

impact

international fortnightly

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'THE ITEM ENTITLED' UNITED NATIONS

The fact that Syria, Algeria, Iraq and Libya did not take part in the voting on the Middle East resolution at the General Assembly of the UN on 8 December in a sense make these countries' attitude towards the resolution very similar to that of the Israelis in describing it as "spurious". If one is looking for practical results, the long hours of talk and behind the scene negotiations would perhaps yield very little. The resolution would not help Palestinians gain back their land even though it is the most strongly worded of the several resolutions which both the Security Council and the General Assembly have passed against Israel so far. The attitude of the Israelis in flouting these resolutions should make one think not so much of its brazen-faced aggressions but of the usefulness and relevance of the United Nations itself.

Broadly speaking, there are two attitudes which Muslim member countries of the UN may adopt towards the Organisation while maintaining some semblance of a purpose-

ful attitude. They can either decide that the United Nations is useless and irrelevant so far as their needs are concerned; that it is an enormous time-waster and often effectively shifts the onus for effecting solutions to the wrong place—outside the theatre of real activity; that, therefore, it would be wiser to say to the others—'look we are not playing ball with you when our interests and lives are at stake'; and that, therefore, they should try to evolve a parallel forum of cooperation among themselves. Clearly in the present situation this is a difficult course even to chart out much less to follow. It is a course which those who refused to vote on the Middle East resolution might unconsciously have begun and their perception of reality might well lead them to continue on it.

The other course to be adopted is to treat the UN and its various forums seriously. Even though little or no practical redress to problems and grievances seems possible in the present set up, this should not mean a slackening of effort to make the Organisation more effective and meaningful so far as the Muslim countries and the Third World generally are concerned. Muslim countries may decide that this is one of the most effective forums for influencing world public opinion admittedly seems so amorphous and of doubtful value. In the long run public opinion may have a decisive weight of its own. Seen in this context the UN resolution on the Middle East may not be so hollow after

all since it reiterates the inadmissibility of the principle of the annexation of territory by force.

Might one look forward to the day when this principle would apply not only to the West Bank, Sinai and Gaza but to the whole of occupied Palestine?

For the record, the resolution called on Israel to "desist from all policies and practices affecting the physical character or demographic composition of the occupied Arab territories". This is a case of asking a wrong to right itself.

The resolution also calls upon states not to recognise any changes carried out by Israel in the occupied territories in contravention of the Geneva conventions of 1949 and to avoid actions, including actions in the field of aid, that could constitute recognition of Israel's occupation. This was a watered down version of the draft resolution which called for sanctions against Israel.

The resolution was passed by 86 votes to seven, with 31 abstentions. Among the Big Powers, Russia voted for the resolution and is carrying on a vitriolic campaign against China for abstaining. The United States wanted to vote against but in the end abstained. France and Britain who were partly responsible for toning down the draft resolution voted in favour. The six who voted with Israel against were all from Latin America—Bolivia, Colombia, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua and Uruguay.

The full text of the UN resolution on the Middle East is as follows:

The General Assembly, having considered the item entitled "The Situation in the Middle East," and having received the report of the Secretary-General of September 15, 1972, on the activities of his special representative to the Middle East;

Reaffirming that Security Council Resolution 242 (1967) of November 22, 1967, must be implemented in all its parts;

Deeply perturbed that Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and General Assembly resolution 2799 (xxvi) of December 13, 1971, have not been implemented and, consequently, the envisaged just and lasting peace in the Middle East has not been achieved;

Reiterating its grave concern at the continuation of the Israeli occupation of Arab territories since June 5, 1967;

Reaffirming that the territory of a State shall not be the object of occupation or acquisition by another State resulting from the threat or use of force;

Affirming that changes in the physical character or demographic composition of occupied territories

are contrary to the purposes and principles of the charter of the United Nations, as well as to the provisions of the relevant applicable international conventions;

Convinced that the grave situation prevailing in the Middle East constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security;

Reaffirming the responsibility of the United Nations to restore peace and security in the Middle East in the immediate future,

1. Reaffirms its resolution 2799 (xxvi) of December 13, 1971;

2. Deplores the non-compliance by Israel with General Assembly resolution 2799 (xxvi), which in particular called upon Israel to respond favourably to the peace initiative of the special representative of the Secretary-General to the Middle East;

3. Expresses its full support for the efforts of the Secretary-General and his special representative;

4. Declares once more that the acquisition of territories by force is inadmissible and that, consequently territories thus occupied must be restored;

5. Reaffirms that the establishment of a just and lasting peace in

the Middle East should include the application of both the following principles: (a) withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict, (b) termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and its right to live in peace within secure and recognised boundaries free from threats or acts of force;

6. Invites Israel to declare publicly its adherence to the principle of non-annexation of territories through the use of force;

7. Declares that changes carried out by Israel in the occupied Arab territories in contravention of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 are null and void, and calls upon Israel to rescind forthwith all such measures and to desist from all policies and practices affecting the physical character or demographic composition of the occupied Arab territories;

8. Calls upon all States not to recognise any such changes and measures carried out by Israel in the occupied Arab territories and

invites them to avoid actions, including actions in the field of aid, that could constitute recognition of that occupation;

9. Recognises that respect for the rights of the Palestinians is an indispensable element in the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East;

10. Requests the Security Council, in consultation with the Secretary-General and his special representative, to take all appropriate steps with a view to the full and speedy implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967), taking into account all the relevant resolutions and documents of the United Nations in this connection;

11. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council and General Assembly on the progress made by him and his special representative in the implementation of Council resolution 242 (1967) and of the present resolution;

12. Decides to transmit the present resolution to the Security Council for its appropriate action and requests the Council to keep the General Assembly informed.

Survey

● ISRAEL'S RUSSIAN PROBLEM ● AUSTRALIAN ELECTIONS

RUSSIA'S JEWISH PROBLEM

At least 32,000 Jews will have left Russia for Israel during 1972. Last year almost 20,000 Soviet Jews emigrated to Israel.

The size of the emigration would seem to cast doubt on the theory of Russian persecution of Jews and unwillingness to allow them to emigrate. The whole massive propaganda campaign in the West allegedly to bring pressure on the Soviet Union to allow the Jews to emigrate more and more appears to be a farce, an elaborate smoke screen behind which Jews in the West, the Soviet Union authorities and the Israel government are working, known to one another, towards the same goal. This is the colonisation by Jews of lands occupied by Israel in the June war of 1967 in a well-planned and desperate attempt to make and to keep Israel a predominantly if not exclusively Jewish land.

It is noteworthy that the present exodus of Jews to Israel from Russia began only in 1968, after the June war. That the emigration is not motivated by alleged Soviet discrimination against Jews in particular can be shown by two facts. Firstly, most emigrating Jews seem able to quote horrific examples of Soviet discrimination against Jews but are reluctant to admit that in their own cases any alleged discrimination influenced their decision to leave. Secondly, Russian Jews, as a social group, are probably the most successful in the Soviet Union. Although they constitute only about 1 per cent of the population, they provide 14.7 per cent of the country's doctors, 10.4 per cent of lawyers, 8 per cent of scientists, 8.5 per cent of writers, 7.7 per cent of artists, musicians and actors. Among regular officers, diplomats and politicians their number is above the national average for Communist Party membership.

Why then the hullabaloo about persecution? There are many possible reasons. The first and the obvious one is common to most Jewish propaganda—the attempt to prove a case of anti-semitism to gain sympathy for the Jews, to galvanise their own (sometimes flagging) ranks and to derive support for the state of Israel. A second possible reason is to make the Soviet Union appear to be unwilling and refusing to allow Jews to emigrate when in fact it might be acting in perfect collusion with the Americans and the Israelis. That some accord was reached between President Nixon and the Soviet Union during his visit to Moscow shows that the various parties are acting with the knowledge of each other. The reason for making the Soviet Union appear to be the scoundrel in the eyes of the Jews must obviously be to make the Arabs believe that the Soviet

Union is not doing anything of its own accord that could be construed as being anti-Arab and so damage Soviet Union—Arab relations.

Even so, one of the main targets for criticism by the Jewish campaign is the education taxes which the USSR require emigrants to pay as compensation for the education received at the expense of the state. Jewish charges that Jews have to pay exorbitant 'ransom' money before being allowed to leave seem quite spurious and even irrelevant. Many states have a contractual relationship with their citizens who are educated at the expense of the state in order to keep scientists and other specialists to work for the national good. France for example requires graduates from higher education institutions of national importance to work for a number of years (up to 10) in government designated posts. If they decide to leave such employment, they have to reimburse the state for the amount spent on their education. Israel itself operates such laws and is quite strict about their application. There was a time before 1967 when Israel was publicly concerned about its trainees who were leaving for places like the United States.

To show that these criticisms are part of the smoke screen, the Russian law grants "partial or full exemption" from payment of the fees in certain cases. Moreover the amount paid so far by Soviet Jews emigrating is an average of less than £150. Altogether there have been more than 50,000 Jews who have emigrated and they have only paid altogether a sum of £1½ million.

There are other aspects of this vociferous propaganda campaign—like the support it receives from governments, political parties and academics in the West—which it would be very enlightening to study. Here what is important to show is the Israeli-felt need to consolidate its position in places like the Gaza, the Sinai and the West Bank of the Jordan as part of its traditional policy of creating *fait-accomplis*, altering the human geography of the Middle East, establishing a *de facto* presence in order to claim a *de jure* presence later on.

The policy of having Russian Jews in Israel is to be set against the failure of other policies and other facts of life in the Middle East. Two facts among others would throw light on this policy. Firstly, the expectation that Jews from America, the European countries and South Africa would provide permanent colonists for Israel has proved somewhat mistaken. These Jews go to Israel without 'burning their bridges' and when life becomes too hard or irksome in Israel they return to

their native countries. The Russian Jews are likely to prove, so the argument goes more permanent colonists. The majority of those who enter Israel are sent as pioneers to colonise the lands occupied since June 1967, often against their will. They are to counterbalance and possibly to eliminate the Arab presence.

Secondly, Israeli policy in the lands occupied since 1967 has been one of the main concerns of the state and a touchstone for determining various Israeli politicians' commitment to the idea of a fully Jewish state. This policy is viewed in the context of the (to the Israelis) alarming birth rate of the Arabs and there is nothing that can arouse Jewish chauvinist sentiment more than the question of the high natural increase of the Arabs as compared to the Jews. The whole question of Soviet Jews' immigration to Israel is not as simple as it sounds. Credit must be given to the Zionists—whether Jews, Americans or Russians—for pursuing doggedly and persistently what is emerging to be a carefully laid policy and the propaganda to back it up.

New Order in Australia

The Labour victory over the Liberal-Country Party coalition in the recent Australian elections is already having its predictable and important impact on Australian life and on Australia's international relations. From now on, more and more will be heard of Australia not simply as the outpost of white British civilization but as an 'Asian' power in its own right.

For a start the Labour government is likely to show more dynamism under the new Prime Minister Mr. Edward Gough Whitlam than the old Liberal-Country party coalition which had governed Australia for close upon a quarter of a century. Under the former ageing Prime Minister, Mr. McMahon, Australia was very much an arm of the western alliance assisting British-Malaysian forces in the confrontation with Indonesia, sending soldiers to fight in Vietnam and supporting the racist regimes in Africa against the Africans—a reflection of racist policies and attitudes at home and a strong aversion to communism.

All this has already begun to change and reshape. One of the first things that Mr. Whitlam did on becoming Prime Minister was to start moves for the full diplomatic recognition of China which Whitlam visited nine months before Nixon as a guest of Chairman Mao. In broader terms, Whitlam supports what he calls "the neutralization of Southeast Asia". This presumably would mean enabling American disengagement in the area and a newer pattern of relations between the countries of South East Asia. With regard to British and Commonwealth ties, some of the trappings may be done away with. Mr. Whitlam for example is not much of a monarchist and a senior Australian diplomat has already forecast that Australia would become a Republic. Attempts would be made to devalue the purely racist ties as well. White British subjects may find that they would not be given the same privileges of entry and living in Australia as has been the practice up till now. An example of a racist stand of the new government is its notice to South Africa that it would not accept any sporting teams selected on an apartheid basis.

Survey

● PAKISTAN & BANGLADESH ● CULTURE AND ALIENATION

At home measures have been announced to give better treatment—in the form of land for example—to the Australian aborigines who have been brutally treated in Australia. Australia has a history of economic and social legislation against the indigenous people and non-European immigrants. Radical changes are expected in other fields as well, for example in the field of equal pay for women which is supposed to come into force by mid-1975.

Australia then is certainly a country to watch.

Pakistan and Bangladesh: a beautiful tangle

After about six weeks of campaigning designed to prepare the people to accept the reality of Bangladesh and two weeks of popular and student defiance, President Bhutto appears to have deferred recognition of Bangladesh until after 7 March 1973 when Sheikh Mujib goes to the polls. Sheikh Mujib on the other hand has reiterated his stand that 'war-crimes' would be punished. The beauty of the whole tangle is that neither it is possible for Mr. Bhutto and Sheikh Mujib to meet, nor solve the problems otherwise.

