may be so, but still we did not have a repetition of the scale of Ahmadabad and Jabalpur. The local authorities should at least know that as soon as there is a riot in a town, the local magistrates and police officers would be transferred or suspended from service. This is not

being done. Sometimes those who have been guilty or inefficient, instead of being punished, have been promoted.

"The problem of riots is closely linked with the question of Muslim representation in the services particularly in the police and the executive services. If a district also has Muslim officers, riots will not take place. So far riots have taken place mainly in those areas where there are no Muslim officers either in the police or in the executive. In such a situation, Muslims find it difficult even to lodge a complaint or have their case registered.

"Our problem is economic too, of employment, of jobs, of opportunities in trade and industry, in business and professions . . ."

But in a situation of underdevelopment which is there in India, it is not Muslims alone who suffer from economic deprivation. Others too . . .

"We are receiving far more than our share in deprivation. True our deprivation is not exclusive but it is of a special kind."

The Constitution guarantees equal opportunities to all and it could simply be that they are not suitable and they are not taken?

"Do you mean to say that they are not even physically fit for the job of a police constable where all you want is 32-inch chest and two inch expansion? Muslim representation in the police is about 4 per cent. But even if we accept that, the problem still remains there.

"I told the Prime Minister that if a mother comes to me and says that my youngest son has reached secondary stage while the eldest is still in primary school, so there must be something wrong with the eldest one. Doctor, can you find the reason, can you do something?—So it is not enough to say that they are not fit. Last month, the result of Indian Administrative Service examinations was announced and there were only two Muslims in the whole lot. This represents the situation. Before independence Muslim competed well and had a reasonable representation, so what has happened now?

"If one part of the society remain backward there must be something seriously wrong somewhere, possibly with the society. You simply cannot ignore that. May be they are not coming in the services because not many are taking part in the competitive examinations. Firstly because many did not have an equal educational opportunity and secondly those who had, felt that no matter how hard they tried they were not likely to be taken. So you have a vicious circle which starts with school education.

"I told the Prime Minister to appoint a Commission which should investigate why Muslims continue to suffer under representation in education, in services and in economic and social institutions. I said if the government could appoint a Commission to inquire into the grievances of the Hindu minority in Kashmir or the Telegus in Andhra, why can't this be done for the Muslims in India?

"This brings me to education. The Muslim University at Aligarh* was created by the Muslims, through funds raised largely from among themselves in order to preserve and promote their culture and their values. This is not communal, this is what our Constitution guarantees and Mrs. Gandhi's election manifesto promised to restore. Muslims have a right to run and guide its affairs. We don't exclude Hindus. There have always been Hindu students and staff in the University. But it is the question of character and control which in fact has been taken away. India is a democratic State, but the affairs of the University are proposed to be run by a nominated Vice-Chancellor. I understand that a bill has been introduced in the Parliament in New Delhi. I do not know what it contains but I hope Mrs. Gandhi would see to it that her election pledge to Muslims is fulfilled.

"In pre-university education, the problem mainly revolves around the position of the Urdu language and the textbooks. The problem, I

suppose, is generally more acute in the North than in the South. Urdu is not an exclusive Muslim language, though as far as Muslims are concerned, in the subcontinent Urdu has become the repository of their culture, their traditions and their religion. But in spite of a constitutional guarantee, Urdu has been virtually pushed out as far as the official agencies are concerned. At the primary level, facilities for its teaching are promised but denied. At the secondary level, one has the right to study and write his answers in his mother tongue, provided he applies for and obtains a prior permission from the education board. By the time such permission would arrive half the term would be over.

"The position with regard to textbooks is all the more unfortunate. Muslim children are made to study Hindu mythology and their own religion and their heroes are devalued. One history book spoke about a Muslim King, who it said oppressed the Hindus and that was the reason for the hostility between Hindus and Muslims. I mentioned this in a meeting of the National Integration Council. Mr. Malkani, editor of the Jansangh weekly, *Organiser*, said, how can you stop teaching history. I said, firstly this is not correct history but my point relates to this being advanced to justify a continuation of enmity. Everyone agreed, but then education is a State subject and unless the State governments see their constitutional obligations, things would continue in the present fashion. We have lost our two generations to this system of education. We say, this is fraught with danger not for the Muslims alone, but also for our society as a whole."

There is an impression that there is nothing like a Muslim problem, Muslims themselves are a problem?

"Well, one may put it as he likes but, if our desire to stay as a Muslim is a problem then what can one say to that."

No it relates more to their attitude to problems outside India, the Arab-Israeli conflict, Jerusalem, Pakistan, Bangladesh and by implication their loyalty to India?

"Let me take this question of loyalty first. Do you know that in the three wars we had (two with Pakistan), Muslims were in the forefront. One can refer to the number of awards and references won by them. This is in spite of the fact that they do not enjoy adequate representation in the armed forces. One cannot cite a single Muslim who has spied against India; they have come from the majority community, even from the rank of the Congress party. As for our spiritual relationship with the Muslim world, it is natural and principled. It was so even under the British rule. The Roman Catholics go to Vatican and Budhists from all over the world come to Gaya in India. Is there anything wrong about it?

"The division of the subcontinent has also split families. So many families are divided between the two countries and whatever relationship is there, is only a family relationship. That too is erratic and restricted. On political issues, Muslim attitudes have never been counter to India's national interests. Take the Bangladesh issue for example. Some saw it as being in conflict with India's avowed policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of another State. They felt it was against India's own and long-term interests, while others enthusiastically joined the liberation cause. None supported the misconduct of the Pakistani rulers. If democracy meant freedom and dissent, Muslims should be as much free to exercise that right as those who advocate alliance or opposition to one or the other super power."

What of the future?

"Challenging no doubt, but it is promising. It is not so dark . . ."

You say not so dark . . . ?

"Many people think that there is no future for Muslims in India, but I think they only have to assert their destiny. That is, if they assert, the key word is *if not so*."

*See "Aligarh, a question of Character" page 4.

SOUTH AFRICA

A dreadful pattern in terror and tyranny

FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

On 22 October 1971, Ahmad Timol and Mohammad Salim Essop were arrested at Witwatersrand University under the Terrorism Act and also under the Suppression of Communism Act. Next day 10 Indian men and three Indian women were arrested and these included two of Salim Essop's sisters—Fatima and Hajira Essop. The others were Mrs. Amina Desai, Amin Saloojee, Yunus Patel, Ebrahim Aboo, Kantil Naik, Dennis Naik, Indhrasen Moodley and Edward Sebastian.

On 27 October 1971 Ahmed Timol's mother went to see the police in Johannesburg. The conversation which was reported was as follows:

Timol's mother: When can I see my son?

Police: You won't see your son again.

Mother: Why won't I see him?

Police: He needs a hiding.

Mother: I've never hurt my son, so you must not hurt him.

Police: Because you didn't hurt him, we will.

On the same day of this conversation Ahmad Timol fell to his death from the tenth floor of police headquarters in Johannesburg. This conversation, said Lt. Col. Willem Van Wyk of the Johannesburg Security Police, the interrogator of Ahmad Timol, at the beginning of the inquest, could not be true because the police officer who saw Mrs. Timol was a high ranking officer and high-ranking officers don't make statements like that.

The building from which Ahmad Timol fell, the John Foster Police Station was opened in 1967 and the press was allowed in. The photographs taken at that time showed the security police section with grilled windows and steel doors. When asked to comment on this Lt. Col. Van Wyk stated, "That was four years ago"; but would not comment further.

The inquest on Ahmad's death was concluded on 22 June 1972. The magistrate Mr J. J. L. de Villiers in giving his findings, said that it was ridiculous to suggest that the 30-year old teacher had been murdered or had fallen accidentally. He had without doubt committed suicide. He had not been tortured before death or assaulted. The counsel for the Timol family, however, described the police evidence as a "white-washing expedition". He said that the independent pathologist representing the Timol family, and the State pathologist had largely agreed that bruises found on Timol's body had been caused five or six days before his death—at about the time of his arrest. The magistrate suggested that Timol might have received his wounds in a brawl prior to being arrested.

According to evidence presented by the police, Timol headed the main unit of the illegal Communist Party in South Africa. The police suggested that it was a practice

of Communists to commit suicide if they were detained rather than disclose information. Close friends of Timol deny strongly that Timol was a Communist. They say that he might have been a sympathiser with the African National Congress but he was definitely not a Communist. His faith being a Muslim in fact made him a strong anti-Communist. Friends describe him as a devout Muslim and therefore someone who would not commit suicide however difficult the circumstances were.

On the allegation that Timol was a Communist, Magistrate de Villiers said that Timol was a valuable person for the security police and his death was a terrible loss to the police.

Earlier on in the inquest, three persons were said to have been involved with Ahmad Timol: Quentin Jacobson, Henry Jacobson and Martin Cohen. Quentin was supposed to be involved with Ahmad to further the interests of the South African Communist Party and the Africa National Congress. Henry was named in the case and Martin Cohen was held in detention as a witness. In April 1972, however, Quentin Jacobson, a British citizen, was acquitted of terrorist charges and all three are now free. The magistrate had said that Mr. Timol's motivation for suicide was fear because he had been shocked to learn that "the identity and whereabouts had been established of people known previously as Quentin, Henry and Martin." If this fear was genuine, then the three persons named would never have been freed by the police. The two Jacobsons and Cohen are now outside South Africa and are allowed to return. This latter fact points undoubtedly to a degree of infiltration which does credit to the government's security network but which does not enhance its credibility.