President Bhutto has no objection to putting a legal and moral seal to the 'secession' of Bangladesh. Pakistan's delegate told the U.N. General Assembly that they had no objection to recognition, what they wanted was the U.N. resolutions (on PoW's) to be honoured. The President, in reversal of his previous positions has said (26 October) that East Pakistanis themselves wanted and had fought for separation. Earlier he had told the National Assembly that in fact the Pakistan envisaged in All India Muslim League's Lahore Resolution of 23 March 1940 was not one but two Pakistans. He even exonerated India of the charge of aggression when he said that Mukti Bahini and other forces themselves fought against Pakistan army and India only came in their support. In face of such honest confession of guilt, it is not clear what objection Pakistan really has to the Bangladesh view that they had declared independence on 26 March 1971, that the Pakistan army since that date was an occupation army, that it surrendered to the joint India-Bangladesh command and that Dacca was within its rights to hold, and try the PoW's for "war crimes" and the East Pakistanis for "collaborating" with the "occupation army". Yet, recognition is not possible because Sheikh Mujib refuses to meet the Pakistani President and discuss the question of Pakistan's links with "Muslim Bengal". Sheikh Mujib on his part can not see Mr. Bhutto before recognition because "he cannot rely on him". But could this be a valid reason for refusing to meet a *de facto* and an equally *de jure* head of state, particularly when this possibly if not certainly meant recognition, settlement of the outstanding problems and peace in the sub-continent?

For the present it seems Sheikh Mujib would prefer to wait for the day when he could talk to some one other than Mr. Bhutto. Mr. Bhutto too may want to wait for the results of the next March's elections in Bangladesh. There may be good reasons for avoiding each other.

Bangladesh Anniversary

Last week, there were celebrations in Bangladesh marking the first anniversary of the 16 December victory. The circumstances in which Bangladesh found itself to be born were very special, and a year of confused and catastrophic history is too brief a period to go into judgement or opinion.

An anniversary never-the-less is an occasion to reflect and the thought which deserved serious reflection by Bangladesh leadership is that of its personality. Sovereignty without personality is a pithy substance and frankly speaking Bangladesh leadership has yet to show that things there are not otherwise. All those problems that not only remain unsolved but look aggravating are in the first instance a regression of the state of non-entity in Bangladesh.

What it is that entitles Bangladesh to be a qualitatively separate entity, an entity apart not only from Pakistan but also from Indian Bengal and Indian Assam? To say that certain words used by the Muslims in Bangladesh for 'greeting', for 'water', for 'aunt' etc. are different from those used by the Hindu Bengalis (in both Bangladesh and Indian Bengal); or that certain folk-songs are exclusive to Bangladesh, or that Bangladesh is the real historical 'Bongo' or Bengal (Aaur Rahman interview, *Impact*, Vol. 2:8) is only to underline the cultural differences between the Muslim Bengalis and the Hindu Bengalis irrespective of the fact whether they are in Bangladesh or Indian Bengal. It does not answer the question of politico-cultural boundaries as between Bangladesh and the Indian States of Bengal and Assam. The recently adopted Constitution for a 'secular, socialist, democratic and nationalist' Bangladesh goes further to diffuse instead of clarifying this question of personality. Except that it is signed by Bangladesh Assembly-men, there is nothing "Bangladeshi" about the whole Constitution. That it is written in the Bengali language also does not make it exclusively Bangladeshi.

The colossal and non-stop drain of resources that make the whole economic fibre of the country unviable is not really smuggling, it is simply a problem of lack of frontiers. If the situation continues to be so no matter how much foreign aid is injected and how much economic effort is put in locally, the prospects would remain tenuous and uncertain.

Naturally, the country is fast becoming a contending ground between the pro-Moscow, the pro-Indian and the pro-Chinese-U.S. groups and interests. And there do not seem to be enough pro-Bangladeshis around.

Foozy Story!

Born in Pakistan, Mahfooza was brought to England when five and by the time she came out of school, she was no more Mahfooza. She had become Foozy. Had she stayed in Punjab she would otherwise have become "Phooji". Looking into the family background there was nothing radical in this transformation from a possible Phooji to an actual Foozy. Foozy went back to Pakistan; worked as a secretary, as an air-hostess and did modelling. Nothing "un-Pakistani" happened until that day on the family dinner table when daddy brought up the question of Foozy getting married. Daddy, modern and liberal himself had not intended to impose any "arrangement", he in fact had invited discussion. But the discussion that followed, so natural to Foozy, all of a sudden brought home to the family the bitter truth of a transformation that had already taken place. Now "Islam was in danger". For poor Foozy too, the crunch had come. The agony of having been born in a society where "a girl's life was not her own" was too much to be put up with. She ran away to her "home", England, only to discover that despite the cultural oneness, she was no kith or kin. Immigration Rules did not permit her to stay except as a student, and there she was a student nurse in a Birmingham mental home caring the old and unwanted like a precocious mother.

Waiting at London's Heathrow airport for the flight bringing in her father from Pakistan, comes

the feeling that somehow, she must agree to her father's wishes. Daddy arrives, Foozy agrees to go back and the story ends there.

One does not know why did Foozy decide to go back and ostensibly agree to marry as arranged. Chris Goddard's revealing and instructive documentary (*Passage to England*, I.T.V., 5 December 1972) fails to probe this very important area; more important than her running away from Pakistan. Was it a qualitative re-transformation or a simple surrender to the family establishment? How exactly this came to be brought about?

Apart from shortcomings in selecting and comparing untypical or incomplete situations and sweeping generalisations in an area which deserved analysis and profoundness, the documentary also betrays, an understanding of the basis and nature of society and social relations in Islam. But that is understandable. The real merit of the documentary, however, lay in its powerful focus on the contradictions and hypocrisies of the modern Muslim society. Besides, it has a distinct Orwellian quality. What happened to Foozy is already happening to many Muslim children elsewhere.

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Problems in Alienation

Yugoslavia's Young Communists

A. W. Hamid

It seems that the West which has long looked to Yugoslavia as a potential thorn in the flesh of international communism and as a sort of beach-head for the introduction of capitalist ideas and goods into the east European countries may now be biting its nails at the turning of events in this jig-saw of a Balkan country. The problem rather is that the years of experimenting with Tito's version of liberal communism have produced more economic and social unevenness than any self-respecting communist would dare tolerate. The answer is seen to lie mainly in the return to doctrinaire Marxism. It is realised that the older generation many of whom have become tainted with the love of bourgeois life would not be in a position to guarantee a trouble-free return to the straight Marxist path. Suddenly now it is the youth who are important and they must be trained and ideologically equipped for the task which many of those in the top echelons of society are not fulfilling and even refuse to fulfil.

The concern for the youth is such that they were the main topic for debate at the Third Conference of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia which opened on 6 December in Belgrade. The League of Communists is made up of communist parties from the six states of Yugoslavia. Its president is Josip Broz Tito and it is one of the main forces, which hold the country together besides the army and Tito himself.

At the very beginning of the conference, a senior member of Tito's executive emphasized that the League of Communists bore "a historical and concrete ideological-political responsibility for the state of socialist social consciousness and particularly for the socialist education of the young generation". He said that it was erroneous to think that self-management (one of the bases of Tito's liberal communism) in itself automatically guaranteed the socialist content in the consciousness of young people or that young people were an ideologically homogeneous group and as such were unconditionally revolutionary.

What then, according to Establishment and the party faithfuls, has gone wrong? The answer seems to be everything. Reactionary national prejudices have arisen. Unsocialist and anti-self-management ideological tendencies and forces are at work. Privilege in education, in employment and in the standard of living of young people have arisen, a considerable section of whom are not involved in direct socialist democracy and are outside any form of socialist organisation. The majority do not have the chance to fulfil

themselves. There is a serious weakening of the influence of the League of Communists and even of the Youth Federation, on the life and activity of specialized youth organisations. Many of the youth seem to think mainly of entertainment and are not concerned with social questions and this is to be blamed on the "extremely widespread flood" of literary trash and bad taste in publications, press, radio and television. Resistance is being offered in various ways to the Marxist character of education. There is no organised action to remove shortcomings from historical science, and no consistent and concrete ideological and political struggle against the reactionary work of the Orthodox Catholic and Islamic clergy, who are striving to extend their influence, primarily to the youth. The higher strata of youth is attracted to various disco-clubs and boutiques simply because they cost more money than a young worker could afford; this behaviour comes from the provincial eye to western-consumer, petty-bourgeois culture. The school system is pre-eminently based on the material possibilities of the family and partly on interest and as such proves to be a system which constantly deepens existing social differences. Data shows that differences between various groups are being maintained to the detriment of children from rural and working class families. There is too much bureaucracy and the business attitude predominates. Monopoly features have developed even in personnel policy and sports events at the expense of self-management relations . . .

And so the catalogue of evils, wrongs and shortcomings went on being listed at the conference displaying an openness and a frankness that may seem quite extraordinary on the face of it. In essence, however, most of the delegates did not show any disagreement with or deviation from the party line. This is perhaps with few exceptions that of a farmer who complained that the rights of individual farmers under the cooperative agricultural combines system had been reduced to a minimum, and that of another delegate who called for a change in the education system which would produce individuals of a critical and free disposition.

It was very clear from the conference that a free disposition was now very far from the ideal of the party faithfuls who want to rectify the wrongs and do away with the plethora of evils. Many of the measures which the delegates called for dealt with the need to change the educational system. There should be special political schools for the young, such as those already started in Belgrade by

municipal enterprises. The division of schools into elite ones and those for workers was unacceptable. Anyone whose ideological orientation was not in accordance with the League of Communists (LCY) was to be opposed. Marxist education must be given its rightful place especially in the underdeveloped parts of the country and this must be done speedily. Special attention should be given to organizing special and independent armed formations of young people. The preparation of youth for defence must evolve continually from the elementary schools to those of higher education. Special effort must be directed towards tackling the high level of unemployment among the youth. The League of Communists should intensify its ideological opposition to the influences of religion in fields which were outside religious belief. The easiest way to ensure the ideological education of young people was to introduce Marxism in schools as a separate subject. Throughout Yugoslavia in all the republics and the provinces profound changes in the system of education, in curricula, syllabuses and textbooks would have to be implemented based on Marxist principles.

Apart from education, young people must be involved in all aspects of socio-political life. Their influence on the course and content of decision making from the local to the highest political level must be strengthened. They should have greater representation on the LCY itself which should make a concerted effort to enrol the socially and politically most active young people.

The seriousness of the debate and the insistence of the party workers would seem to suggest that Yugoslavia is on the brink of some form of Marxist Cultural Revolution on the lines of Mao's China. Tito himself said that Yugoslavia seemed to have been looking "rather too much at foreign exchange" but that now "the most stringent measures would be taken against any person who blocks the path of strengthening the League of Communists". Indeed for some weeks now a sweeping purge of the League is being carried out throughout the country including top men in the party. There is a quiet militancy and Yugoslavia may be returning to the direction which was established twenty years ago. Those who used to say that Tito was the founder of red Protestantism and was to Communism what Luther was to Roman Catholicism may have to alter their judgement somewhat. Two decades is a very short time, but if we were to use the protestant analogy we may well speak of the paradox: Tito leading his own Counter-Reformation.

The Bihari Tragedy: Focus on Rangpur

Jan Fordham and Jim Scarlett,
"Operation Omega" * relief workers,
spent two months in Bangladesh.

Area

Rangpur is situated 65 miles North of Bogra and 25 miles East of Saidpur. The total population of the town is about 80,000. At the southern edge of the town there is an area of about two square miles which is largely inhabited by non-Bengalis. They are living in 22 main centres. These are mostly privately owned godowns, schools and open fields.

Population

In Rangpur there are three 'categories' of people: (a) non-Bengalis who were living in other parts of Bangladesh and who have come to Rangpur since independence, these form majority of the people living in camps, godowns and schools; (b) non-Bengalis who are officially registered as local inhabitants and who for the purpose of government census and electoral rolls are indistinguishable from local Bengalis; (c) Bengalis who have somehow or other been obliged to live in the camps with the non-Bengalis.

Even approximate figures on population are difficult to obtain. The government estimate for the people in category (a) is 2,802. The local relief committee figure is 20,000. The ICRC estimate the total at 10,000. Personally we think it is less than 10,000 though how much less is difficult to say. The Government has no figures for people in category (b) but the ICRC estimate 6,000 which seems a reasonable number. Bengalis living in the camps do not number more than a hundred.

General Condition

The condition of people in Rangpur is the worst yet discovered in Bangladesh.

There are several godowns with more than 1,000 people in them. They are filthy and much overcrowded. Old rags and bits of paper serve as a partition between families who have an average of eight to ten square feet per family of six. In one godown there were four cases of typhoid. There are no medicines available and the Biharis complain that they are not admitted to the local hospital.

In the last three months people have received about eight kilos of food grains per head (in Mohammedpur, Dacca, Biharis now receive the highest rations, approximately half-kilo per day).

Of the non-Bengalis living in the area, the vast majority are living in privately owned godowns. The day after we arrived the manager of the largest godown came to clear all the people out. He needs the premises to store jute. After a heated argument he agreed to allow them a few more days. Then he came again—more heated arguments in which we put it to him that it was the government's responsibility to provide alternative accommodation and that his anger should be directed against the latter rather than against the people. We got another extension; what will happen after the deadline remains to be seen. The ICRC are also helping in this affair and now we hope to get some tents. It is our contention that tents are better than godowns but homes supplied by the government are still better! Two hundred tents arrived on 23 November.