When Ahmad Timol died a service in memoriam was held in St. Paul's Cathedral. An indignant friend of Timol remarked: "He could not be a Christian. What's a Christian service for?" In calmer mood he suggested that the Church organises services on these occasions (a similar service was organised at St. Paul's when Imam Haron was killed while in police custody in Cape Town) so that some of the support and glamour of the Liberation Movements would rub off on them in the eyes of the Third World. But it was all hypocrisy. None of the Churches—from the Dutch Reform Church to the apparently more liberal Protestant ones—accepts majority rule in South Africa. Some might be anti-apartheid but only in respect of small things like allowing everybody to sit on any park bench. In fact, the churches are very worried about anti-Christian feelings among Africans

because these latter tended to identify Christianity with the white man.

Meanwhile the trial is going on of Mohamed Salim Essop (22), a student who was arrested with Timol, Youssef Hassan Essack (21), Indhrasen Moodley (27), and Mrs. Amina Desai (51). They are accused under the Terrorism Act of endangering the maintenance of law and order. The main count against them alleges conspiracy to promote the policies of the ANC and the banned South African Communist Party.

After being arrested on 22 October last, Mohammed Salim Essop was taken to Johannesburg General Hospital on 26 October. Next day his father, Ismail Essop, heard that his son was in a serious condition and had been moved 40 miles to the H. F. Verwoerd Hospital in Pretoria. When he went there the matron denied that Mohammed Essop was in hospital and prohibited the father from entering any ward. He, however, managed to catch a glimpse of his son through a door and saw blood and bandages on his head. On application, a magistrate, Justice Margo ordered the police not to assault Mohammed Essop while under detention. Under the Terrorism Act, however, the police are not answerable to the magistrate and no member of the family or the family doctor is permitted to visit or communicate with Mohammed Essop. This is the situation to date.

On 24 October, Mohammed Timol, the brother of Ahmad, was arrested and held incommunicado, with no charges preferred against him, until 14 March 1972 when he was released—again without any explanation.

"South Africa," one journalist noted, "illustrates to perfection the truth that a police force equipped with powers at once arbitrary, total and unquestionable will—will, not may—abuse those powers, and the South African Government, in whose image such police are created, will defend them at all costs."

Ahmad Timol was at least the twentieth person to die while in police custody over the last ten years in South Africa. The circumstances under which they die point to a dreadful pattern, a pattern of men without any rights at all, being detained in circumstances which cannot be questioned or appealed against, and dying in circumstances which can only indict the police and the government.

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INTER-FAITH DIALOGUE IN EDUCATION

Understanding other cultures from the inside out

T. R. YOUNG

It seems to have become fashionable recently to suggest that one of the real polarisations in philosophy is between those who retain faith in a supra-personal God, and those who have found it possible to dispense with such a belief. On this hypothesis all the believers are on one side of the fence, and all the non-believers on the other. It is assumed that any man who believes in God, whether he calls him Allah, Ha-Shem, Atma, Christ or by any other quasi-personal name will have a lot in common with all his fellow-believers, and that what such believers have in common will enable them to work together and testify for the existence of God, whatever he may be called, in the face of an apathetic or hostile world. This is a noble vision, and one which should not lightly be discarded. It had its advocates in the nineteenth century; today it inspires those men of goodwill who devise inter-faith celebrations and other declarations of the inadequacy of the purely material to satisfy man's hunger for the good life.

But, is the situation really quite as simple as this? If we look at the other side of the fence, what tie is there between a lapsed Catholic, a non-practising Jew, a disillusioned Moslem, and a failed Hindu? Each may believe that he has emancipated himself completely from the symbols and the claims of the faith in which he was reared, but have they in any sense come closer together as men? It may be, of course, that all four have become Rosicrucians, or Communists, or members of the National Secular Society, but in this case all they have done is to accept another set of symbols. If they have remained as atheists they will be four distinct sorts of atheist. One is reminded of the fellow of a Scots University who protested violently at the appointment of a Catholic professor. To his friends who said that this should not weigh with him since he had long abandoned his own faith he returned the irate answer "Aye, an atheist I call masel", but ye maun ken I'm a Presbyterian atheist".

It is my own feeling that we have to investigate the culture-contact of different religious traditions at two levels, and by using that sociological term I have anticipated my answer. Clearly we have to develop a criterion for assessing the difference between religions at the theological level, using the language appropriate for that exercise. But equally importantly we must realise that it is real people who practise these traditions, and each separate tradition will have developed its own life-style, which in substantial measure it treasures as enshrining and perpetrating its own identity, of which its religion is only a part, however important a part. For in developing this identity there will have been a two-way traffic between religious thoughts and social life, each reinforcing the other. And the more theocentric the natural genius of the people, the deeper will be the mark of religious belief on the disparate life-styles developed. This I feel to be of the first importance, because while the real theologians of each faith may be able to meet in a civilised atmosphere of discussion, the primary culture-conflict in Bradford or Southall will be between relatively unlettered men and women who practise their life-styles as part of daily living without often being able to refer them to the hermeneutics of their religion.

This is hardly a charge which could be levelled against the moderately orthodox Jew. Although his daily life is shot through and through with religious and ritual requirements he understands fully what each contributes to the practice of the Din. To those of us who are not Jews this word is almost incomprehensible: it sums up the requirements laid upon the Jew as he goes about his business each of which is to remind him of one part of his covenant relationship with Ha-Shem. He arises from his bed, as it were, ritually and prayerfully; he even has an approved prayer as he goes to the lavatory; he ends up by ritually cleaning his finger-nails in which lingers the last trace of shy uncleanness which may have overtaken him while asleep. What he may eat at breakfast is limited—no bacon, no sausage, no egg which has a fleck of blood in the white, no milk in his coffee if he has had a slice of beef. He prays at his meal, he prays as he puts on his outdoor clothing, and as he shuts his door he remembers his God where words are fixed at his door-post.

At our peril do we find this quaint or amusing. Although it may become mechanical it is one of the most complete systems ever devised for reminding man of the oversight of God at all times and in all places; it can be the almost complete "practice of the presence of God" after which so many mystics have hankered—and all made easy of performance, not by the philosopher, but by the ordinary man going about his daily affairs. The Jewish use of ejaculatory prayer, if properly understood, could well be emulated by other believers. Yet the complete practice of the Din would be intolerable to the Christian, and not only on grounds of human frailty. In many important aspects it goes against his apprehension of God. He would have untold difficulties over the dietary laws, and that despite the fact that Christianity has from time to time experimented with similar laws of its own.

To the Jew, the Law is divine in origin, and capable of being observed by man, and will both keep him from judgement and also help to purify his intentions *ex opere operato*. To the Christian, the law looks like a conflation of moral and statute law, unnecessarily complex, and capable both of lulling a man into a state of false security and running counter to his own responsibility, laid on him by God, to question the purity of his own motives. I have, of course tried to state the extreme position on each side, but the question still remains; is salvation possible by keeping a Law, or is it only an enslavement which stifles man's proper response?

A practising Jew and a practising Christian will have almost indistinguishable social ethos, and when they do disagree it will not be along a religious line of cleavage. There are Christians and Jews among Tory M.P.s and among Labour M.P.s; there are Christians and Jews among the pro-hanging lobby, and in the abolitionist camp. CND numbered both among its supporters, and there is not inconsiderable number of Jewish officers in the armed services. The differences between the life-styles of Jew and Christian are real, but they are concerned solely with religious practice, and they do not obtrude when they meet together in intellectual or political activities.

But if this is largely true in the social contacts of Jews and Christians, the same would not obtain when either, or both, come into contact with Islam, although this faith not only stands in the

tradition of the other two, but also claims to subsume and finalise the revelations of both. And the difficulty arises over the very finality and completeness of revelation claimed by Islam.

While the informed Christian must put alongside the Bible the continuing revelation in Christian history and the prayer-life of the individual man or woman, and consider all three as normative, to the Moslem, the Koran is not to be diluted by any other considerations. It is the *ipsissima verba* of Allah, communicated to the Prophet in perhaps the best Arabic ever spoken or written, and established as an authorised text in Muhamed's own life-time. And it means exactly what it says. If it prohibits alcohol it prohibits alcohol, and that is all there is about it, however any individual may wish that half-verse were abolished from the *sura*. It does not stand as a symbol warning against indulgence; it does not even permit the medicinal use of alcohol; it is a flat prohibition. And if the Koran says women shall conceal their bodies from neck to ankle, then this is what they must do; it is not permissible to consider this as a warning against the flaunting of the erogenous zones. It must not be allegorised, or interpreted in any way; it is a clear divine command. Indeed to the fervid Moslem any attempt to translate the Koran from the original reduces its force and validity. There is a virtue in knowing it in the original, even if the words mean nothing, which is far greater than having it in one's own vernacular in which one could understand it.

Clearly, if one believes that one has a revelation of this purity and potency, one will be very careful to safeguard it against contamination. And one will accept its precepts for daily life as much as one accepts its religious and ethical insights. Obviously, the practice of such a faith by a minority group will be visible to the host community in a way that Judaism is quite not, apart from the fact that Jews will probably be white and Moslems will be coloured. There will be distinctions in dress; the dietary laws, if fully observed, will tend to be more obtrusive, and make social intercourse more difficult and the existence of specialist Moslem eating-places, where the ordinance of hallal is guaranteed, almost certain. In school Moslem boys, and even more Moslem girls, will find that commandments and prohibitions laid on them by their faith will tend to make them appear singular in the eyes of their classmates. Even if the teachers are informed about the reasons for these singularities and sympathetic, the adolescent in school is still subject to the incomprehension, and sometimes the unthinking cruelty of his peers.

If we have any imaginative sympathy we must extend it in this context to the Moslem religious leaders. They will be aware that they need not fear in this country, except from a hooligan fringe, any direct attack on their faith or any deliberate attempt to desecrate their religious buildings. But they must feel keenly that the faith of all their members below, say, the age of 25 is in grave danger from a process of erosion. For these young people will be plunged into the middle of a society which just does not believe, at any level, that wrong doing is to be equated with what one eats or what one wears. When this reaches the level of verbalisation it can, and does, result in such jibes as "How can you believe that God is worried about whether you wear a skirt or a shalwar?"

"What on earth has it to do with religion how you

* A paper presented to The British Council of Churches "Conference on Inter-Faith Dialogue in Education", held at Leicester, England, 10 — 14 July 1972; abridged.

"However tempting it may be to start by pointing out how alike we are in many ways, I believe this is ultimately self-defeating, simply because when our paths diverge there will be the risk that the pupil will think of these areas of divergence as something quaint or irrational in the other person which makes him inferior to the white Anglo-Saxon protestant."

kill a cow?—anyway your way of doing it is much crueller than ours", or, in the crude vernacular in a Yorkshire playground "If you finks knees is sinful, you must be barmy."

This is not really funny: it is most worrying. I doubt whether the English girl was a very informed Christian, and I have no means of knowing how devout a Moslem was the girl who was the unwilling recipient of her elucidation. But what were in conflict here were two totally divergent views of the nature and demands of God, or, if one phrases it in a different way, two residual religions meeting headlong in their social manifestations. However imperfectly the English girl would have phrased it, the folk-memory on which she was drawing was real, and struck very deep. And it was based on the Christian premise that God will not coerce man by naked display of his power or his purposes. He wants sons and collaborators, not slaves. "For you are not called to become Christians" wrote St. Augustine in his commentary on Matthew, "but each of you is called to become Christ". And since God is revealed as a moral principle and the standard against which each man and each society must measure the purity of its intentions, it is also incumbent on man to exercise himself to translate the moral edict into practice, and God will not do this for him. There will, therefore, always be room for variation, and even disagreement, about what are the actual practical steps to be taken to give bodily form to the religious insight. This a Christian would accept as part of the mystery of free-will and the repudiation of predestination, which has always tried to intrude itself into Christian theology and has always been pushed out of the central tradition. And because our English girl had been brought up in this tradition, and apprehended it, however dimly, she rejected scornfully the very idea that there could be a Divine edict dealing with such a detailed decision as to which parts of the body should be covered.

But the other girl was a Moslem, and Islam means surrender. Moslems are not very enamoured of the Christian doctrine of free-will, and certainly would not repudiate predestination. And if one is to surrender one-self completely to a religious and ethical code, that code must be precise. It is useless for men to seek unity in submission. Again, however imperfectly she might have been able to express it, this is the premise from which the Moslem girl started in her defence of the religious significance of the shalwar. Now at however high a theological level I could take up this debate with a Moslem friend, we would ultimately have to agree to differ, both in our definition of the relationship between God and Man which is the final ground of our divergence, and also over what this means in terms of the appropriate clothing for the female nether limbs. By no process of compromise or conciliation is he going to talk my wife into a shalwar, nor am I going to talk his into a mini-skirt. But whereas one is allowed to hope that our wives, if they felt otherwise attracted to each other, would be completely indifferent about the shape of each other's clothing this is not the reality on Beeston Hill. The Moslem girl will go on thinking that the English girl has a woolly and imprecise religion which allows her to be shameless, immodest, and the English girl will go on thinking that the Moslem classmate believes in something which lays down details of dress which have nothing to do with moral precepts which are what religion should be concerned with.

One must beware of pushing this argument about differences too far. Clearly, for historical reasons if no other, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam lie within the same tradition. Christianity was nurtured in Judaism, and although the links with Islam are less clear, it is undoubted that Muhamed knew both Jewish and Christian communities. All three religions share a number of respected prophets. At a deeper level, all three

believe in a God who is omnipotent, limited only by his own perfect goodness and creator of all things, and to be worshipped by man for his holiness. Again, all three faiths reject transubstantiation, and say that man has only the period of one earthly life to bring his will into accord with that of God and thereby attain salvation. None believes that this salvation is to be found in the cessation of personality and the merging of the individual in the world-soul. This is a formidable list of agreements, sufficient to define a family likeness, but this falls far short of unanimity. Each has a quite clear and disparate idea of the way in which it would state the relationship between God and man, the nature of the demands made by the first, the sort of obedience expected, and the role of Man's judgement and free-will in the process. In a very real sense members of these three religions should be able to engage in an act of adoration and worship together. It is also likely that they would have a lot in common in their social ethic, and be able happily to combine in any action taken to relieve hardship and suffering.

It is much more doubtful that they could agree on a useful form of words to asking for a blessing on the relationship between God and the worshipper. The Jew or Moslem might wish to emphasize his dependence on the covenant and ask that he might be more obedient and submissive, while, outside a contemplative order, this is unlikely to weigh heavily with the Christian.

If there can be this necessity to agree to differ between the Jew, the Moslem, and the Christian, who use the same religious language within a common philosophical framework, how much more complex may we expect to find the picture when we turn to other great ethnic faiths outside this common structure.

Not all will have its adherents in this country, or in our schools, but in most large cities there will be a good selection. It therefore seems a fair assumption that many, if not most, teachers will at some time or other in their careers need to have thought out for themselves a clear attitude over culture-contacts which will be the framework within which they attempt to help their pupils to come to terms with the multicoloured, multi-cultural, and multi-religious world into which they will have to live.

I am taking it for granted that, although there will be exceptions, the majority of teachers will not be racists, but both as a result of their education and their natural inclinations will adopt a liberal attitude to the contact of different races. But what is despised by the Black Power movement as "white liberalism" is subject to at least three defects, all of which we can easily find in schools once we know what we are looking for.

The first is just woolliness of mind, but often associated with personal probity. It lies behind all the variants of the "after-all-we're-all-the-same-really" misunderstanding. We may be all biologically very much the same, but because we are human, this is relatively unimportant. We have the same needs, but as Malinowski pointed out many years ago, the rituals by which we satisfy these needs are as important to us as the actual physical satisfaction. We need food, but we choose which foods we shall have, and which we shall forbid; how we shall prepare and serve them; how many meals we shall eat, and who may eat with us. We need to propagate our species, but how many learned books have been written on patterns of courtship and marriage which have evolved along totally different lines? To pretend that these differences do not exist, or are unimportant, is an insult both to our own culture and to the cultures of others with whom we come in contact.

This shades almost imperfectly into the second level of misunderstanding, which is basically a belief in the possibility of syncretism.

This makes the assumption, that all life-styles, particularly in their religious and philosophical components, are all variations from some norm, and could be comprised within an overall system if we could find the SCF or the LCM or some other key to link the system together. This I do not believe. For what has the Moslem, who believes he has a unique and inerrant revelation in common with the Buddhist of the Theravada school who thinks the existence of a personal God is extremely unlikely? What has an orthodox Jew, almost obsessed with the link between holiness and separation from the unbeliever, to say to the Jain, who admits to his hierarchy gods from at least three separate systems?

And the third and most insidious misunderstanding is to try and interpret the life-styles of other peoples in terms of our own criteria.

What I believe is healthier is to admit that the man from a different culture from a different religious background, is different "all-of-a-piece". He has a completely different life-style because he starts from different premises, different views of the nature and purpose of God, different views of the place of man in the cosmogony, different judgements on the created world. However tempting it may be to start by pointing out how alike we are in many ways, I believe this is ultimately self-defeating, simply because when our paths diverge there will be the risk that the pupil will think of these areas of divergence as something quaint or irrational in the other person which makes him inferior to the white Anglo-Saxon Protestant.

This to my mind can only be avoided by starting from the other end and saying "this is a Moslem: he is a man like we are, but he starts from different premises about God and about revelation. Let us study him as a complete person". Per contra, I would hope that an Egyptian teacher would say, in his country, "now this is a Christian. He looks like us Muslims, but what makes him function is something we will find difficult to understand. But once we begin to grasp this we will see that he is not merely strange, but by his own insights behaves quite sensibly"! It is the only way we can really do justice to an exotic system, and in charity show the man who follows it doing what he does for reasons which are internally consistent. If we are to avoid despising other cultures and other religions we must of necessity try to learn and teach about them in their terms, in their thought-systems, by their criteria, and not in ours, twisted for the purpose.