This is an example of what is likely to happen increasingly in the coming months with jute export in full swing. Some pressure must be applied to the government to make arrangements for the people now. Another major problem at the moment is clothing and blankets. The temperature at night is now extremely low and people have virtually nothing to wear or blankets to cover themselves. When the Bangladesh Red Cross (BDRS) were asked if they could supply any blankets they said they had none. We later discovered 35 bales of blankets (there are about 50 to a bale) in a godown in the area. They had been there for several weeks. The ICRC who originally supplied the blankets demanded that they be distributed within a week. On 23 November the ICRC distributed these with additional 4,000 blankets, 2,000 lungis and 200 saris. Much more is needed.

There are no schools which accept Bihari students at the moment. Children are often employed to beg in the town so even if there were provision for them many would not attend.

Employment is virtually non-existent. Only a handful of men have work selling *biris* (indigenous cigarettes) and tea.

Relief Work

As in all Bihari camps, there is a locally elected relief committee in the area whose job is to compile statistics, muster rolls of inhabitants, and to issue relief goods on behalf of the government or other agencies. In Rangpur this committee comprises, for all practical purposes, two young Bengali students. They are the officially recognised Chairman and Vice Chairman. These two young men appear to have given inflated population statistics and are, in the opinion of the ICRC, misdirecting relief. It seems that they have requested for 20,000 non-local Biharis and have issued the surplus over the estimated 10,000 to Bengalis. Since we have been in Rangpur these young men have twice intimidated the local population by telling them that if they co-operate with us they will not receive relief, will be beaten and in one instance, killed. We lodged an official complaint with the District Commissioner (DC) in Rangpur who, though agreed that the committee was not working properly, refused to take any action against them. The committee has the solid backing of the DC, local MCA and many other government officials. It is possible that the MCA who originally designated the job to the students, hoped thereby to direct the relief meant for non-Bengalis to his Bengali constituents. Also, of course, it gave him a friend in the enemy camp. The ICRC lodged a complaint against the committee on 22 November and we have yet to hear the result of this.

We have started three feeding centres in the area for the malnourished children. Children are being selected for feeding on the basis of a 'quac stick' survey. This survey shows that about 45% children are malnourished. Using this figure we anticipate feeding about three to four thousand children initially—approximately one thousand children in each centre. We are also working to build a clinic in the area.

The Political Situation

The DC in Rangpur is very much 'anti-Bihari'. As the most important figure in the area this is a major hindrance to the non-Bengali population. There appear to be many like him in the local government as well as in the BDRS (this latter body is as dubious in Rangpur as it is anywhere in Bangladesh). This being the case we foresee a large part of relief work as being 'political' in the sense that any real solution to the problem must come from the local government which is openly hostile. We therefore have to 'encourage/cajole' that government into doing its duty. The BDRS is particularly culpable in its distribution (or rather lack of it).

* See also "The Omega Story — Involved in Whatever Goes Around", *Impact*, Vol 2:6 and "A Slow death for the 'Biharis'", *Impact*, Vol 2:10.

On behalf of the three million Muslim Malays in 'South Thailand', the 'National Liberation Front of the Patani Republic' wishes to state that our fight is to liberate our Muslim Malay people and our beloved country "Patani" from the tyrannical and oppressive Thai colonialism. Let it be known that we are not 'bandits', 'terrorists' or 'Communists' as claimed by the Thai Government and inadvertently mentioned by some foreign press.

We are not against the Thai people; we are against Thai dictatorial regime that is trying to perpetuate its unlawful occupation of our country, to denationalise our people and to turn them into mere outcasts of the Thai society.

We have suffered at the hands of the Buddhist Thai colonialists for more than a century and our patience is exhausted. Our primary aim is to live as a free people and in a sovereign and independent country of our own: the "Republic of Patani". The Republic will comprise the four Malay provinces of Patani, Yala, Narathiwat and Satun, and the predominant Malayare as in the provinces of Songkhla, Pathlung, Trang and Krabi. These eight provinces were formerly part of the old Malay kingdoms of Patani and Kedah, which by default, deceit, treachery, blackmail and force of arms were occupied by the Thais (then Siamese) during the last century. It is therefore our right and our duty to regain those territories which rightly belong to us.

The Malays in 'South Thailand', ever since their country Patani, was occupied in 1832 have been subjected to a process of deliberate, systematic and ruthless oppression by the Thai colonialists. They have been and are still trying zealously to 'Thai-ise' the Muslim Malays by forcing them to adopt Thai names, Thai-Buddhist culture, Thai language and ultimately the Buddhist faith. On the other hand the regime suppresses the Malay language, Malay education, Malay schools and even the Muslim laws of marriage and inheritance. The regime also sponsors Thai settlers into Patani who are brought from Central and Northern Thailand and displace the local population from their ancestral lands.

Malays in 'South Thailand' are treated as subject people; they are debarred, on racial and religious grounds, from joining the Thai civil service, the police and the military forces; they are not given the opportunity to pursue higher education in the colleges or universities. Whatever meagre facilities are there, are available only to those few who adopt Thai names and culture and speak Thai language, but even they are given minor or the lowest posts. All top positions in the South such as Governors, District Officers, and Heads

The Conflict in Patani

Statement by the
"National Liberation Front of
Patani"

It must be borne in mind that Patani is a purely Malay and Muslim country and Thailand has no political, territorial, ethnological, anthropological or geographical right over the country. It is simply colonial history that while Kelantan, Trengganu, Kedah and Perlis were recovered by the British from the Siamese (now Thais) in 1909 to become British Malaya and later Malaysia, the Malays of Patani and the States farther north were left to be subjugated by the Siamese. The Malays in 'South Thailand' are, therefore, no part of the Thai people.

of Government departments are filled by Buddhist Thais.

The Malays thus stand reduced to being aliens in their own country. For them there is no freedom of speech or of assembly or of association or of press. Their sole organ of expression and community life are the Mosques and the private Islamic religious schools, or 'Pondok' Schools; but even these are now being gradually and systematically suppressed.

As the Malays generally refuse to send their children to Thai 'Government' schools and their own schools remained suppressed, this is retarding their social and economic development and widening the gulf between the Malays and the Thais. Ironically enough the Thai pour scorn on the Malays as a race of illiterate and backward peasants.

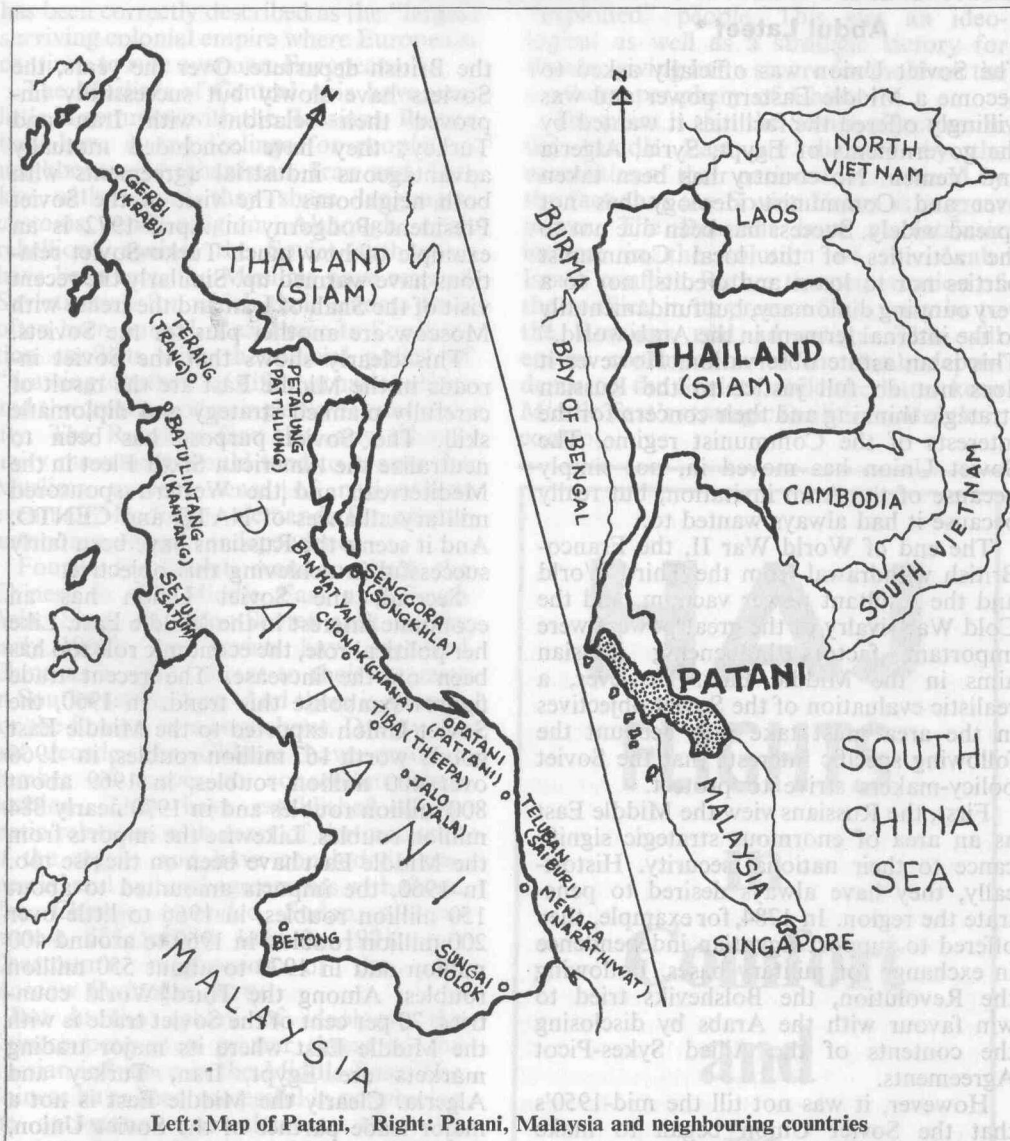
Malays in 'South Thailand' are res-

trained from travelling to Malaysia especially to the States of Kelantan, Kedah and Perlis. Likewise, the Malaysians from these States are discouraged from visiting Patani and other Malay areas in 'South Thailand'. This is despite the fact that the Malays on both sides of this unnatural border have close family relations since ages. But in their desire to persecute and to isolate the Patani Malays from the world Muslim Community, the Thais do not spare even those who go for Hajj. Pilgrimage to Mecca is handled by the Special Branch of the Thai police department. 'Agents' are posted in the Thai missions abroad, especially in Kuala Lumpur and Kota Bharu (Malaysia) with the specific object of observing Malay students and tracking the freedom fighters. Such 'agents' are posted also in Indonesia, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and other Arab countries where 'South Thais' are studying.

The Malays have no means to register their sufferings and protests with the Thai authorities. Any protest is immediately branded as 'dangerous talk' or 'treason' and ruthlessly suppressed. As soon as there emerges a natural or a potential leader, the authorities will try to arrest his popularity by all sorts of subtle means and do everything to assassinate his character or even eliminate him physically. It is a matter of common experience for the Malay leaders to be assassinated or simply disappear from the scene. Clearly the object is to prevent any leadership at all to emerge among the Patani people. What is worse is that because of its complete isolation from the outer world, Patani finds itself completely helpless against the Thai reign of terror.

The National Liberation Front of the Patani Republic and the 'Patani Revolutionary Army' will continue to fight and carry on struggle until the Malay people and our beloved country Patani are free from the Thai yoke. We know that victory cannot be achieved by mere words or peaceful agitation, it needs determined and armed struggle. We know we have to make immense sacrifices in terms of life and property to achieve our sacred aim. The National Liberation Front of the Patani Republic and the Patani Revolutionary Army are supported by the entire three million Malays as well as by the patriotic non-Muslim groups of Patani. Our armed forces are a national army and in fact a people's army that is fighting to liberate the people and the country. It will not commit any act that is unjust or would degrade women and children. Our army will not commit any plunder of property and possession; it will not destroy or disrupt the means of livelihood of our people so long as these are legal and legitimate in the laws and the teaching of Islam. Our army will respect the customs, traditions and the way of life of the masses of the people besides offering its co-operation to

“The Thai authorities call us ‘Muslim bandits’ or ‘terrorist bands’ who kidnap, extort and oppress, even kill Government officials and others. But we wish the world to know that we are freedom fighters and revolutionary people who also love freedom, self-respect, humaniterianism and peace.”



Left: Map of Patani, Right: Patani, Malaysia and neighbouring countries

them. The Front will be fair to all irrespective of whether they are Malays or Thai Buddhists so long as they do not oppose the independence struggle.

In order to suppress our struggle, the Thai Government are sending thousands of troops, armed policemen, armoured cars and even planes to ‘South Thailand’ to intimidate and kill our people but will never succeed because they are fighting against the people and not against ‘bandits’ or ‘terrorists’, as they wish to think.

The Thai authorities call us ‘Muslim bandits’ or ‘terrorist bands’ who kidnap, extort and oppress, even kill Government officials and others. But we wish the world to know that we are freedom fighters and revolutionary people who also love free-

dom, self-respect, humanitarianism, and peace. It is true that we carry out operations, roadblocks and ambushes etc., in some areas of ‘South Thailand’. It is also true that sometimes we have to kill Thai soldiers, policemen and Government officials. These are necessary, and in our view justified, because we are fighting a war of liberation against a ruthless, oppressive and tyrannical colonialist regime; also because they are the people who themselves are responsible for the kidnappings, torture and killing of our people.