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RACE RELATIONS IN BRITAIN

The Act by itself is not sufficient

IMPACT REPORT

Ever since the Race Relations Board was set up (under the Race Relations Act of 1965), there have been conflicting assessments of the value and efficacy of the Board. Activists among the coloured immigrant community in Britain often see the act as a useless and ineffective sop to British liberal public opinion and a rather expensive one at that. More than that, when viewed in the context of overall British immigration policy, the act sometimes appears to be downright hypocritical.

On the other hand there are those, including the Board itself, who regard the Act and the existence of the Board as an essential step in the avoidance of the damage which would be done to society if racial discrimination became a deep-rooted feature. These recognise that legislation by itself would not solve the problem of racial discrimination but that it would create the atmosphere in which the fundamental social objectives of equality and harmony would be realised. Members of the Board themselves recognise that the Act falls far short of what is needed to realise these objectives. In their report* for the period April 1971 to March 1972 it is stated:

"When the Act was passed many considered that its declaratory effects as a code of conduct combined with its enforcement provisions would be sufficient to ensure its purposes. It was assumed that the primary problem was that of active discrimination against individuals and that if this was curbed by a widespread positive reaction to the law by those in a position to discriminate and by individuals utilising the law, the problem would be largely solved. While this assumption is partly valid, we are no longer satisfied that it adequately states the problem." The problem is "the acceptance or tolerance by everybody, including coloured workers of situations in which equality of opportunity is consciously or unconsciously denied." In the face of this acceptance or tolerance a complaint-based system such as that under which the Board works is inherently weak because:

"Most victims do not complain. Many do not know they have suffered discrimination. People stay away from places and situations where they believe they might be humiliated."

This, the fear that the status quo might be challenged by "coloured school-leavers who are unlikely to accept the denial of equal opportunity" in employment, housing and education, and the dangers inherent in this situation have led the Board to call for amendments to the Race Relations Act in a manner to give the

Board additional powers.

One of the main powers which the Board is calling for is the power "to investigate without the need to suspect that any individual unlawful act has been committed." "Individual acts of unlawful discrimination discovered in the course of such an investigation" comments the Report, "would be dealt with in the normal way. But, additionally, if the investigation revealed circumstances in which discrimination was likely to occur, the Board would formally call such circumstances to the attention of those concerned and make recommendations for change; such formal notice would be admissible in evidence in any subsequent proceedings for unlawful acts of discrimination."

The Board considers that the granting of such powers would increase considerably its ability to engage in work of preventive character and quotes the working of the Factory Acts as an example of legislation where the agency responsible for securing compliance does so more by prevention than by dealing with individual breaches. The Board says that it needs these powers to avoid recourse to the courts especially since "court actions are inconsistent with the 'underlying philosophy' of the Act with its emphasis on conciliation out of court."

The Board also feels that effectiveness of the Act is hampered by some of the exceptions and in this context calls for an examination of the implications of the House of Lords decision in the case of the *London Borough of Ealing v. Race Relations Board* which ruled that the phrase "national origins" in section 1 of the Act did not cover current alien nationality. This means that discrimination against Irish citizens and citizens of any foreign country on the ground of their nationality is not unlawful. The Board therefore considers that the effect of the decision could seriously detract from the effectiveness of the Act as a code of conduct and that consideration should be given to amending section 1 to include nationality as one of the unlawful grounds and that where nationality is a justified ground for consideration, as in matters of national security, the matter should be dealt with through an exception.

Despite all this the Report claims that the past year has demonstrated the increasing effectiveness of the Act in terms of establishing the existence of unlawful discrimination, securing remedies for its victims and measures to prevent future discrimination against others. At the same time the number of complaints received has declined and although it is sometimes asserted, it is not known that lack of confidence in the effectiveness of the Act and the Board is a main reason for

the decline in the number of complaints.

The Report in its body and its appendices deal with cases of racial discrimination and these testify to the usefulness of the Board. Some deal with highly important and explosive questions like the referring of West Indian and other 'immigrant' children to Educationally Sub-normal Schools (E.S.N.) on racial grounds. As a result of the Board's efforts the Department of Education and Science is giving consideration to the issuing of fresh guidance to local education authorities on the ascertainment of educationally sub-normal children. On the funny side, there is the case of the Sikh who was refused service in a hotel because he was wearing a "hat"! The proprietor who agreed to waive the rule in the case of Sikhs wearing turbans said that "he has not fully understood either the religious significance of the turban or the practical difficulty involved in removing a turban in a public place."

The Report concludes that although "the law could be strengthened and the Government could play a more active role in ensuring that the principle of equal opportunity is more extensively applied, the realisation of the social purposes of the Act will essentially depend on voluntary action by all concerned. The Act by itself is not sufficient to prevent racial discrimination from becoming an extensive and entrenched feature of our society."

Mr. Mark Bonham-Carter, chairman of the Community Relations Commission, said on 5 July that an "undue proportion" of homeless young people in every big conurbation are children of immigrants. He was commenting on the annual report of the Commission which expressed deep concern at the growing number of Homeless young people in most large cities in Britain. The report urges the Government and local authorities to make accommodation available on a large scale where needed. The deputy chairman of the Commission has also spoken of a big difference between the proportion of unemployed white youths (of school-leaving age and in the 16-20 age group) and blacks. "It appears to be that the unemployment of young blacks is about twice that of the national average in that age group", he said.

It is undeniable that racial discrimination takes place on a large scale in Britain and that whenever it occurs it creates humiliating and even ugly situations. But if the Report of the Race Relations Board—a Government backed body—is anything to go by then official attitudes in Britain to the problems of racial discrimination are by far more enlightened and even more humane than many other countries in the world. That these attitudes might be adopted largely to defuse a potentially explosive situation and not exactly out of love for niggers and pakkies and turks *et al* is another matter.

* Report of the Race Relations Board for 1971-72, H.M. Stationery Office, Price 42p.

Towards the Southern African Common Market

G. U. SIDDIQUI

It was in 1964 that Dr. Verwoerd, the then Prime Minister of South Africa, spoke of a Southern African Common Market. This was to include South Africa, Rhodesia and the two Portuguese colonies in South, Angola and Mozambique. It seems that the emergence of this White African Economic Community is now well on its way.

In the field of arms self-sufficiency, a silent revolution is taking place in South Africa. In some areas the country has joined the ranks of the arms exporting nations. The Institute for Strategic Studies "Military Balance, 1971-72", puts South Africa as the only State in Africa which is producing supersonic, subsonic and trainer aircrafts, surface to air missiles, light tanks and armoured cars etc.

A recent article in "International Defence Review" says South Africa is so self-sufficient in explosives and propellants, that she can export them as well. Same is the case of ammunition. Nearly 100 various types of heavy Calibre, Infantry and Naval ammunitions are made. Automatic rifles, sub-machine guns (unconfirmed reports indicate that it is the Israeli Uzzi) and mortar are now made locally, 90 mm cannon is also on way to production. In the field of transport, South Africa can now manufacture almost any armoured vehicles.

Electronics and allied industries are so developed that aircrafts, radios, mine detectors and other classified equipments can be designed and made locally. South Africa is also building her own 25-pound guns, manufacturing napalm, and the full range of aerial bombs upto 1,000 lbs. and developing her own guided missiles (last September a Mach-2 air-air missile was successfully test fired from a *Mirage* at a supersonic target). These missiles will soon be available for export.

In aircraft production, South Africa has made the greatest stride. In 1963, a \$140m Atlas Aircraft Corporation factory was built at Kempton Park, adjoining Jan Smuts Airport, North of Johannesburg. It is a huge complex, covering 26 acres of ground with a staff of nearly 4000 men and women including 500 non-Europeans, from 17 different countries. South Africa is also embarking to produce Dassault (French) *Mirage-3* and *F1* aircraft under licence. Atlas is also responsible for servicing and maintaining the full range of aircrafts of the South African Air Force which include 16 *Canberra* B-12, 90 *Mirages* of types III-EZ, III-CZ, III-RZ, F-86, 15 Hawker Siddeley *Buccaneer* Mark 50, as well as the helicopter inventory of *Super Frelons*, *Pumas* and *Alouettes*.

The construction of a light transport aircraft STOL (short take-off and landing) with a capacity of 20 passengers may also start soon. This type of aircraft are most suited for operating out of bush

and jungle strips to combat the guerillas. Aircrafts on list to be selected are the Israeli *Arava* or British *Skyvan*.

There are about 1000 arms producing factories in South Africa. A new multi-million Rand factory is being built at Bloemfontein. All these factories, including Atlas, are controlled by Armscor, a government body, headed by Prof. H. J. Samuels, a member of the Prime Minister's Economic Advisory Council.

Preparations are also going apace to build a new submarine base at Simonstown. This is part of a long-term plan for the development of the naval dockyard as a whole. Under the plan, a basin is to be built to include the submarine base. When completed, the new basin will also provide berthing facilities for six average-sized warships and will be able to accommodate an aircraft carrier if necessary.

In general, the military preparedness of South Africa is geared to deal with more than the guerillas. The proportion of emphasis suggests a definite continental role. South Africa's defence force is composed of 44,250 regulars, 78,000 men in para-military units (7,500 trained Commandos, 3,000 anti-terrorist police) and 28,000 trained reserves in Citizen Force, out of a total population of 20m of which 4m are whites. The *Cactus* (South African version of French *Crotale*), advanced low-level anti-aircraft guided missiles system in service has been transferred from the army to the Air Force, indicating that it may be used primarily against fixed installations, like dams etc.

Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies have benefitted a great deal in terms of technical know-how and arms supplies from South Africa. South Africa is helping Rhodesia, to contain guerilla activities along the Zambian border and South African-assembled jeeps and armoured cars are being used in Guinea, Angola and Mozambique.

Another development in the area is the construction of Cabora Bassa dam over river Zambezi in Mozambique. When completed, in 1975, it will be the World's Fourth largest hydro-electric power generator (only Krasnoyarsk and Bratsk in USSR and Churchill fall in USA are other largest dams) generating 4m kw. This will be nearly twice as much as Aswan. The dam is being constructed by an international consortium, Zamco (Consortio Hidro Electrico do Zambeze) led by South Africa and includes French, German, Italian and Portuguese firms.

The dam is being constructed in the 100-kilometer-long Quebrabasa Gorge, 130 kilometers (1 kilometer = 0.6 mile) up stream from the small town of Tete and 500 kilometers from the mouth of the Zambezi. The dam itself will be 160 meters high and 303 meters wide. Behind it will stretch a lake of nearly 170 square kilometers in area extending almost to the Zambian border.

In June 1974, water will start filling up the dam and by April 1975, a 1.2m kw generator will start its operation on the South Bank and power will begin to be transmitted on the new 1930 km high-voltage links to Irene, outside Pretoria, in South Africa. With another power generator built on the North bank, the capacity of both power stations will finally reach 4m kw target of the 1990s.

The dam will transform four million acres of arid desert into cotton, sugar, fruit and coffee plantations. And the electricity from the dam will enable mining companies to exploit thick seams of iron-ore, titanium, manganese, copper, chrome and other minerals. Plans for a steel mill and an Aluminium smelter have also been drawn.

A complicated system of incentives is intended to bring a stream of white settlers in Mozambique. Present population of Mozambique is less than eight million of whom less than 200,000 are white and the Portuguese are planning to bring in one million new European colonists before the year 2000.

These settlers and international companies will

not only manage the post-Cabora developments, but also contain local insurgencies.

To detach the links with Zambia, the 25,000 Africans living on the proposed lake site are being resettled around Moatize and Zobue. These collective settlements will also enable efficient supervision and prevent any possible contacts with the liberation organizations.

Two years ago the *Daily Telegraph* said that if Portugal can hold on to its southern colonies for another twenty years, white rule in southern Africa can last another two centuries.

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(Courtesy The Geographical Magazine)

Books

A tragedy par excellence

The East Pakistan Tragedy by L. Rushbrook Williams, *Tom Stacey*, 140 pages, £2.80.

Rushbrook Williams' intimate knowledge of the history of Mogul India, his long and varied experience as an administrator in British India, his close association with the founders of the Republics of India and Pakistan and his continued interest in the later course of events, provide him with a good insight into the Subcontinents affairs. Unlike most Western intellectuals who never appreciated the movement for Pakistan, and who generally considered Pakistan 'as a piece of India which has seceded politically, with slender justification', Rushbrook Williams [is one who understands and sympathises with the concept and founding of Pakistan. His "State of Pakistan" (*Faber and Faber*, London 1962) delved deeply on the trials and tribulations that bedevilled Pakistan in the early years.

The East Pakistan Tragedy starts with a brief survey of the long history of political and economic exploitation of the hapless region variously called East Bengal, East Pakistan and now Bangladesh, before and after the birth of Pakistan. This 'historical' section of the book titled 'Legacies of the Past' is perhaps the most accurate and incisive. The author correlates the pre-Pakistan exploitation of the Muslims of Bengal with the subsequent enthusiastic support for Pakistan in the area. He also sees a relation between Muslim's bitterness over the annulment of the partition of Bengal (into a Muslim province) with their resolve to establish a 'Muslim National Home'. The author's view that the backward condition of East Pakistan at the foundation of Pakistan affected the post-Pakistan pace of development is correct but to assume that this *solely* accounted for the comparative underdevelopment of East Pakistan is hard to accept. Given genuine and proper attention, economic development in East Pakistan could have been better planned and implemented and given the *necessary* political participation in "decision-making" the East Pakistanis would have themselves appreciated the constraints and limitations of the background situation. Obviously this did not take place.

The book strives also to provide a detailed account of the recent crisis. Of the seven chapters, six are devoted mainly to studying the events in East Pakistan between November 1970 and December 1971. The material for the book was collected mostly during the author's two visits to Pakistan in 1971. The author has heavily drawn upon government publica-

tions and radio broadcasts, newspaper reports, 'party literature' and interviews with influential persons within and outside government circles. He provides a catalogue of atrocities, including murders committed by the Awami League supporters during the insurgency period. His treatment, however, of the counter-insurgency operations in so far as it related to any excesses committed by the Pakistani soldiers, is casual. An objective account of this aspect of the tragedy was obviously needed and is missing.

The author is perhaps the first European writer of prominence to have drawn attention to the brutally biased treatment of the East Pakistan crisis by the international news-media. Indeed the mighty crusade which began with the reporting of the cyclone in October-November 1970 and continued unabated until India's admission in November 1971 of her involvement with 'East Pakistan's liberation' had hardly had any parallel in history. It is questionable that, but for this softening up by the international press, India would, even with Russian support, have dared to march her army into Dacca.

Rushbrook Williams puts all the blame for the dismemberment of Pakistan upon Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his supporters. Doubtless, Sheikh Mujib's inability to rise to a 'national' stature, his demagoguery, and a lack of command over the situation are important and significant elements in the whole melodrama but obviously that is not the whole truth. One cannot overlook the grievous damage caused to Pakistan's integrity by the military regimes of Ayub Khan and Yahya Khan, and Mr. Bhutto's unwillingness to accept Sheikh Mujib as the country's majority leader. Pakistan was the outcome of a voluntary movement for a State and society to be based on Islam, Islamic values and social justice, and the rise of these secular autocracies could not but result in frustration, alienation and an eventual self-destruction.

Dr. M. R. Ali

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

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Briefing

India, Pakistan and the Great Powers

by William J. Barnds,
Pall Mall, £4.25

Barnds spent fourteen years in CIA's office of National Estimates and his book gives a resumé of the development of a complex pattern of Americo-Pakistan and Indo-Russian relationships. In the early 1950s US decided to arm Pakistan, a decision which the author thinks is in the main responsible for a corresponding close relationship between India and Russia and the friendship treaty of last year. The book presents a fairly wide view of the subcontinental conflicts and the Super Power interests, but covers events up to September 1971 only.

Wellington in India

by Jac Weller,
Longman, £5.50

Describes the nine year tour of Arthur Wellesley (b.1769) as the Governor-General of India. His successes in Indian politics particularly in the Marhatta war won for him a knighthood and thanks from the British Parliament, while his victory in 1815 against Napoleon at Waterloo for ever secured his position as one of the greatest Irish-born generals of England.

India and East Africa

by Robert G. Gregory,
Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press, £7.00

Brings to focus the problems of the Indian settlers in East Africa and shows how British policy which once aimed at reconciling the conflicting interests of the different parties—the Indian, the Europeans and the natives—at last decided to settle in favour of the East African people.

A History of Israel

by John Bright,
SCM Press, £4.00

Traces the history of Israel from the earliest Biblical times until the Maccabees movement. Using archaeological evidence, the book goes as far back as the seventh millennium. First published in 1960, the present edition is extensively revised. **Political Dictionary of the Middle East in the Twentieth Century** edited by Yaacov Shimoni and Evyatar Levine *Weidenfeld and Nicolson*, £5.00

An extensive collection of information on Middle East politics, history, important people, and movements by a host of Israeli writers, journalists, scholars and members of the Israeli foreign service.

Gates to Asia

by Jan Myrdal and Gun Kessle,
Chatto and Windus/Hogarth Press, £3.00

Retracing a long journey through Central Asia, blends historical analysis with personal reminiscence.

New Theories of Revolution

by Jack Woddis,
Lawrence and Wishart, £4.50

Deals with and analyses the ideas of the young leaders of the New Left, Fanon, Debray and Marcus; whose main 'slogans and tenets', the author says, 'have caused considerable confusion in student and intellectual circles, but fortunately not so much in the ranks of the working class for whom they were never intended, and whose feet are too firmly planted in the stern realities of their daily class struggle'.

Socialism

by Michael Harrington
Saturday Review Press, \$12.50

Harrington who chairs the US Socialist Party tries to tell his countrymen that Socialism is after all not as bad as they seem to think. Marxist Dictatorship of proletariat, in his view, is the 'fulfillment of democracy' rather than what it ostensibly seems to convey.

Tolstoy my Father: Reminiscences

by Ilya Tolstoy,
Peter Owen, £3.50.

Son's family portrait of a famous father; first published in Russian in 1913 shortly after Tolstoy's mysterious death.

Tyranny: A Study in the Abuse of Powerby Maurice Latey,
Pelican, 50p

An analytical study of tyranny and techniques adopted by different tyrants, their mentality and conditions that favour them; illustrated with examples from modern history.

The Lost Embassyby Adam Fergusson,
Collins, £2.00.