We the Patani Malays have suffered at the hands of the Thai colonialists for more than a century, and we do not want to continue to suffer and be exterminated. So we are determined to fight until we are able to free our country Patani.

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NEWSMEDIA BOOK SERVICE

"... the Soviet inroads in the Middle East are the result of carefully planned strategy and diplomatic skill. The Soviet purpose has been to neutralize the American Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean and the Western sponsored military alliances of NATO and CENTO. And it seems the Russians have been fairly successful in achieving this objective".

SOVIET OBJECTIVES IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Abdul Lateef *

That the Soviet Union has acquired a significant hold on the Middle East is all too clear. She is the most involved major power in the area. Her commitments encompass military aid, economic aid, scientific aid and, of course, the immense diplomatic and moral support that she extends to her Arab clients, who regard this aid and support indispensable for survival. President Sadat paid tribute to the Soviet friendship on July 18 at the very moment when he was expelling (though only briefly) the Russian military personnel from Egypt.

Russian influence in Egypt is more real than anywhere else in the Middle East. Not only because Egypt depends so totally on the Russians but also due to the fact that the Soviets, like other European imperialists such as Napoleon and Alexander, consider Egypt as the gateway to the Middle East. And the Russians would like it that way because such a relationship is essential for the protection of their enormous interests in Egypt and elsewhere in the Middle East. In Egypt these interests are represented in the form of such huge investments as the Aswan Dam completed in January 1971, Helwan Steel Works, and nearly four billion dollars given to Egypt since Nasser's humiliating defeat in June 1967. This is just an example of the Russian involvement in Egypt. The picture becomes much larger when the investments and commitments in the entire area are taken into account.

While the Soviets have made tangible contributions to the security and development of the "progressive" Arab states, the Arabs, having little tangible to offer, have generally thought of the Russians as their champion. The Arabs seem to have forgotten or perhaps it does not matter any more, that the Soviet Union in 1947-48 steadfastly advocated the partition of Palestine and the establishment of the Zionist state. As Theodore Draper has correctly stated: "If the existence of Israel was the original sin, the Soviets were as implicated in it as anyone else."

How did the Soviets manage to acquire this position in a matter of less than two decades where their forefathers had failed to do so in centuries? Professor Walter Laqueur, perhaps the foremost Western Jewish observer of Soviet foreign policy in the Mediterranean, has argued that "the Russians' strengthened position in the Middle East has come about not by coercion or infiltration but by invitation.

The Soviet Union was officially asked to become a Middle Eastern power and was willingly offered the facilities it wanted by the governments of Egypt, Syria, Algeria and Yemen. No country has been taken over and Communist ideology has not spread widely. Success has been due not to the activities of the local Communist parties nor to loans and credits, nor to a very cunning diplomacy, but fundamentally to the internal ferment in the Arab world." This is an astute observation. However it does not do full justice to the Russian strategic thinking and their concern for the interests of the Communist regime. The Soviet Union has moved in, not simply because of the Arab invitation, but really because it had always wanted to.

The end of World War II, the Franco-British withdrawal from the Third World and the resultant power vacuum, and the Cold War rivalry of the great powers were important factors influencing Russian aims in the Middle East. However, a realistic evaluation of the Soviet objectives in the area must take into account the following specific interests that the Soviet policy-makers strive to protect.

First, the Russians view the Middle East as an area of enormous strategic significance to their national security. Historically, they have always desired to penetrate the region. In 1784, for example, they offered to support Egyptian independence in exchange for military bases. Following the Revolution, the Bolsheviks tried to win favour with the Arabs by disclosing the contents of the Allied Sykes-Picot Agreements.

However, it was not till the mid-1950's that the Soviet Union began to make headway in the region. In 1955, an arms deal was negotiated between Egypt and Russia; since then the Soviets have become major suppliers of arms not only to Egypt but also to a number of other Arab states. At the same time they have been steadily increasing their military presence in the area. Today the Soviet Union has basing facilities in Egypt, Syria and Yemen. It has a naval squadron in the Mediterranean and maintains advanced bombers with missile capabilities at the Egyptian airfields of Beni Suel, Cairo West and Inchas, among others. It has signed treaties of Friendship and Co-operation with Egypt and Iraq and it is speculated that Syria may do so soon.

The treaty with Iraq and the growing friendship with the Baathist regime there, give the Soviets an excellent opportunity to exercise influence in the Persian Gulf where a vacuum of power exists because of

the British departure. Over the years, the Soviets have slowly but successfully improved their relations with Iran and Turkey; they have concluded mutually advantageous industrial agreements with both neighbours. The visit of the Soviet President Podgorny in April 1972 is an example of how much Turko-Soviet relations have warmed up. Similarly the recent visit of the Shah of Iran and the treaty with Moscow are another plus for the Soviets.

This clearly shows that the Soviet inroads in the Middle East are the result of carefully planned strategy and diplomatic skill. The Soviet purpose has been to neutralize the American Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean and the Western sponsored military alliances of NATO and CENTO. And it seems the Russians have been fairly successful in achieving this objective.

Second, the Soviet Union has an economic interest in the Middle East. Like her political role, the economic role too has been on the increase. The recent trade figures symbolise this trend. In 1960, the Soviet Union exported to the Middle East goods worth 167 million roubles, in 1966 over 400 million roubles, in 1969 about 800 million roubles and in 1970 nearly 884 million roubles. Likewise the imports from the Middle East have been on the rise too. In 1960, the imports amounted to about 150 million roubles, in 1966 to little over 200 million roubles, in 1969 to around 400 million and in 1970 to about 550 million roubles. Among the Third World countries, 70 per cent of the Soviet trade is with the Middle East where its major trading markets are Egypt, Iran, Turkey and Algeria. Clearly the Middle East is not a major trade partner of the Soviet Union, but as the region industrializes the picture will change.

Also, the Soviets have an interest in the Middle Eastern oil. Although they have enough oil of their own, the Middle Eastern oil is of importance to them in two ways. It is cheaper than the Soviet oil and its use will allow conservation of Soviet resources. It was in line with this policy that the Soviet Union made arrangements with Iraq for the acquisition of oil from the North Rumaila field and, with Afghanistan and Iran, for the acquisition of natural gas. Secondly, influence in the oil rich Middle East can be of considerable value to the Soviet global interests. According to recent estimates, Western Europe gets 52% of its oil from the Middle East and Japan 83%. At a crucial time the Soviets may want to deny this oil to the West and Japan thereby pressuring them into a difficult negotiating position.

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Third, the Soviets seek the prevention of the emergence of Islamic unity movements and Islamic nationalism. They view such developments as full of grave consequences for their multinational state. The Soviet Union has nearly 35 million Muslims. Most of them live in Central Asia which has been correctly described as the "largest surviving colonial empire where Europeans continue to rule over non-Europeans."

The Muslims of Central Asia have very little in common with the Russians. Rather they have strong feelings for peoples in neighbouring Afghanistan, Iran and Turkey with whom they share languages, customs, and religion. Although open rebellions against the Soviet authorities have been rare, the Muslims have resisted Sovietisation for which their leaders have often been purged. Resistance to Sovietisation conflicts with the official policy of "drawingtogether" of different nationalities and the creation of a single Soviet nationality. The Russians fear that any Islamic unity movement would tend to arouse the Muslims nascent sense of nationalism eventually leading to demands for greater autonomy or even independence.

Fourth, the Soviets want to check the Chinese in the Middle East and South Asia. Since the Sino-Soviet split in the early 1960's, the Soviets have regarded China as a major threat to their interests in Southwestern Asia. And there is enough for the Soviets to worry about. During the last decade, the Chinese have made a number of moves to consolidate their position. They have established diplomatic relations with most of the countries of the region and have concluded commercial and cultural agreements with them. The Chinese extended Sudan a low-interest \$35 million loan in 1971 after Khartoum's suppression of the pro-Moscow Sudanese party.

But in the sphere of ideology, the Chinese pose even greater threat to the Russian influence in the Middle East. The Chinese have been successful in convincing the anti-status quo elements that the Russians are revisionists and imperialists. China has openly supported the Palestine Liberation Movement and the Popular Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arabian Gulf while Russia has been suspicious of them. China has refused to recognise the State of Israel and has thus endeared itself with the Palestinian groups. To demonstrate its support for Arab nationalism, China sent a special envoy to the funeral of President Nasser with a message of condolence pledging firm support for Egypt and other Arab countries in their struggle against imperialism and Zionism. And in the United Nations debates, China has blamed both Russia and the United States of undermining the vital interests of the Arabs and has demanded the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all of the Arab territories. Clearly the Chinese have pushed the Russians into a defensive position.

However, in the South Asian conflict of last year, the Russians came out on the top. Their active support, both material as well as diplomatic, helped India dismember Pakistan. Russia hoped that this will demonstrate to China, and indeed to the world, that the Russians are friends of the "exploited" people. This was an ideological as well as a strategic victory for Russia, giving her a secure foothold on the southern periphery of China.

The point is that the Soviet objectives in the Middle East are dictated by the necessities of their national interest and by the fact that the Soviet Union is a great power. The Russians have no intrinsic interest in the solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Rather the perpetuation of the conflict, in its present form, may be to the Russians real advantage. This will ensure continuation of the Arab dependence on the Soviets while the latter keep Middle East's strategic facilities under their control.

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Letters

"Faiz, Iqbal and Unemployed dogs"

Thank you for publishing my review article of Poems by Faiz (*Impact*, Vol. 2: 13). However, you have made such substantial changes, both in the language and the content (without my consent or knowledge), that the tone, temper and approach of the whole article has been materially altered. Many of the phrases and sentences—indeed whole passages—are not mine.

My article was meant to be rather more vigorous than the tame and timid version which has appeared. Most of my remarks about Kiernan, Faiz, Iqbal and 'the socialist aristocracy' are omitted and the whole of the concluding paragraph is different from mine.

I wonder to whom the authorship of the article should be attributed?

KHALID HASAN QADIRI

London N.W.2

Jilani's "Inquest on Pakistan"

Malik Ghulam Jilani's "Inquest on Pakistan", published in *Impact* (Vol. 2: 11) is an interesting example of the way vested interests play with the feelings of the people. Mr. Bhutto's information media tell West Pakistanis how much the Bengalis hate them and how happy they are under Mujib. Here we find Mr. Jilani putting all the blame on Bhutto and exonerating the racists in "Bangladesh". We also know that Mujib's information media has done all it could to convince Bengalis how much West Pakistanis hate them. The purpose: Divide and Rule. Both Bhutto and Mujib are separatists, incapable of ruling a united Pakistan. No wonder both are in India's good books.

The main thrust of Mr. Jilani's argument is against Bhutto, which is acceptable if one remembers Mujib's role as well. Mr. Jilani needs to be reminded that secret talks between Yahya and Bhutto (Jan. 17, 1971) were followed by long drawn out secret, and "successful" talks between Bhutto and Mujib (Jan. 27-29, 1971). The "hijacking" of the Indian plane (Jan. 30) followed and various steps aimed at the dismemberment of Pakistan succeeded each other rapidly.

Mr. Jilani's political loyalties need to be placed. He has high praise for India, for the process of "democratic self-persuasion" (sic) she went through before attacking Pakistan. He conveniently forgets that Pakistanis were not "contending" with India, they were busy dividing the country. Even more conveniently he forgets the massacre which preceded the delayed army action in East Pakistan and the blood-bath which accompanied the successful attack by the Indian army.

Mr. Jilani's slander against the Pakistan army is very significant. Strange as it may seem his views on India, the Pakistan army, and the "joy" of Bengalis under Mujib are shared by Bhutto, Mujib, the NAP and India, i.e., all the gainers from the tragedy. Thus apparently Mr. Jilani's attack on Bhutto fits into the NAP's and CIA's line who wish to keep some stooges ready in case the tide of Islam dislodges Mr. Bhutto. Hypocrisy often appears in the garb of righteousness.

Mr. Jilani's verdict against the Pakistan army is problematic. When they fought, even the enemy records, they fought well, and their withdrawals, without air cover, were orderly and disciplined. The surrender conspiracy was right at the top; witnesses from the scene indicate that Pakistan army units were totally unaware of any intention to surrender or even withdraw. If there had been any such plan known in E. Pakistan, the army, the volunteers, the Biharis and the Al-Badr groups would have escaped without much difficulty.

Mr. Jilani should consider that if Mujib had not been a confirmed Pakistan-hater, Bhutto would never have released him.

KAUKAB SIDDIQUE

Halifax, N.S., Canada

The discomfiture of the Pakistan Army and the forced secession of East Pakistan have led us into a maze of distorting mirrors. The concepts that gave rise to the State of Pakistan appear to have failed. The propaganda machine of our detractors is determined to lead us along a corridor of distorted images. Along this corridor are placed carefully hidden trap-doors designed to open one after another taking us to a doom far greater than that we have already suffered.

WHOSE FAILURE IN PAKISTAN ?

Kalim Siddiqui

In a very real sense the 'destiny' that was reached in 1947 was merely a milestone. The destiny itself was never really discovered or defined though we indulged in a great deal of confused talk about 'Islamic State' and now 'Islamic Socialism'. The challenge that now faces the Muslim intelligentsia everywhere, and particularly in Pakistan, is one of defining a new destiny that will lead to national cohesion and economic and political mobilisation of our energies and resources to a far greater extent than that which was achieved during the Pakistan Movement. For this, the first and foremost precondition is an understanding of the role of Islam.

It is important to realise that Islam is knowledge as well as a theory of knowledge. In its role as knowledge Islam is pure science; in its role as an epistemology Islam encourages the continuous development of the applied sciences in all fields of human endeavour. As a pure science, Islam gives us a body of eternal concepts, but Muslims in each epoch must continuously apply and re-apply these concepts according to the changing needs and demands of time and place.

As scientists, social scientists and technocrats we know that a concept or theory can be applied to produce alternative operational models. All aircraft, for instance, are operational models of the theory of aeronautics. But military aircraft look different from civil aircraft; and within each category bombers look dif-

ferent from fighters, and freighters are different from passenger airliners. While the theory of aeronautics stays the same, the size, shape, range, weight, design, engine, fuel, capability and other features can all change. Once an aircraft, no matter how primitive in technology, has flown, the theory of aeronautics has been proved. No number of subsequent crashes can disprove that theory. When an aircraft crashes, attention is centred on that particular design, technology, engine, fuel, navigation, or on human failure in the air or on the ground, but never on the theory of aeronautics. This is, of course, simple common sense and everyday experience.

Let us now take an example from the social sciences. Human psychology assumes self-preservation though each individual knows he has to die one day, the individual and the social order as a whole does everything possible to postpone that day for each member of the society for as long as possible. Hence the doctors and hospitals and medicines. But a number of individuals also commit suicide. The incidence of suicides does not in any way alter the basic premise of human behavioural psychology, i.e., self-preservation. Suicides, like aircraft crashes, are rightly regarded as resulting from psychological disorders or "technological" failures.

Another example from the social sciences may be taken from the field of economics. When, in the depression of the 1930s, the Western world suffered the capitalist system's greatest setback, their economists blamed it on to 'structural failure'. The concepts of the capitalist system were not challenged, at least not by the capitalist system itself. John Maynard Keynes's famous *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* merely reoperationalised the concepts of the capitalist economy, though he came close to challenging the concept of interest or usury on which the whole system rested. Karl Marx had earlier effectively destroyed the rationale of the capitalist system. But neither Marx nor Keynes succeeded in destroying the capitalist system; in fact both in their own ways helped to make the system stronger. It is significant, however, that both Marx and Keynes were prepared to challenge and re-examine not only the structural defects of the operation model of capitalism, but also its most basic concept—interest.

The capitalist economic concept of interest or usury is, however, itself the operational form of another more fundamental concept of human nature—that man is by nature selfish and private gain or profit is the universal motivation of man. Ultimately this view of human nature emanates from Christendom's doctrine of 'original sin'. As such man is born sinful. In this formulation man is by nature bad and aggressive and human relationships consist of, as Thomas Hobbes puts it in his *Leviathan*, perpetual war of 'every man against every man'. The economic concept

of usury, therefore, is merely an extension of the West's religio-philosophical view of the nature of man.

Marx, far from challenging this concept of the nature of man, merely transferred the concept of on-going conflict from man to a collectivity of men called 'class'. He re-wrote economic history in terms of class conflict and went on to make projections into the future and called it 'scientific socialism'. Marx believed that man is by nature bad, selfish and aggressive but, according to him, man acts in his class interest. Marx, therefore, merely reoperationalised the same concept which had given rise to capitalism and ended up with socialism. He merely transferred the capitalist function from man to State. This is why what we see in Communist countries today is 'State capitalism'—hardly a great or 'scientific' advance on private capitalism. In fact, to borrow a phrase from Lenin, we can say that socialism is the highest stage of capitalism! Marx himself admitted this when he said that an advanced stage of capitalist development is a prerequisite to the creation of class conflict, the emergence of the proletariat whom he called the 'gravediggers' of capitalism.

So in fact we find that even in the social sciences all the failures of their structures and models have failed to persuade the Western thinkers to re-examine their most basic concepts.

By contrast what has the Muslim intelligentsia done? Every time we or our models have failed we have persuaded ourselves to believe that Islam has failed or its concepts have failed! Because we failed to build Pakistan on the concept that gave rise to the State, our detractors have gone into a spell of joy proclaiming from all corners of the world that 'Pakistan was never a nation' and that religious beliefs of a people are an insufficient ground for building a nation—State. Using the same 'scientific' and deductive mind the same people do not go on to advocate the disappearance of either of the Vatican or of the State of Israel! Are they being irrational or illogical? To them success in conflict is basic to the validity of any concept. Since some people lost a war so their concepts must be defective; because Israel has won a succession of wars, Zionism must be right.

That is by their logic fair enough. But did Muslims really apply their concepts and fail? The answer is—and Muslim history is proof of it—that whenever and wherever we have applied our concepts we have nearly always succeeded. The odd failure was merely the exception that proved the rule—like the odd aircraft that falls to the ground or the individual who commits suicide.

But of course in recent years our rate of failure has reached alarming proportions. Almost every time we fail. The time has come when not the individual model but the basic design and concepts must be closely scrutinised.

Let us look at these. What is the situation? Virtually every part of the Muslim world has recently emerged from between a hundred to two hundred years of Western colonialism. The political control of the colonial powers has been withdrawn. They are supposedly 'free'. But an essential feature of the present situation is that the political structures and economic and educational systems are still the same as bequeathed by the departing colonial powers. In particular, before the Western powers withdrew they took care to destroy the Muslim tradition of scholarship. They created among us a group of people baptised in Western philosophy, literature, history, science, economics, politics and sociology. This Western oriented elite was established in the Muslim countries as a politically and economically powerful wealthy and corrupt middle class.

This elite inherited power from its mentor—the colonial power. Before the colonial powers withdrew they had taken care to integrate the colony's economy with their own highly developed economies in a relationship in which the former could not escape from the appointed place of being latter's poor relations!

The Western powers, through a process of education and political socialisation, also gave the concepts of geographical, linguistic and ethnic nationalism. These were secured in a capitalist system of economic structures based on usury—or the concept of 'every man against every man'. They were thus made 'modern'.

This goes to show that the recent Muslim failures are primarily the failures of Western concepts in these societies. If the post-colonial history has proved anything, it is that Western political concepts and *laissez faire* economics are irrelevant to our needs. To hide this obvious fact, Western propagandists tell that Muslim concepts have failed and that if they want to succeed, they ought to become even more modern, more Western, more nationalistic, and more capitalistic. The only spark of originality most of the Muslim intelligentsia is showing is to advocate our headlong advance towards socialism—the highest stage of capitalism! That immediate action is needed to eliminate the injustices perpetrated by the capitalist system is self-evident. It is also true that social justice and economic amelioration is the most urgent need of the Muslim society. But to seek social justice is not necessarily to be a socialist in the Marxist sense.

The other aspect of socialism that attracts the Muslim intelligentsia is the rapid economic development achieved by Russia and China and an equally spectacular economic advance happens to be their pressing need. What the 'socialists' among Muslims advocate is the adoption of economic policies and models of economic development followed in Russia or China in preference to Western economic policies. To advocate certain

policies is far from being a socialist. By confusing *policies* and tools of economic management with socialism they betray an ignorance of socialism. Socialism as practised in Russia and China, in Marxist theory itself, is not socialism at all—it is the stage of 'State capitalism' on the road to Utopian socialism when the State would 'wither away'. What is euphemistically called the dictatorship of the proletariat is in fact the dictatorship of capital controlled by a party and State bureaucracy. No socialist State has yet shown any signs of withering away.

Socialism and capitalism have one thing in common—both insist that the values of the people be forcibly changed. Capitalism and its political concomitant, social democracy, have already achieved this among the Western educated elites and the dominant classes in our society. Because democratic capitalism excludes the great mass of the people from political or economic participation—except as wage labourers, peasants, tenants-at-will and ballot box fodder for competing bourgeois parties—it purports to leave the values of the society relatively 'free'.

In fact, as Marx conclusively showed, bourgeois democracy uses such values to its own ends. Thus, though Marx's comment about religion being the 'opium of the masses' was directed at India of his day, he was in fact drawing on European experience. Marx had never been to the Indian subcontinent, or indeed anywhere outside Europe. In Europe the highly institutionalised, structured and hierarchical Churches in fact played into the hands first of the feudal system, and subsequently the capitalist system. Indeed, the Church was the greatest single feudal institution. The Reformation and the Renaissance were revolts against the Churches' feudal-political authority. Once the rise of the emperors against the Pope had broken the R.C. Church's political authority, there emerged the nation-State and the politically subservient Churches. The Church of England and Protestantism are the prime examples. The reformed Churches then became allies of the capitalist/democratic system.

But, with the arrival of full-employment economies and capitalism's advance to the stage of 'high mass consumption', the opium function of Christianity has been replaced by the movie, television, football, horse and dog racing, dance and bingo halls, betting shops, the 'popular' nude-a-day press, and now the sex shops. Capitalism and democracy have as effectively destroyed the Christian values of the European peoples as socialism is said to insist upon doing as part of the proletarian revolution. And yet one is endlessly told that socialism would destroy Islam while a band of so-called religious leaders are content with accepting the capitalist version of Islam. The fact remains that neither capitalism nor socialism can tolerate a situation where the social order is

based on, and draws its ultimate justification from, a set of values that are most generally held by the people.

In bourgeois politics the values of a people—whether Islamic, Christian, Jewish or any other—are used as the 'opium' of the masses. It is precisely in this role that the rulers of Pakistan have attempted to use Islam since 1947. But the attempt failed in so far as the capitalist system failed to legitimise its power in a 'democratic' political framework and the feudal/capitalist/bureaucratic dominance had to be secured through a succession of dictatorships.

The 'Islamic socialism' approach within a bourgeois political system is an admission of the failure of capitalism to use Islam as the legitimising factor. Maulana Maudoodi and his Jamaat-e-Islami fell in the trap of becoming identified with the *status quo* and paid dearly for it. Maudoodi and the Jamaat also became identified as the upholders of the ritualised Islam with greater emphasis on the salvation of the soul than on the needs of the body and mind in the immediate business of living. In any case, to succeed in the politics of a class ridden society, one has to be a bourgeois—a condition which neither Maudoodi nor his party sufficiently met.

Maudoodi insisted on democracy on the premise that the majority of the people being Muslims and being genuinely desirous of a truly Islamic order, would vote for his party in preference for the bourgeois parties of the Right and Left. Here Maudoodi made the most elementary of mistakes in predicting political behaviour. He assumed that the people's political behaviour would follow their *beliefs*. In fact *beliefs* seldom are a decisive factor in a behavioural equation unless these are mixed with an equally strong *reason*. The Pakistan Movement led by Jinnah succeeded because for a brief period the *beliefs* of the Muslims of the subcontinent were combined in a political programme that also appealed to their *reason*.

But *beliefs* on their own are not a sufficient condition for political behaviour. The belief-based Muslim political culture needed the infusion of a rationally articulated political programme which the Pakistan concept provided in the struggle to secure a homeland. But, unfortunately, the alienation of beliefs from reason re-emerged after 1947.* The results are all too obvious. In one form or another the Muslims of the subcontinent—in Pakistan, Bangladesh and India—are once again under the hegemonic control of Delhi. It was this Hindu domination that they thought they had escaped with the establishment of Pakistan. The reason for rebuilding Pakistan is back with them. Unless they do that they shall piecemeal, like Bangladesh, disappear into the ever open arms of 'Mother India'.

* The social, economic and political reasons for this are fully discussed in my book, *Conflict, Crisis and War in Pakistan* (London: Macmillan 1972).

Books

"Asking to be torn apart"

Order of Assassins, by Colin Wilson, *Hart-Davis*, London, £2.25

Blood, said Goethe, is a very special juice, and not everyone can drink it with pleasure or edification. Colin Wilson, touching on a problem of the age, shows that this drink is becoming more and more socially acceptable; what else could one expect if millions and millions of people, day by day and hour by hour, are exposed to films and Television in which gaudy and vivid images of violence are portrayed in glory?

Order of Assassins examines the changing patterns of murders: from murders committed hundred years ago purely for pecuniary reasons to sex crimes of passion and now the more ritualistic, motiveless murders of today which he dubs 'murder for its own sake'. To enforce his arguments—that motiveless violence is on the increase—Wilson relates case-histories with ghastly detail and meticulous relish. We read of a 'Cannibal' killer who kept his victim's fingers in his pocket as souvenir and of American Zodiac killer who was motivated by self-publicity and even took part in a breakfast T.V. chat show.

In dealing with famous murders Wilson throws some new light on the character of the killers. Regarding Moors murders, for example, we read of Brady's obsession with Sade's ideas, rather than sex, and his belief that 'human life is unimportant, nature gives and takes away with total indifference'.

By far the most fascinating account is that of Manson murders. The first murder by the 'family' had a very strong motive: they believed that a friend, Gary Hinman, had 20,000 dollars hidden somewhere in his house and when he refused to hand them over to the 'family'—because they did not exist—Manson was summoned. When he could not get anything out of Hinman he slashed him with a sword, slicing his jaw and almost severing his ear. When Manson left another member of the 'family' Bobby Beausoleil, completed the job, with the verbal *coup de grace*: "Society doesn't need you. You're a pig. You don't deserve to live. You should thank me. I'm doing you a favour." Then followed the motiveless massacres beneath the air of psychedelic drugs. It is the civilization neurosis, says Wilson, "that turned Manson and his followers to self-appointed avengers."