An adventure story that revolves round a peasant's rebellion against the communist regime of Russia.

The Christian Priest Todayby Michael Ramsey,
SPCK, 80p.

A collection of addresses of the Archbishop of Canterbury to ordination assemblies of Anglican ministers. The Archbishop lays great stress on clergy's participation in the affairs of the world around. Events that change and shape the lives of their flock, the Archbishop exhorts, ought to be their prime concern.

Patterns of Christian Acceptance. Individual Response to the Missionary Impact 1550-1950, by Martin Jarrett-Kerr,
OSP, £4.50

Outlines the impact of Christian missionary activity on different civilizations of the world from the year 1550 to 1950 mostly in the form of life histories of representative native converts. The book also brings out the internal differences among native and European clergy and how the Europeanisers ultimately won. One handicap all missionary activity has suffered from is that it has followed and identified itself with the colonial expansion of European imperialism. The author is hopeful that "Africa may well tip the balance and transform christianity permanently into a primarily non-western religion!"

The Trial and Death of Jesusby Haim Cohn,
Weidenfeld, £3.50

After the absolution by the Christian church of the killers of Jesus, the publication of the present work by no less than a supreme court judge of Israel, a semitic scholar and a rabbi, is a significant work. Haim Cohn, contends that it were the Roman civil authorities rather than the Jews who crucified Jesus and quotes from over 500 books and documents, ancient and modern. The author, however, contradicts himself when he says that the Jewish leaders met Jesus in prison to persuade him to plead not guilty to charges of 'high treason', and give an undertaking that he would abide by the laws of the Roman Emperor. Jesus refused to oblige and suffered crucifixion!

Russelby A. J. Ayer,
Fontana, 40p

Prof. A. J. Ayer shows how Bertrand Russel by reconstructing philosophical thinking, liberated modern man from shackles of the old philosophy. To him all except science and logic was sham and false. He found the world too congested with ideas, and he set out to reduce this to the minimum inevitable. His theory of description is a case in point.

Pointing the Way 1959-1961by Harold Macmillan,
Macmillan, £4.50

Fifth volume of the former British Prime Minister's memoirs. Not in any defined chronological order and in effect a mass of raw material of history, information, strictures and comments on various contemporary political and international figures.

Selected Essays on Employment and Growthby Lord Kahn,
CUP, £4.40

Richard Kahn, a Keynesian Economist, exercised considerable influence on economic discussion during the inter-war period. The present work is a selection of ten of his articles written since 1930 and as he himself says these are not intended for the laity.

Uses of Marijuanaby Solomon H. Synder,
OSP, £2.70

The author, a Professor of Psychiatry and

Pharmacology at the Johns Hopkins School of Medicine (US) gives a detailed scientific account of different varieties of marijuana and their possible pharmacological uses.

Murderous Providenceby Harry Rothman,
Hart Davis, £2.95

Deals with the problem of environmental pollution but holds that it is an essential by-product of civilization.

Ecological Moralityby Bruce Allsopp,
Muller, £1.80

Shows how pollution has become a religion and a way of life.

A Selection of Islamic Titles**Meaning of the Glorious Qur'an**

by M. Pickthal, 464pp, 40p

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by Dr. Abdur Rahman Doi, 134pp, 75p

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by Dr. Abdur Rahman Doi, 155pp, 85p

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by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, 394pp, £2

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by Abul A'la Maudoodi, 180pp, 40p

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by Manzoor Nomani, 190pp, 80p

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by Sir Thomas Arnold, 508pp, £2

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by Abul Hasan Ali Nadavi, 210pp, 30p

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by M. Asad, 24pp, 5p

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by Abul Hasan Ali Nadavi, 152pp, 75p

The Middle East Crisisby Chaudhry Ghulam Muhammad,
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Letters**Pakistan—"Bangladesh" Tragedy**

My sorrow is boundless. If I see the picture of another starving child I will probably go crazy. Your feature on the horror of the "Biharis" in "Bangladesh" and the plight of the "Bengalis" in Pakistan was a good service but it has left me numb—Doesn't anyone claim to be just "Muslim" anymore?

No good will come from recognition of "Bangladesh." This would not help her people, who must by all means be helped. It would merely embolden her shortsighted leaders to continue their reckless course of arrogance and folly. "Bangladesh" has yet to demonstrate that she merits recognition. She is but a satellite of India, which continues to display utter contempt for her own Muslim citizens.

When, O when will we free ourselves of this curse of Nationalism? It has divided and dissipated our energies as nothing else. Our Prophet condemned race and ethnic pride, saying "Allah has removed from you the pride of the pre-Islamic period and its boasting in ancestors. One is only a pious believer or a miserable sinner. All men are sons of Adam, and Adam came from dust" (*Tirmidhi*).

To implicate Islam in any way (ref. interview with A. K. Brohi) for the shameful failure of those who sloganized Islam but practiced Nationalism, Socialism, Capitalism and other isms, is *absurd!* To possess Islam is like having a gold mine. But if one merely brags without ever working to dig it up, and then dies of poverty, the fault is not in the gold...

Palmer Park,
Maryland, U.S.A.

S.S. MUFASSIR

Lydda, Iran, and what have you?

Your comment in a previous issue of *Impact* on Lydda was to me as if I am reading one in *The Times*, *The Guardian* or the like. So congratulations for the views you are sharing with them at last!

Don't you think *Impact* should be ashamed of its reporting on Iran: Farah did so and Hoveida said so. Was there nothing more important going on in Iran?

Haven't *Impact* had any comment to make on the recent CENTO meeting in London and the reason for "strengthening", it particularly by Pakistan.

Would you also enlighten me how you classify the authorities of Muslim States so that, for instance, those of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia become "leaders" while those of Libya, Egypt and Syria, "rulers"?

London, E1

H. YAZDI

Social Monitor

Human Rights for the old and unwanted

In 1900 only 1 person in 21 was over 65 (retirement age); now 1 in 8 in Britain is of this age. The reasons for this imbalance are complex and relate mainly to social attitudes to procreation, but one obvious reason is that life expectancy in the last 100 years has gone up so that now each man and woman is likely to live about 30 years more, men can expect to reach an average age of 69 and women 75 years. And thus we come to have more and more people who are obligate dependents of the welfare State.

In the contemporary production and youth-orientated industrial society with a 'nuclear' rather than 'extended' family units, old and retired people not unoften feel unwanted, isolated and deprived. They are virtually the only group in the community which has an almost total lack of bargaining power. They are unable to take any "industrial" action to further their economic claims, particularly when climate is full with industrial unrest and jumping inflation.

From a survey carried out by Townsend a few years ago we can deduce that the institutions and hospitals catered for only about 5% of the elderly people. Around 12% receive domiciliary health and welfare services and it was still the family which far from misusing welfare services, cared for their elderly relatives, particularly in illness and infirmity.

Evidently the elderly are an economically handicapped group, their housing conditions are often highly unsuitable to their needs and that substantially more old people need services than are receiving it.

The inadequacies of the situation apply particularly to services such as home-help, meals-on-wheels, chiropody, hearing aids, sheltered housing and residential accommodation. There is a case for major social action in relation to income and housing and for a very considerable expansion of the services particularly in the home. But this provokes one to ask where this action will take place and what pressure can be mobilised to bring this about. The elderly do not possess that power which accrues from an organised union activity. In the situation it takes longer to motivate and establish its group identity, aims, and means of carrying them out. An individual elderly person cannot by himself make enough impact. Typically therefore, the elderly are in a passive state receiving only what the government and local authority are prepared to give. Are there then basic rights for elderly people based on social and moral principles? Secondly, what is the present situation about the imple-

mentation of these rights and what it is likely to be in the future?

First and foremost is the right to live. This does not mean that euthanasia is not also a right but more positively it means that people ought to be able to have enough in terms of their needs to continue living for as long as they can.

Second, is the right to independence; this would enable more people to remain in their own homes. Also it would ensure that due care and attention were paid to their choice. Particularly where the person would be concerned about where he/she would be rehoused when redevelopment occurs. This would be a decision where these would not help but a helpful council official or advisor could.

Third, respect from fellow citizens which concerns privacy and the right not to suffer degradation through being placed in institutions where real care is minimal. It is important then to maintain dignity for the elderly.

Fourth, the right to social and financial security in the sense that the person should feel that he is a useful and wanted citizen performing an active social role. Security comes from a suitable place to live, near or with relatives or friends and financial independence—without feeling a stigma from the right to apply for supplementary income from the State.

Fifth, adequate care and attention both at home, in institutional accommodation and in hospital. Also that this provision e.g. for residential/warden assisted accommodation should be adequate and sufficient to satisfy more than just priority needs. These, of course, depend on the availability of funds, supports for voluntary schemes of help in the community and implementations of the relative statutory provisions in, for instance, the Chronically Sick and Disabled persons Act.

Sixth, employment opportunities to enable them to continue to play a useful role in life.

Lastly, the right to creative fulfilment in both leisure and employment. Bingo is not the only activity that the elderly are capable of and the abilities and experience they have developed need not be allowed to go waste. Many elderly people can add much in the area of culture, particularly in non-curricular education of workers and young people at school and in the community.

These, in conclusion, are not just few rights, but in fact they are part of fundamental human rights.