'Murder for its own sake' has a history too. The classic murder of this type, which Wilson barely mentions, was committed in 1924 by two young Jewish intellectuals,

Loeb and Leopold, who killed their classmate to prove their superiority. Wilson's concept of 'violent man' (a phrase he borrowed from Von Vogt) is interesting. Here is a person whose resentful passivism makes him very relevant character of our time: "the increasing number of revolutionary movements... is a sign of the increasing number of violent men rather than of political consciousness".

"I had always known that civilization needs a religion as a matter of life and death", said Bernard Shaw in 1920. In 1972 Colin Wilson adds: "Every religious revival... proves that (man) is a creature whose basic need is for significances beyond everyday life. A society that provides no outlet for man's idealist passions is asking to be torn apart by violence".

Z.S.

Ghalib rediscovered

Ghalib Kaun? (Urdu) by Salim Ahmad, *Maktaba Al-Mashriq*, Karachi, 160 pages, Rs.7.50.

Salim Ahmad belongs to that group of non-conformist writers who have introduced newer angles and controversies into Urdu literature. He has written extensively on literary problems, on culture and politics and has always come out with fresh ideas. A poet, a critic and a dramatist, Salim tends to be out of step with his contemporaries. His *Nai Nazam aur Poora Admi* (New Poetry and the Whole Man), published almost a decade ago, was a pioneering study of the pattern of intellectual responses in modern Urdu poetry in relation to its socio-political and cultural environs.

His present work on Ghalib—one of the most renowned, popular and oft-quoted Urdu poet of the Subcontinent—seems to be a continuation of the same inquiry. The question as to why Ghalib continues to be popular even more than a century after his death is in fact a question on Ghalib's relevance to the new intellectual and ethical challenges of our age.

In a very compact book of 160 pages, Salim studies and analyses the intellectual career of Ghalib and relates it with the events that have contributed to the making of his psyche.

Personalities in Salim's scheme of things can only be discussed in terms of processes and actions. For Salim, therefore, this has necessitated a complete re-conceptualization, involving a considerable amount of re-definition of the existing terminology. Ghalib's personality thus emerges as a

socio-cultural reality, something cast in the mould of the social processes and identifiable clearly in his life and works.

Ghalib, according to Salim, was the pioneer of "modernity" among the Muslim intellectual elite of the nineteenth century India. Ghalib was modernist *par excellence* and was desperately trying to comprehend the oncoming social changes in the Indian Muslim Society. He was thus experiencing the sort of things which none of his predecessors could experience—agonies of conflict between tradition and change.

As the conflicts remain unresolved and the process of change has not yet produced any new alternative and viable value system, Ghalib not only survived into the 20th century, he continues even to this day to be the Indo-Pak Muslim society's main spokesman. As Salim puts it, Ghalib lives not only in his *Diwan* (poetic collection), he is there within our day to day existence, its problems, its aspirations and its frustrations.

The book has already provoked heated controversy about Ghalib—and Salim), but unfortunately on issues which are not very relevant to the central theme of the essay. The fact is that Salim simply does not toe the line of the contemporary Ghalibists.

Ghalib's talents were so obvious to himself, though not to his contemporaries, that he often failed to recognize his limitations. His overbearing personal vanity stems from his weaknesses and not from strength. In fact, Ghalib's sense of romance could never give him a heroic cast. On the contrary, sometimes his postures are ridiculous. Salim shows this and many others boldly and clearly and that is where his work is of such a different quality from the books written and mass-produced about Ghalib, recently as well as in the past.

Mumtaz Ahmad

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Briefing

Smyrna, 1922: The Destruction of a City by Marjorie Housepian, *Faber*, £3.50.

When in 1919 the Greek army supported by the allied guns occupied the port of Smyrna, they expected little resistance from the defeated Turkish forces. The Greeks were let loose in Asia minor on the pretext of protecting the Greek population but they were actually sent in to annex the entire area by Messers Lloyd George, Woodrow Wilson and Clemenceau. But they were sadly mistaken. The 'sick man' struck back to the surprise and bewilderment of the Greeks and their masters. They were driven out most disgracefully from a land they had set out to conquer with disastrous results for themselves and the Armenians who had actively collaborated with them against their Turkish compatriots. It is this tragic story that the present book by Miss Marjorie Housepian, herself an Armenian, sets out to unfold from a somewhat personal and biased standpoint.

The Terrorist, Translated and edited by H. T. Lambrick, *Benn*, £2.50.

An ex-serviceman of the British India, H. T. Lambrick bases his narrative about the Muslim saint of Sind, Pir Pagaro, and his followers commonly known as 'Hurs' (free-men) in the 1920's and 1930's. Pir Pagaro was sentenced to death for his 'dangerous activities' against the colonial rule of the British, and the Hurs were persecuted ruthlessly. They were dubbed as 'Thugs', murderers and terrorists. It is one such "terrorist", a devoted *Hur*, faithful to his 'Pir' and brotherhood whose confessions in jail form the contents of this book. How deeply the author is involved personally is manifest in the rancour and abusive epithets freely made use of in the book.

Sigmund Freud and Lou Andreas-Salome: Letters, edited by Ernest Pfeiffer, translated by William and Eliane Robson Scott, *Hogarth Press*, £3.95.

The daughter of a Russian general, Lou Andreas-Salome was born in 1861 in Petersburg. She possessed plenty of physical and intellectual charm to be on intimate terms with men like Nietzsche, Rilke and Sigmund Freud. The present collection of her letters is an important record of these friendships. Her relationship with Freud is specially significant. As a child she was devoid of parental love and felt rejected. Later her marriage with F. C. Andreas was also wrecked, for her 'sex' and 'affection' were the twains that never met. She was a divided self and longed for a cure that could at least give it a semblance of one-ness.

Freud's psycho-analysis promised an answer and a master-remedy. That is how this strange relationship with a pathological undernote sprang up. In a letter (Sept. 27, 1912) she wrote: "Dear Professor, since attending the Weimer Congress last Autumn, the study of psycho-analysis has continued to pre-occupy me, and the further I penetrate into it, the more absorbed I become." This was the beginning of the relationship, that held a special charm for both of them. While she seized it as an opportunity to discover her true identity, Freud looked upon it as "a fresh guarantee of the truth of the theories of psycho-analysis". (Freud once remarked: 'she regretted she did not know psycho-analysis in her youth's). But in fact it was much more than that. Freud was charmed and spellbound by her—a classical example of the dominance of the 'libido'. In November 1912, he writes to her: "I have adopted the bad habit of always directing my lecture to a definite member of the audience, and yesterday I fixed my gaze as if spellbound at the place which had been kept for you". When she failed to attend a lecture he wrote: "I was deprived of my point of fixation and spoke uncertainly".

The great charm she exercised over the 'master' is also apparent from the famous Wednesday Evening discussions when he passed notes to Lou requesting her to comment on what he had just said. In his letters to her, Freud time and again refers to prophetic, unifying breadth of her suggestions reserving only "humbler" scientific position for himself. The real importance of this correspondence lies in its revelation of Freud, who thought, "The Great unknown, He or it" will perforce repeat the socio-organic failed experiment of life with yet another race.

Freud who recommended to his patients letter-writing as a therapy, reveals himself as more a patient than a healer in this correspondence. Towards the end when coldness creeps in their relationship, he in a letter pathetically moans: "No one wants the company of an unhappy wretch—not even you".

Motherless Families by Victor George and Paul Wilding, *Routledge and Kegan Paul*, £3.50.

Case-study of 600 families in the East Midlands where the father had to mother the children as a result of death, divorce or desertion of their wives. As compared to the rich, more persons in the lower income group felt that it was better to leave work to look after children.

The Coming Clash by Hugh Stephenson, *Weidenfeld and Nicolson*, £2.85.

To Hugh Stephenson, Business Editor of the *Times* the very nature of the multinationals and the nation state is such that it is bound to lead to a clash between the two. Central control is a key element in a multinational enterprise. Top management of the parent concern always reserves to itself whatever power over its subsidiaries as it believes to be vital. These usually include financial control, inter-affiliate transfer prices, the allocation of export markets, and investment strategy.

It is not only at these levels that multinational companies influence society, the managers trained with the philosophy, standards and morality for example of American business schools, set the socio-economic tone in much the same way as the *Raj* used to influence colonial administration and society.

Listing

If Britain had Fallen by Norman Longmate, *BBC and Hutchinson*, £2.50 (Intelligent speculation of what would have happened if the Germans had really occupied Britain: What the Germans would have done and how the great British people reacted in subservience, in collaboration and in resistance)

Allal el Fassi ou l'histoire de L' Istiqlal (in French) by Attilio Gaudio. *Alain Moreau*, Paris, 35 fr. (Life story of a Mufti's son, Allal Fassi, who founded a club at the age of 16 and this club evolved into the Istiqlal Party of pre and post-independence Morocco.)

Morocco under Colonial Rule: French Administration of Tribal Areas, 1912-1956, by Robin Bidwel, *Frank Cass*, £5.50.

The Ashes of Smyrna, Richard Reinhardt, *Macmillan*, £2.95 (A historical novel woven round the tragedy of Smyrna in 1922).

Ecumenical Progress by Norman Goodall, *Oxford University Press*, £3.00 (Ten years of the World Council of Churches which has since grown into a predominantly American-European organisation to manage the rich nation's "Christian Aid" to Africa & the Third World).

A Religious History of the American People by Sydney E. Ahistrom, *Yale University Press*, £7.05.

The Indian Ocean by Devendra Kaushik, *Vikas*, Delhi, Rs.24. (An Indian Russophile's case of Russia's peaceful and honest intentions in the Indian Ocean; informative and documentary).

The Gardens of Mughal India by Sylvia Crowe, Sheila Haywood, Gordon Patterson and Susan Jellicoe, *Thames and Hudson*, £1.95.

The Unholy War

David Waines £1.75

Tracing the history of Zionism and Arab Nationalism, examining the Palestine problem, evaluating and assessing actions and reactions (208 pp; *Chateau Books*, New York).

What Happened in History

Gordon Childe 35p/\$1.50

Account of Man's progress and decline in the ancient world (paperback, 303 pp; *Pelican*).

Indian Secularism

Sharif Al Mujahid £2.25

Appraisal of Indian secularism, forces and factors of bigotry and chauvinism in post-independent India (313 pp; *University of Karachi*).

East Pakistan: A Case-study in Muslim Politics

D. N. Banerjee £2.20

An Indian viewpoint on political developments in the area from the Battle of Plassey in 1757 to the fall of Ayub Khan (204 pp; *Vikas*, New Delhi).

Saviors of Islamic Spirit

Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi £2.00

(Translated by Mohiuddin Ahmad)

A synoptical history of Islamic revival, from 'Umar Ibn' Abdul Aziz to Ahmad Ibn Hanbal to Salah Uddin and Jalaluddin Rumi (417 pp; *Acad. of Islamic Research*, Lucknow)

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Last Summer *Impact* Reporter went round with the 'Tablighi Jamaat'; the experiences and impressions are his own.

Three days in Tabligh

As I walked in, a light, unpleasant smell greeted me. It was around 12.0 p.m. and a large majority had gone to sleep. Glasgow mosque is indescribably wretched and insanitary. The old, somewhat dilapidated building is quite roomy; but most of it was littered with old clothing and other debris of unrecognisable origin. The remaining space was being utilized by members of the Tablighi Jamaat who had come from Sheffield after attending a big Tabligh Conference (*Impact*, Vol. 2 : 6).

"This is Khalid Sahib". I was introduced to a lean man of 45 with black *sherwani* (long coat), thin scanty beard and a black '*topi*'. His bare feet stood on an old, worn-out carpet. As Khalid Sahib spoke he revealed a warm, lovingly, wonderful personality. For the next three days most of my time was to be spent with him.

As it was getting late Khalid Sahib advised us to have dinner and turn in for the night.

At *Fajr* there was a congregation of over fifty people. After the prayer we heard a lengthy talk on the Jamaat's Six Points: *Kalima*, *Salat*, *Zikr* and '*Ilm*'—remembrance and knowledge of Allah, *Ikram*—respect for a Muslim, *Ikhlās*—purity of intention, and time for *dawah*. From now on these were to be repeated frequently.

Hysterical crying forced me to get up early. Some one advised me to quickly perform *wudu* and get ready of *Salat-ul-janaza*. A baby girl had fallen to her death from a second storey window. Along side her coffin another two were covered with flowers. A man and his wife had died in a car accident. Somebody was complaining that it was very difficult to wash the body as it was practically impossible to stop the dead body from bleeding after post-mortem. A gentleman pointed out that because of the post-mortem the burial was one week late. "We must do something about it, it's against the *Sharia*", an angry voice filled the air. Everyone nodded in agreement but no one knew exactly what could be done.

After breakfast a large segment of the group moved on to Dewsbury where "Hazratji" was addressing a big gathering. As our group was to remain in Glasgow, we were asked to gather for *mashwara*, to chalk out the day's plan.

During the *mashwara* session I was officially welcomed and introduced to the group. Aleem Sahib was the *Amir*, he lectures on statistics at the Muslim University of Aligarh. Khalid Sahib is a lecturer in Persian at the same university. Their colleague Dr. Aziz who seemed to be the secretary of the group is a Reader in Chemistry. Haji Sahib is a famous lock-maker of Lucknow. Hafiz Sahib comes from Bengal. Dr. Khan is from Liverpool. There was a group from Delhi, couple of adolescents from Malawi and a French speaking youth from Madagascar. Khalid Sahib explained there is no hierarchy or executive committee in Tablighi Jamaat, every one is equal and everything is by *mashwara*. The *Amir* divided the day's work between various individuals, I was asked to join the *t'alm* session.

The *t'alm* session includes a reading from *Tablighi Nisab* by Shaikh Al-Hadith Hazrat Maulana Mohammed Zakaria. The work is mainly on the merits of the Six Points. The reading this particular morning concerned the merits of *Salat*. We formed a circle at the centre of which sat Hafiz Sahib. In between the lines he narrated anecdotes from the life of Maulana Mohammed Ilyas, and the founder of the Jamaat, present *Amir* of the Jammah Hazratji Maulana Inamul Hasan. In the last quarter of the *t'alm* session we were divided into small sub-groups of four for an intense study on *Salat*. Emphasis was laid on the correct pronunciation of the Qur'anic Arabic. The 'leader' of each sub-group made sure that we said our prayers correctly; he went into details but stopped short of any controversial area.

After *Zuhr* we had lunch: Pakistani style with a generous supply of *ghee* (butter-oil). Another

t'alm session followed, after which we were allowed to have some rest.

The evening began with a *Bayan*: merits of tabligh. Consider a pick-pocket, said the speaker. He regards his profession as useful work: he dedicates himself entirely and sincerely to his work. He trains hard, spends time practicing his work day in and day out. The establishment is against him, the public is against him; the police are on the look out. But he bears all hardship for his work: goes even to prison. Now, my dear brothers, *tabligh* too is necessary work. Find time for this duty and dedicate yourself to it, God will surely bring a revolution in your life... by inviting others to Islam you become a better Muslim...

Many from the local Muslim community were very impressed. Some even agreed to spend some time in tabligh. Khalid Sahib asked me what I thought of the talk. I remarked that I was impressed by the Urdu. We then went on *gusht*—a round in the town.

En route, Khalid Sahib explained that usually the members of Jamaat tour the local area and meet the common folk 'inviting them to all that is good'. Today they had decided to call on a couple of doctors who lived just outside Glasgow. He went on to explain what *gusht* is, what are the rules: how should one enter another person's home; how to greet others; how should one discuss Islam and so on.

The first doctor we visited came from Punjab. He admitted that up to a few years ago he was completely blank. Then he read a novel on Khalid bin Walid by Nasim Hijazi. This led him to discover Shibli Numani, Ghulam Rasool Mehr and Maulana Maudoodi. He proudly produced some books by Maulana Maudoodi. Dr. Aziz intervened and told the amiable doctor not to involve himself with politics and polemics and pay more attention to the fundamentals. Khalid Sahib suggested to the doctor some titles and promised he will send a detailed list as soon as he returned to Aligarh. After *Maghrib* we proceeded to our next call.

We now called on a doctor from Hyderabad, Deccan. He has been in Britain for quite some years. Khalid Sahib politely asked if the doctor paid attention to his *Salat* and if he had experienced any difficulty in practising Islam while living in the West. The emerging answer led Khalid Sahib to deliver a lecture on *Iman* (faith). The doctor said he had *Iman* but would like to hear something 'concrete and logical' about the concept of *haram* and *halal* in Islam. Khalid Sahib replied: "Faith, sincere submission to the will of Allah is key to all understanding". Once again the doctor was left unconvinced. I asked Khalid Sahib's permission to answer some of the doctor's queries.

On the way back Khalid Sahib remarked how argumentative the Muslims have become. "You seem quite experienced in this art of discussion" he said. At first I thought this was a compliment but soon realised that it was a very serious criticism. Khalid Sahib now advised me to pay particular attention to my *talim*; most of my next two days with Tablighi Jamaat were spent in *talim* sessions. Whenever Khalid Sahib had a moment he would talk to me about Six Points with loving care and warmth. "You must spend some more time with us", he kept saying.

The life-style of the Jamaat seems to be very much communal. Fundamentally, of course, it has a spiritual entity, a dynamic and sensitive relationship between a number of people of assorted background but with the bond of Islam in common.

The sincerity, affection and steadfastness is exemplary. The simplicity and method of work takes them to the grass roots. The message is there, but what one feels concerned about is the over-simplification of the dynamics of social change.

Dato Abdur Rahman emphasises on Muslim's Universal Obligation

Sarawak Chief Minister Dato Abdur Rahman bin Yakoub told a London reception given by the Muslim Student Trust, that Muslims, wherever in the world they may happen to be, owe an obligation to the society they live in. He said this concern flows from the central fact that God in Islam is God of humanity and as such the concern about the well-being of the society was part of a Muslim's answerability.

Dato Abdur Rahman outlined the problems and progress in Islamic work in Sarawak.

Egyptian Film Protest

Secretary-General, Muslim World Mecca, has called upon Dr. Faham, Sheikh, Al-Azhar, and Mr. Oweda, Secretary-General, Egyptian Council of Islamic Affairs to intervene and stop the showing of the Egyptian film "Shima" purported to be about the Prophet's sister. The letter sent last September remains yet unacknowledged.

● Tunku Abdur Rahman, Secretary-General, Islamic Secretariat was the guest of honour at a largely attended reception hosted by the UK Islamic Mission at the Alexandra National Hotel, London, on 17 December.

● Pakistan Norwegian Association staged a demonstration before Indian embassy in Oslo on 3 December; the Association demanded implementation of the Geneva Convention and release of the Pakistani PoWs and civilian prisoners held in India.

● The Plebiscite Front from Azad Kashmir and Pakistan UK, Branch, has staged a demonstration in London for the release of Kashmiris under trial in 'Ganga' hijacking case.

Honouring Quaid-e-Azams' Memory

In a message issued on the occasion of the birth-day anniversary of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Pakistan's founder Ambassador Mian Mumtaz Daultana said the best way of honouring the Quaid's memory is to follow the principles laid down by him: Faith, Discipline and Unity.

● Asian Society, Polytechnic of North London, organised a cultural evening on Thursday, 14 December 1972.

Cataloguing Oriental Manuscripts: The British Academy has formed an Oriental Manuscript Committee with a view to cataloguing and publishing oriental documents of historical importance held in public and private collections in Britain. Anyone who can supply information regarding existence of such documents in libraries, record offices or private collections may write to the Chairman of the Committee, Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, London WC2A 1LR.

Free Legal Advice: The U.K. Islamic Mission has announced that it will shortly be starting a free legal advice service. Advice will be available on legal matters, citizens' rights, social and welfare issues as well as problems relating to Islamic practice. The Mission office (148, Liverpool Road, London N1 1LA) is now open from 6-9 p.m. every evening during week days. (*Impact News*)

in the news

London Visitors: Dr. M. Natsir former P.M. of Indonesia, Zafar Ahmad Ansari, Pakistan N.A. member, Inamullah Khan, Secretary-General, World Muslim Organisation; Mahmood Ali, Pakistan State Minister, Nasim Ahmad Pakistan Information Secretary. Dato Abdur Rahman bin Yakoub, Sarawak Chief Minister.

New office-bearers: Rao Rashid Khan president, U.K.I.M. London Branch. Abdul Majeed and K. Muzaffaruddin President and Secretary of Glasgow Islamic Circle. Saeed Ahmad and Mustafa Fayyumi President and Secretary respectively of Islamic Society, University College of North Wales. Ghayasuddin Qureshi, President, Leeds University Islamic Society.

Islamic Activities in the Caribbean

IMPACT REPORT

The people of West Indies are searching for the truth and Islamic workers in the area feel that it is now for the Muslims to answer the call. A fact-finding mission of the Islamic Missionaries Guild of the Caribbean and South America (IMG) reached this conclusion after visiting Tobago, Grenada, Barbados, Virgin Islands, Puerto Rico, Jamaica, Curacao, Venezuela, Guyana and Surinam.

The Islamic Missionaries Guild which is based in Trinidad has now been working for over ten years and in this short period has established its centres in eight countries of the West Indies. The IMG runs a weekly Television programme and broadcast a programme entitled 'Voice of Islam' over Radio Trinidad every Friday at 8.30 p.m., over Radio Barbados every Sunday at 3.03 p.m. and over Radio Demerara every Friday at 2.45 p.m.

Recently, the Guild has received a grant of \$22,000 from Saudi Arabia for the construction of an Islamic Centre at Mucurapo Road, Port of

Spain, Trinidad. This will also serve as the headquarters of the IMG. Their present Head Office (at the same address) is a focus of many Islamic activities: daily Islamic classes are being held while an intense Islamic training course is running parallel to it. Beside playing host to many who come in search of Islam, the Centre is also used for holding conferences, meetings and youth camps. The IMG is planning to send four youth members to study at the Islamic University of Medina on Saudi Arabian grants. It is hoped that the Islamic Centre will be ready when the scholars return.

"Voice of Pakistan" from Toronto

IMPACT REPORT

For patriotic Pakistanis life in the West has one serious drawback: lack of news from 'back home'. One of the priorities of any developing Pakistani community is to produce a newspaper which provides news from the 'homeland'. Consequently, the emergence of a community newspaper is a sign of a developing community. This certainly is the case with the Pakistani community of Toronto, Canada, which radiates fortnightly *Voice of Pakistan* (P.O. Box 303, Station 'D', Toronto). The paper exists to serve one particular need

and as such it is an unadulterated reflection of Pakistani news media: it consists of directly reproduced clippings of Urdu and English newspapers and periodicals of Pakistan. Thus the reader gets a choicest collection of the fortnight's major headlines and articles from *Dawn*, *Pakistan Times*, *Jung*, *Nawa-e-Waqt*, *Jasarat*, *Urdu Digest*, etc., etc. and it is left to him to form his own opinion. One cannot help wondering, however, that an occasional comment and snippets of local happenings would add colour and dimension to the paper.

Muslims and the 'Black Muslims'

IMPACT REPORT

In reply to the statement by the Islamic Party of North America that Elijah Muhammad is 'a deceiver of black folk and is using the name of Islam simply as a catch word' (Impact Vol. 2 : 13) Elijah Muhammed, leader of 'The Nation of Islam' has published a statement in his paper Muhammed Speaks.

The statement, which carries the by-line 'Elijah Muhammad, Messenger of Allah', says that "the Black Man of America must be qualified into a Higher Divine Wisdom than those before us". "The Washington Orthodox Muslims", the statement continues, "insult the Nation of Islam by calling us a 'cult' when there is such a Show of the Hand and Power and Wisdom of Almighty Allah (God) in the Person of Master Fard Muhammad..." The statement ends thus: "The spooky-believing orthodox Muslims trying to make mock of my God and of me as His Messenger. They will come to a naught and they will be confounded and ashamed of themselves."

The following issue of *Muhammed Speaks* (December 1, '72) carried an article by Constance Wheeler entitled 'A rebuttal to charges by so-called Muslims'. The article quotes a statement by the Islamic Party that they "do not deny Elijah

Muhammed whatever he has done to improve the economic and social lot of Black people, but many organisations are doing the same work" and goes on to argue: "Indeed there are many organisations trying to do what the Hon. Elijah Muhammad is doing for the Black Man in America, but none has had nor will have as much success!

"It would seem that by now they would have realised that this man had to have been taught by Almighty God, Allah Himself, to have been able to take so many of us out of the foul conditions around us and into the true knowledge of ourselves. Why else would noted Muslim leaders like Dr. Rauf and Shaikh Mahamoud El-Hussary support this man? Why else would a Muslim nation like Libya loan this great man close to \$4 million to establish an educational centre for Islam unless they knew He is Who He says He is?"

European Islamic Conference Now in Rome on 28 January

The Conference of the Islamic Cultural Centres in Europe scheduled to be held in Geneva on 28 December has had another change of venue, this time from Geneva to Rome. The postponement came after invitations for the Geneva Conference had already been issued. The Secretary General's letter informing the participants about the postponement, said there appeared a "change of views with regard to the venue" and many members suggested Rome as formerly planned. The Conference is now scheduled for 28 January 1973. (*Impact News*)

Albanian Mosque in New York

A new Mosque at 1325 Albermarle Road, Brooklyn has been established by the Albanian Community of New York (estimated number 20,000). A sum of \$122,000 was raised to build the mosque. The Imam Salih Myftin said this should make it clear to Enver Hoxha, the Albanian ruler that "the people still desired to keep their religion alive".

Arab Youth Conference in Paris

The Second International Conference of European and Arab Youth held in Paris and represented by more than 20 youth organisations discussed the role of European youth regarding the Mediterranean and the Palestine questions. (*Impact News*)

Pakistan's Search for a Peace Equation

Impact Report

London: Pakistan Information Secretary Nasim Ahmad held a lively press conference in Pakistan Embassy explaining Pakistan's stand with regard to the recognition of Bangladesh, repatriation of the PoWs and the political and humanitarian problems arising from the last year's tragic "conflict" in the sub-continent. He said we look forward to a peaceful equation with India and new relations with "Muslim Bengal".

On the question of press freedom in Pakistan he said, he could not comment on the suppression of *Urdu Digest* because the matter was *sub judice*. With regard to *Dawn*, he clarified, the Government had taken no action; they only stated their own standpoint on the issues raised by Mr. Mazhar Ali Khan's report of recent visit to Bangladesh. Government advertising had not really been withdrawn from this paper, only the T.V. Corporation had made some new arrangements. The press conference was attended among others by the Indian journalists who were invited for the first time to the Pakistan Chancery.