David Jenkins

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Simla Agreement, on Bilateral Relations between India and Pakistan

The following is the text of the agreement on bilateral relations signed by Mrs Gandhi and President Bhutto in Simla at the conclusion of their summit conference.

The Government of India and the Government of Pakistan are resolved that the two countries put an end to the conflict and confrontation that have hitherto marred their relations and work for the promotion of a friendly and harmonious relationship and the establishment of durable peace in the sub-continent, so that both countries may henceforth devote their resources and energies to the pressing task of advancing the welfare of their peoples.

In order to achieve this objective, the Government of India and the Government of Pakistan have agreed as follows:—

I. That the principles and purposes of the charter of the United Nations shall govern the relations between the two countries.

II. That the two countries are resolved to settle their differences by peaceful means through bilateral negotiations or by any other peaceful means mutually agreed upon between them. Pending the final settlement of any of the problems between the two countries, neither side shall unilaterally alter the situation and both

shall prevent the organization, assistance or encouragement of any acts detrimental to the maintenance of peaceful and harmonious relations.

III. That the prerequisite for reconciliation, good neighbourliness and durable peace between them is a commitment by both the countries to peaceful coexistence, respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

IV. That the basic issues and causes of conflict which have bedevilled the relations between the two countries for the past 25 years shall be resolved by peaceful means.

V. That they shall always respect each other's national unity, territorial integrity, political independence and sovereign equality.

VI. That, in accordance with the charter of the United Nations, they will refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of each other.

Both Governments will take all steps within their power to prevent hostile propaganda directed against each other. Both countries will encourage the dissemination of such information as would promote the development of friendly relations

between them.

In order progressively to restore and normalize relations between the two countries step by step, it was agreed that:—

I. Steps shall be taken to resume communications, postal, telegraphic, sea, land, including border posts, and air links, including over-flights.

II. Appropriate steps shall be taken to promote travel facilities for the nationals of the other country.

III. Trade and cooperation in economic and other agreed fields will be resumed as far as possible.

IV. Exchange in the fields of science and culture will be promoted.

In this connexion delegations from the two countries will meet from time to time to work out the necessary details.

In order to initiate the process of the establishment of durable peace, both the Governments agree that:—

I. Indian and Pakistani forces shall be withdrawn to their side of the international border.

II. In Jammu and Kashmir, the line of control resulting from the ceasefire of December 17, 1971, shall be respected by both sides without prejudice to the recognized position of either side. Neither side shall seek to alter it unilaterally, irrespective of mutual differences and legal interpre-

tations. Both sides further undertake to refrain from the threat or the use of force in violation of this line.

III. The withdrawals shall commence upon entry into force of this agreement and shall be completed within a period of 30 days thereof.

This agreement will be subject to ratification by both countries in accordance with their respective constitutional procedures, and will come into force with effect from the date on which the instruments of ratification are exchanged.

Both Governments agree that their respective heads will meet again at a mutually convenient time in the future and that, in the meanwhile, the representatives of the two sides will meet to discuss further the modalities and arrangements for the establishment of durable peace and normalization of relations, including the questions of repatriation of prisoners of war and civilian internees, a final settlement of Jammu and Kashmir and the resumption of diplomatic relations.

Prime Minister of India:
Mrs. Indira Gandhi
President of Pakistan:
Zulfikar Ali Bhutto
(3 July 1972)

The Tashkent Declaration

I. The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan agree that both sides will exert all efforts to create good neighbourly relations between India and Pakistan in accordance with the United Nations Charter. They reaffirm their obligation under the Charter not to have recourse to force and to settle their disputes through peaceful means.

They considered that the interests of peace in the region and particularly in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent and, indeed, the interests of the people of India and Pakistan were not served by the continuance of tension between the two countries. It is against this background that Jammu and Kashmir was discussed, and each of the sides put forth its respective position.

II. The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that all armed personnel of the two countries shall be withdrawn not later than 25 February 1966, to the positions they held prior to 5 August 1965, and both sides shall observe the cease-fire terms on the cease-fire line.

III. The Prime Minister of India and

the President of Pakistan have agreed that relations between India and Pakistan shall be based on the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of each other.

IV. The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that both sides will discourage any propaganda directed against the other country, and will encourage propaganda which promotes the development of friendly relations between the two countries.

V. The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that the High Commissioner of India to Pakistan and the High Commissioner of Pakistan to India will return to their posts and that the normal functioning of diplomatic missions of both countries will be restored. Both Governments shall observe the Vienna Convention of 1961 on diplomatic intercourse.

VI. The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed to consider measures towards the restoration of economic and trade relations, communications as well as cultural exchanges between India

and Pakistan and to take measures to implement the existing agreements between India and Pakistan.

VII. The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that they give instructions to their respective authorities to carry out the repatriation of the prisoners of war.

VIII. The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that the sides will continue the discussion of questions relating to the problems of refugees, evictions and illegal immigrations. They also agreed that both sides will create conditions which will prevent the exodus of people. They further agreed to discuss the return of the property and assets taken over by either side in connexion with the conflict.

IX. The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that the sides will continue meetings both at the highest and at other levels on matters of direct concern to both countries. Both sides have recognized the need to set up joint Indian-Pakistani bodies

which will report to their Governments in order to decide what further steps should be taken.

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan record their feelings of deep appreciation and gratitude to the leaders of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Government and personally to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. for their constructive friendly and noble part in bringing about the present meeting which has resulted in mutually satisfactory results. They also express to the Government and friendly people of Uzbekistan their sincere thankfulness for their overwhelming reception and generous hospitality.

They invite the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. to witness this declaration.

Prime Minister of India:
Lal Bahadur Shastri.
President of Pakistan:
Mohammad Ayub Khan.

(10 January 1966)

● There was never any threat of a breakdown. But 'a breakthrough', which is what an Indian official called the agreement, was also not expected.

India gets out of the agreement the substance of what has eluded her for the better part of two decades, the acceptance by Pakistan that it cannot get the Valley of Kashmir (and) a pact renouncing the use of force...

(Pran Chopra, *New Statesman*, 7 Jul.)

● Amid rejoicing in the Punjab, Bhutto may begin engineering two fundamental developments: a prolonged freezing of the whole Kashmir dispute... and a scaling down of his army (by quietly demobbing the gallant ninety thousand).

(*Guardian*, 4 Jul.)

● Simla has yielded an agreement and not a solution. The greatest benefit for New Delhi will accrue not

from the decisions achieved, welcome though they are, but from conclusions Indian leaders have reached regarding the trend of Pakistani thinking.

(*Financial Times*, Jul.)

● The subcontinent is not about to become a region of miraculous peace. It is too important to the great powers — and particularly to

the rivalry between Russia and China — for that.

(*Economist*, 8 Jul.)

● Mr. Bhutto has followed Mrs. Gandhi into the field of realism. The dream of an all-Moslem Kashmir, belonging entirely to Pakistan was shattered by the brutal secession of East Pakistan. It was suddenly seen that the faith of Islam was not a criterion for statehood.

(*Daily Telegraph*, 3 Jul.)

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ALGERIA. Algeria has prepared a programme of closer political and industrial co-operation with Spain including Spanish investment in Algeria's industrial development and a joint policy in the mediterranean area. Spain will help Algeria in the construction of a railway for the transport of Algerian iron and other ores across Spanish Sahara. A contract for the exploitation of the Algerian natural gas has already been signed between the two countries. ● President Bumadyan inaugurated the country's first ceramic factory built at Guelma under the Algerian-Chinese Agreement.

BAHRAIN. First 44-member Constituent Council will be elected before the end of this year as a first step towards democracy. A decree issued by the ruler empowered Prime Minister to get the draft constitution ready within four months.

BANGLADESH. First civil Budget of over 5,000m Taka was announced on 20 June. ● Soviet Ambassador in Dacca handed over a letter to Prime Minister Sheikh Mujib on the normalization of conditions and durable peace in the sub-continent.

CHINA. The 51st Anniversary of the Chinese Communist Party celebrated on 1 July. ● China received yet another large passenger jet airliner the Ilyushin-52 totalling the number in the air-fleet to three. A European flight via Bucharest, Belgrade and Tirana is to be inaugurated shortly. Plans for opening a service to Canada are already under way.

As said in the Qur'an 'You are the best nation raised up for men; you enjoin good and forbid evil. We should be guided by the Holy Quran and the wisdom of our Prophet Muhammad S.A.W. Look ahead and not look back', said H. E. Tunku Abdul Rahman, Secretary General of Islamic Conference, in a message to the Second Annual Conference of the UMO held in London recently. The Conference adopted several resolutions pledging support to the Arabs and calling upon Bangladeshi authorities to stop atrocities being committed against Muslims.

● South London Mosque Committee has been granted permission to construct a mosque at the junction of Durnsford Road and Ryfold Road Wimbledon Park SW19.

● The Ninth Annual Conference of the FOSTS—Federation of Students Islamic Societies in UK and Eire is to be held at Owen's Park, University of Manchester, on 21-23 July, theme: 'Spectrum of Tajdeed'.

● A Society for the Defence of Human Rights in Bangladesh formed in London on 1 July.