● **Pakistani Journalist in Britain** meeting at the Foreign Press Association on 11 December, adopted a Constitution for a proposed "Pakistani Journalist Association in Britain".

KOSHER & HALAL

By Jamal Sardar

The laws in Islam and Judaism concerning consumption of food are similar, although not identical. The methods of slaughter being similar, Muslims can take meat slaughtered according to Jewish method, and with regard to this the recent publication from the London Office of the Chief Rabbi (Adler House, Tavistock Square, London WC1H 9HN), *Kashrut Directory and Religious Services Guide* (20p), may be of some benefit to those who want to follow Islamic food laws, lists kosher butchers, poultryers, bakers, hotels, restaurants etc. as well as providing information on Kosher Hospital Meal Service and facilities available for circumcision.

In his foreword Dr. Jacobovitz, the Chief Rabbi, puts his finger on a problem increasingly faced by Muslims and Jews alike: "the growing recourse to processed and tinned foods has greatly increased the chance of their containing non-kosher ingredients". But tinned foods apart, it is surprising to realise how many of the widely used foodstuffs are in fact non-kosher i.e. they contain animal fat, gelatine or any other animal product: Polo Mint, Kellogg's 'Special K', Coffee-Mate by Carnation, Lemon Curd, Cheese and Ice Cream are only a few examples of this. Biscuits, pastry and other confectionery items contain animal fat unless specified otherwise. Even vegetable oil may not be completely free from such things: vegetable oil and shortening is often produced by firms processing both animal and vegetable products. The vegetable products often pick up large amounts of animal product residue, and may nevertheless be labelled pure or 100% pure. The only guarantee that a vegetable oil—or indeed any food product—is completely kosher is certification by a rabbinic authority. Then there is the question of animal fat in soaps such as Daz and Brillo pads. Although in soap the fat is converted into a new compound Sodium Stearate, nevertheless it is non-kosher. Muslim position on soap-fat is not clearly ruled as haram and forbidden.

The section on 'Supervised and permitted food' gives details of food products supervised by the London Beth Din and other Rabbinical Authorities and lists many common non-kosher products. Most Kosher shops can be recognised for they display 'Under the Supervision of the Beth Din and Kashrus Commission' signs in their windows. The Directory gives details of Kashrut facilities in major towns; this may be of particular value to those living in isolated communities. Finally, it may be pointed out that Jewish law is different when it comes to alcohol or foodstuff with alcoholic contents.

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AFGHANISTAN. Twenty-one meteorological stations made operational this year.

ALGERIA. Foundation stone laid of the largest printing complex in Africa. ● A Chinese acrobatic troupe arrived in Algiers. ● Agreement on geological co-operation signed with USSR.

ARAB AFFAIRS. Arab Economy Ministers considered how to "influence Western countries' attitude in favour of the Arabs".

AUSTRALIA. Mrs. Golda Meir congratulated Mr. Whitlam for his election victory. Mr. Whitlam has paid four visits to Israel and the new Parliament has 3 Jewish M.Ps.

BANGLADESH. Pro-Moscow NAP expressed concern over the conspiracy by the US, China and Pakistan against the country's freedom. It said there are reports that some prominent "Jamaat-e-Islami" leaders have established bases in Arakan and plan to launch a movement for Muslim Bengal. ● Maulana Bhashani said he would launch Jihad from 26 Dec. for religious and economic emancipation. He said Collaborators Act was used for political purposes. ● 701 murders reported during April-October, 1972. ● Decca College Teachers decided not to invigilate in high school examinations because of large scale adoption of unfair means. ● Ataur Rahman deprecated branding political opposition as enemy activity. He charged the media with suppressing Opposition views. ● Ghana recognised Bangladesh. ● Pres. Choudhry told Indian Gen. Aurora that the people of my country remember you "and your men who fought the Pakistan Army last year. We are grateful to you".

CHINA. "Radio Peace and Progress", Moscow, blamed China for its policy of splitting progressive forces in Africa. Another commentary said more and more military establishments were being set up in Singkiang, as in other minority areas.

CYPRUS. The three Metropolitan Bishops have again called upon Pres. Makarios to resign. ● A Turkish-cypriot Secondary School in Kyrenia was attacked by hooligans who destroyed Ataturk's bust and wrote "Enosis" on the blackboard.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA. Favourable effects of increased maternity incentives on the birth rate have been reported. In 1971 the number of children born was the highest for seven years, and in the first ten months of 1972 this exceeded 1971 total by 9,383.

EGYPT. Premier Sidky assured Parliament that "the day of relief is near when we shall enter Sinai and achieve victory". Abu Dhabi and Qatar are expected to help finance Egyptian purchase of British military equipment. ● The EEC do not expect Egyptian or any other mediterranean country boycotting Market enterprises having relations with Israel. ● A Parliamentary Committee recommended censorship of religious books and sermons in order to prevent Muslim-Coptic strife, and easing regulations on building new churches. ● Pres. Sadat rejected Pope Shenuda's demand for

a Coptic Vatican in Alexandria and a Coptic University like Al-Azhar. Pope Shenuda also asked increased Coptic representation in services and ministries.

INDIA. Shyam Sunder, Indian "Scheduled Castes" leader demanded formation of a separate Telengana State. ● Frank Anthony, Christian leader told *Lok Sabha* how they suffered discrimination in education and employment in some States. He said the "scheduled castes" continued to be the lowest citizens and Muslims were paying the price of their 1000-year rule in India and the "sin of partition". ● Foreign Minister said it is too early to sign a treaty with Pakistan similar to that signed with Russia.

ERITREAN LIBERATION. Ethiopian government said seven men shot dead in an attempt to hijack an Ethiopian Air-liner belonged to E.L.F.

INDONESIA. By April 1974 the number of hotel beds in Djakarta is expected to reach 4,750 mark. ● Pres. Suharto said they certainly can carry out development by their own efforts but that would be very slow. Therefore, foreign capital investment must be considered an instrument to accelerate national development programme.

IRAN. Police announced killing of Assadollah Bashardust, a 'subversive' in Isfahan on 28 November.

ISLAMIC SECRETARIAT. Oman paid its contribution of \$1,726 to the Secretariat budget. IINA to open an office in Beirut.

ISRAEL. Long-term travel documents are to be issued to West Bank and Gaza Arabs. ● Indian F.M. told parliament although they had recognised Israel as a State and have some sort of relationship with them, it would serve no useful purpose "by upgrading missions and exchanging ambassadors". He expressed disappointment over Arab stand on Bangladesh. ● "Stern" denied President Truman's daughter, Mrs. Margaret Truman's statement that the group had sent letter bombs to Truman in 1947. "There was no reason because Truman supported the Zionist cause more than Pres. Roosevelt ever had". ● South Vietnam and Israel recognised each other; will exchange ambassadors.

JORDAN. Border with Syria opened from 1 December. ● "Voice of Palestine" (Bagdad) said relations between King Hussain and Crown Prince Hassan were not good because of King's plans to marry Alia Tukan.

LIBYA. Pres. Qaddafi said the Western powers had at the end of the 19th century secretly agreed to divide the Arab world among themselves in the same way as the powers in the East and West have now drawn up plans to share the Third World. Meetings are being held in Washington, London, Peking and Moscow, and what has happened in the past might happen again. He observed there is oil in the Arab world, but it poses a serious threat to our homeland. He said those who want to co-operate with us must do so on the basis of respect, mutuality and human values. The Arab nation

has failed because the slogans it raised were superficial and did not move the Arab believer. The slogans which are now raised to appease the Eastern or Western block do not unite the Arabs on a single thing. Only the slogan "God is great" can bring together the Arab nation—both the Muslims and the Christians.

MALAYSIA. Indonesia is to assist in the foundation of a Malaysian State-owned oil company. Three oil companies are already searching for oil off-shore, Western Malaysia.

NIGERIA. Gen. Gowon in Kaduna went for worship at St. Michael's Cathedral. At Ahmadu Bellu University, he was conferred Honorary Doctor of Laws. He said he was against the quota system of admission into Federal universities because it could also prove a source of discord. He mentioned *lingua franca*, Federal capital and future Constitution as delicate issues bound to provoke discussion and debate. He appealed for avoiding tribal or ethnic antagonism.

PAKISTAN. Pres. Bhutto said he will invite Mrs. Gandhi for a summit because lower level talks are not fruitful. ● An agreement signed with India on the "line of control" in Jammu and Kashmir: Pakistan to vacate Thaku Chak enclave in return for an undisclosed concession.

● Penal Code amended to punish inciting the armed forces to mutiny using criminal force against religious, racial or linguistic groups etc. ● Police opened fire in Lahore and dispersed student processions in various parts of the country voicing opposition to Bangladesh recognition. Hundreds of students and student leaders have been arrested. ● Japan agreed that Pakistan repay its debts of US \$30.7m from July 1974 in 3 years; will also provide \$4.3m in commodity assistance. Pakistan is to experiment growing her own tea and bring more areas under Jute. ● Joint fisheries venture under negotiation with Kuwait.

PALESTINE LIBERATION. Commenting on the words of the "genius Minister" who told U.N. we are ready to pay the price of peace and naturally we recognise Israel, the "Voice of Palestine" (Syria) said these words have not been conveyed to this area because they fear scandal and disgrace. Those who scream in New York will not succeed in their capitulation.

SAUDI ARABIA. F.M. Saqqaf proposed referendum to settle the future of Burami. ● The Muslim World League appealed to the Muslim heads of States, the Islamic Secretariat, the U.N., and the OAU to prevent "the transformation of the Ibrahim Mosque into a Jewish synagogue". It expressed regret over the East Pakistan tragedy, denounced the persecution of Muslims in the Philippines, reaffirmed support to Muslims under communist oppression and reminded the Muslim world of its duty towards Islam. ● The League established a Special Palestine Fund. ● Fifth International Muslim Scouts Jamboree to be held during Haj; about 150 Scouts are expected to attend.

SOUTH YEMEN. A college of

"Socialist Sciences" opened to train local cadres in ideological and socio-economic matters.

SUDAN. President Numeiry told the armed forces magazine: "Whereas some of the vanquished political leaders have slipped away or lie in wait, there are the Muslim Brothers who represent a base and a leadership, a minority of them aim at making themselves the heirs of the traditional parties. This is creating opportunism under the emblem of National Front in which the Muslim Brothers stand side by side with communists". He said we do not deny shortcomings but one cannot achieve absolute perfection in the initial stages.

THAILAND. F.M. Kittikachon said some US troops would remain in Thailand for "security reasons".

TURKEY. The Army Command Council warned politicians against constitutional amendments enabling members of the banned Democrat Party regain their political rights.

YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC. Pres. Iryani said there really are no problems between the two Yemens because we are one, socially, economically, racially and by religion. He said relations with Saudi Arabia would continue to be good.

USSR. The Head of atheist propaganda in Ukraine reported that 12 religious communities have disintegrated, one church was converted into a house of culture and another into an anti-religious museum. ● During the last 50 years (only) 13 higher educational institutions were established in Azerbaijan.

PEOPLE
Bangladesh President Choudhry conferred "Deshikottama" by India's Viswabharati University. Abid Sadikov, a chemist, elected Soviet Academician. Dr. Ahmad Naggar appointed Director, Economic Division, Islamic Secretariat. Dogan Kozoglu former Editor Turkish Left wing *Aksam* awarded 7½ years prison. Kewal Singh, India's new Foreign Secretary. Sir Udo Udoma appointed Chancellor Nigeria's Ahmadu Bello University. Milos Mimic, new Yugoslav Foreign Secretary. Councillor Cyril Car, a Zionist and Chairman, Anglo-Israel Friendship League new Chairman, British Liberal Party.

VISITS
Col. Qadafi to Tunisia. Tunisian F.M. Masmedi to Jeddah. King Hussain to Riyadh. Indian President Giri to Bangladesh, 1973. Roy Hickman, Rotary President to Dacca. Pakistan Air Chief Zafar Chowdhry to Saudi Arabia. Lebanese F.M. to India. Yugoslav Premier Bijedic to Turkey and Iran. Naim al-Ashab, Jordanian Communist Party rep. to Yugoslavia. Iraqi Defence Minister Takriti to Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia. Iranian Education Minister Mrs. Parsay to USSR. Pres. Rubay of S. Yemen to USSR. Sens. Hubert Humphry & Henry Reus to Warsaw, Sofia, Prague and Moscow. President Pompidou to Moscow. Spanish F.M. to India. Pres. Allende to Mexico, Cuba, Algeria, USSR and USA.

DIPLOMATS
Abu Bakar Lubis new Indonesian ambassador to Bulgaria. N. Umarjadi Indonesia's new ASEAN National Secretary. Vladimir Ludvik new Czech ambassador in Pakistan. New Pakistan ambassadors: Air Vice Marshal Khan to Senegal, Lt. Gen. Gul Hassan, to Hungary, Ashfaq Ahmad to N. Vietnam. Sisir Gupta Indian Ambassador to N. Vietnam. Dr. Dejan Kostic new Yugoslav Ambassador in Dacca.

DIED
Col. Wild al-Hajj, a former leader of the Algerian Liberation Army. Prof. M. H. Khandkar, Dacca Univ. Science Dean on 30 November.