● The 10th Annual Convention of the Muslim Students Association (USA) is to be held at Lindenwood College, St. Charles (near St. Louis) Missouri on September 1-4, 1972, theme: 'Islam and Muslims in North America'.

● The Pakistan Citizenship Act 1951 has been amended enabling the Pakistanis living in the UK to acquire British citizenship while retaining their Pakistani nationality.

● Some British MPs and representatives of UNO, Red Cross, Bangladesh, Bihari Community and Operation Omega met in a House of Commons Committee Room to receive and consider the report of the Bangladesh Conciliation Mission on 29 June on the plight of Biharis.

EGYPT. Ministry of Transport is considering a French blue print on the Cairo underground train project. ● People's Assembly is to consider the demand by MPs to lift all censorship.

FRANCE. Despite protests, France resumed nuclear atmospheric testing as scheduled in South Pacific. Since 1966, France has so far exploded 28 nuclear devices in the area.

INDIA. India has decided to set up a new and so far the largest 6m tons refinery at Mathura.

INDONESIA. The Home Minister urged caution against subversion which, he said, was aimed at making Indonesia surrender her active and independent foreign policy. He described the recent PT Suburi Opinion Poll as subversive as it brought the nation's leadership into discredit. "It was illogical that we should have requested a foreign organisation to evaluate our national leadership", he said. ● The governor of Bali announced that no licences would be granted for nightclubs and casinos on the island.

IRAN. The Shah of Iran said any threat to Pakistan's security and integrity could have the most serious consequences for Iran and Asia. The Shah also announced plans to purchase three concord supersonic airlines worth about \$180m and his government's intention to buy more arms from Britain.

IRAQ. The first Communist weekly 'Al-Fikr al-Jadid' started publication. This is the second licence the Communist Party has got since 1959 to publish a paper.

ISRAEL. Mr. Mintoff, the Maltese Premier told Israeli Premier that he was a friend of both Israel and Arabs. ● An oil refinery planned in Elatt will process Sinai oil for refuelling of ships calling at the port. ● The Knesset approved a £16,385.6m budget for the current year.

JORDAN. Finance Minister announced a ban on dealings with 28 foreign firms and organizations for violating Arab boycott of Israel regulations. The ban affects some American, Italian, Turkish, Swiss, Indian, Cypriot, Belgian and British establishments.

KUWAIT. The 1972-73 Budget was approved; total revenue: 536m Dinars; estimated expenditure: 153m dinars.

LIBYA. An agreement with Yugoslavia signed on 29 June under which Yugoslavia would buy a part of oil from Libya. ● A new Press and Publication Law was announced allowing any citizen of Libya or the Federation of Arab Republic to publish a newspaper under certain conditions. The newspapers shall not be censored before publication but debates and decisions of the Revolutionary Command Council or the Cabinet may not be published without a prior official permission. Any foreign journalist responsible for anti-Libya propaganda may be black-listed and refused entry.

NIGERIA. The Commissioner for

Mines and Power, Shettima Ali Monguno, said in OPEC meeting oil companies accepted principle of participation in the oil industry by governments. The OPEC Secretariat would prepare a report on environmental pollution caused by oil. The next meeting of OPEC is to be held in Lagos in November.

PHILIPPINES. The Philippines President has invited representatives of Libya and Saudi Arabia to visit Southern Mindanao to see for themselves that there was no government campaign of harassment against the Muslims. Earlier reports said that thousands of Muslims were evacuated from eleven Southern Municipalities and their houses were burnt including eleven Mosques. The number of those killed was officially admitted as 1,845, while unofficial reports put the figure well over 3,000.

SAUDI ARABIA. The Islamic University of Medina awarded 249 scholarships to students from 70 Moslem countries for the new academic year. ● A study has revealed that establishment of a gas cooker industry in the country is feasible, the total cost of such a project being SR 642,000 ● Air service between Saudi Arabia and Tunisia was inaugurated.

SOVIET RUSSIA. After talks between Indian Communist Party Chairman, Mr. Dange and Soviet communist party chief Mr. Brezhnev a statement was issued which expressed satisfaction with the negotiations between Mrs. Indira Gandhi and President Bhutto and said these will be a valuable contribution to durable peace and good neighbourly relations between South Asian countries.

SUDAN. President Jaafar Numeiry announced the release of all Southern political prisoners. The 600 members of former Southern guerrilla forces have been absorbed into the Police and Prison Services.

TURKEY. Ex-Prime Minister, Mr. Suleyman Demirel claimed that a Communist threat against democracy and the system of government existed in the country. He said 'we possess definite proof that the present wave of terror and terrorism is being instigated and supported by international communism. ● 112 members of the Justice Party and MPs tabled a bill calling upon the government to renounce decision to stop growing and processing opium by December 1972, because it would affect 70,000 farmers. ● A former Chairman and 18 members of the outlawed Turkish Labour Party were arrested on charges of provoking Kurdish separatism.

UGANDA. An agreement signed with Libya under which Libya is to buy 500 tons of Tea and 35 tons of coffee from Uganda. Besides, Libyan Commercial bank will open a branch in Uganda to facilitate financial transactions.

UNITED KINGDOM. Over 500 Iranian students demonstrated against the Shah of Iran on his

arrival in London. ● Aeradio (IAL) the UK based Company providing world-wide technical services for aviation won a £4½m contract for the Saudi Arabian Ministry of Defence and Aviation.

UNITED STATES. The Democratic Party's platform Committee agreed on a 'Statement of Principle' saying the future democratic administration should 'recognize and support the established status of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. ● The Senate decided to give Israel a special \$85m aid.

YEMEN, SOUTH. A farm machinery repair factory, a gift from Comrade Kimil-Sung of North Korea was inaugurated on 16 June. ● President Bumedyan of Algeria donated £110,000 sterling for the construction of a High School in San'a. Besides, Algeria is awarding 20 scholarships to Yemeni students to study in Algerian Universities.

PEOPLE

Vatican Radio denied rumours that the Pope intended to retire when 75. ● Mr. Piloo Mody, elected President Indian Swatantra Party. ● Muhammad Uthman Isma'il appointed director of the Egyptian President's Office for Assembly Affairs. Dr. Predrag Vranicki, renowned Marxist theoretician appointed rector of Zagreb University. ● Giulio Andreotti elected new Prime Minister of Italy. ● Kakuei Tanaka, 54, is Japan's new Prime Minister. ● Pierre Messmer, 56, appointed French Prime Minister. ● Lord George-Brown, former British F.M. summoned on a charge of driving with excess of alcohol in blood. ● Iranul Bari editor, Bhashani NAP weekly *Hak Katha* arrested by Bangladesh government.

VISITS

Polish Foreign Minister, Stefan Olszowski, to Norway. ● Ethiopian Emperor, Haile Selassie to Yugoslavia. ● Bangladesh Minister of Trade, Mustafizur Rehman to Bulgaria. ● Sri Lanka Prime Minister, Mrs. Bandaranaike to China. ● Syrian President Hafiz al-Assad to Moscow. ● John Connally, President Nixon's special envoy to India. ● Premier Win of Burma to Hungary. ● US Secretary of State William Rogers to Australia, Indonesia, Bahrain, Kuwait, Greece, Romania, Hungary and Yugoslavia. ● President Numeiry of Sudan to Tanzania. ● Algerian Foreign Minister, Butafiqah, to Belgium and Spain. ● Jamaican Premier Thompson to Zambia and Tanzania. ● Tanzanian Minister of Economic Affairs and development Planning to Algeria, Polish Deputy Foreign Minister, Josef Czyrek to Turkey. ● Tanzanian President Nyerere to Zambia. The Pope patriarch of All Africa Greek Orthodox Church, Nicholas VI, to Rhodesia. ● Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko to Netherlands, Luxembourg and Belgium. ● Schmelzer, Netherlands Foreign Minister to Egypt. ● Syrian Assistant Foreign Minister, Abdullah al-Khani to Turkey. Yugoslav Premier Dzemal Bijedic to Algeria. ● UN Secretary General, Dr. Kurt Waldheim, to Poland. ● Saudi Arabian Minister of Communications, to Tunisia. ● Ugandan President, Idi Amin to Saudi Arabia and Sudan. ● Saudi Foreign Minister Sayed Omar Al-Sakuf to Lebanon. ● Sultan Qabus of Oman to Jordan. ● Sheikh Al Hadi Belkadi, Grand Mufti of Tunisia to Saudi Arabia. ● Willy Brandt, German Chancellor to Israel after Nov. 1972.

DIPLOMATS

Dr. M. S. Qureshi, Pakistan Ambassador transferred from Nigeria to Lebanon. ● Monoronjan Dhar, President Bangladesh National Congress appointed ambassador to Japan. ● Iqbal Athar, Pakistan diplomat called on Sheikh Mujib in Dacca on 30 June. ● Kenneth Keating, US ambassador in Delhi resigned.

DIED

Sir Gavin de Beer, Director of Natural History Museum (1950-60) and a prolific writer, died at Alfriston, Sussex. ● Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis, F.R.S. renowned Indian statistician on 28 June. ● Talal ibn Abdullah former Jordan king in Istanbul on 8 July. ● Patriarch Athengoras of Constantinople, 86 on 7 July. ● Sir Owen Dixon, 86 Australian former chief justice and UN mediator on Kashmir in 1950.