

impact

international fortnightly

Interview with A. K. Brohi
Putting Mr. X in White House
Selling War—Pakistan assassination
Bihari plight in Bangladesh
Philippine — Muslim fight for self-determination
Soviet Orientalism
Befriending some, confusing others
Books World Opinion News Brief

The Summit in New Delhi

The forthcoming summit in New Delhi, is apparently occasioned by last year's events in the Indo-Pak subcontinent. However, its true causality lay not in these events but in the Russian design of Asian security. Emanating from a long-cherished desire to reach and control the warm waters of South and South-East Asia, the objective has been made possible of achievement because of repeated bungling by the Western powers particularly the USA. The present American disenchantment with South-East Asia can be understood against the background of disgrace and defeat in Vietnam but the policy of disengagement in favour of the USSR dates back to the Kennedy era. It is in this perspective that one finds Ayub Khan being goaded by CIA to risk a war with India in 1965 and when that war failed to cut Pakistan down to size and ended in a deadlock, Lyndon Johnson virtually ordered Ayub Khan to go and settle with the Indians not in Delhi but in Tashkent. And it is from that day that the Russians have started looking more southwards and more hopefully.

The present idea of collective security in Asia was first broached by Brezhnev at the International Conference of Communist and Workers Parties in Moscow on 7 June 1969. If one ignored the sermon and the jargon—'principles of good-neighbourliness, friendship and internationalism' or the struggle 'against imperialism and aggression, in the interest of the forces of progress, democracy and socialism'—the crude reality was the Soviet hegemony over as many of the

South-Asian states as can be netted in course of time. Surely the concept of hegemony and umbrella is much in affinity with the post-colonial Asian politics which is characterised more by a perpetual movement from one umbrella to another instead of any serious effort to develop self-confidence.

Viewed in this background it is not difficult to appreciate Russia's undisguised 'internationalism' in the 1970-71 crisis culminating in the severance of Pakistan's Eastern Wing. Never-the-less it is a tribute to Russian diplomacy that despite all that, Rodionov, the Russian ambassador to Pakistan had the cheek to say that the Soviet Union has 'always stood and stands for the unity and territorial integrity of Pakistan.' She has no disputes with Pakistan and stands for the peaceful settlement of the 'South Asian subcontinent'. Anyway, the point is that the summit back-drop can be viewed more profitably from the Russian side.

Radio Moscow said recently that 'the government of President Bhutto takes a realistic stand on the current situation' which 'manifests itself in its desire to achieve a final settlement with India'. India too has reciprocated by showing its goodwill and 'last but not the least, the government of Bangladesh has fully demonstrated its desire for building a lasting peace in Hindustan.' After having achieved the 'Hindustanisation' of the erstwhile Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, a legalising settlement is no doubt what the Russians aim at. A desire for peace emanates also from a realisation that 'the Indo-Pak conflict has led to a stepped up subversion on the part of China's Maoist leadership against the National Liberation Movement' in Bangladesh.

Moscow's optimism about President Bhutto's 'realistic stand' is not unjustified. Despite outward postures of all the three parties, Pakistan, India and Bangladesh, it is President Bhutto who is most keen to settle, yet his is the most difficult position. His difficulties are no doubt situational but partly also of his own making. When last April the National Assembly gave him an unanimous vote of confidence, it was not so much a blank cheque to the continuation of a martial law type rule but indicated acceptance of his legal leadership as well as the desire to forge unity on

national issues. It is unfortunate that it has not since been possible to develop a national consensus on fundamental issues. With the National Assembly in moratorium, fundamental rights curtailed under Emergency Proclamation, a fast deteriorating law and order situation, and economic life beset with indiscipline and uncertainty, the atmosphere is filled with tension and agitation. Despite repeated denials and clarifications, the round about way of going through the issues has created misgivings about a possible sell-out or another Tashkent at Delhi. There is a serious credibility gap and it affects Pakistan's external relations as well.

On the Bangladesh side, there is no change from the old position. Only last week the Foreign Minister said unless Pakistan expressed public repentance and recognised the reality of Bangladesh, there is no question of a meeting between President Bhutto and Sheikh Mujib. Bangladesh wants also to be compensated for damages suffered during the Army operations and a division of national assets.

India on her part would like Pakistan to (1) recognise Bangladesh (2) accept a modified ceasefire line in Kashmir as an international frontier (3) recognise Kashmir's accession to India, and (4) sign a no-war pact. Only then would she vacate the Pakistani territory, return the PoW's and intercede with Sheikh Mujib to forgo the war trials. Mrs. Gandhi knows that Mr. Bhutto is not in a position to acquiesce to all her demands but then she is not too keen to defuse the situation. Pakistan-baiting contributed so much to her success at the last years polls and a continuation of tension would be to her advantage. She may stay put and watch an emergent centrifugalism take care of what is left of Pakistan. In the short term she has nothing to lose.

President Bhutto does not find himself in a position to sign a no-war declaration without India at least agreeing to arbitration on Kashmir. He is prepared to try genuine cases of war crimes but in Pakistan. He is willing to recognise Bangladesh but would like to be assured that this would not be followed by impossible demands from Bangladesh.

But all depends on India's true intentions. If she tries to impose her terms then there may be no peace in the subcontinent.

Survey

● U.S. PRESIDENTIAL GAME

Putting Mr. X in the White House

With George McGovern having won the California Democratic primary and accumulated enough support to be almost certain to win the Democratic nomination, the Jewish pro-Israeli voters in America face a rather happy choice between Nixon and McGovern. Only the choice made in California might have been painful in so far as it amounted to abandoning a loyal and unfailing supporter but it was not a difficult one at all. Hubert Humphrey, whatever his pro-Israeli credentials (almost permanent fixture at Israel Bond and B'nai B'rith award dinners for decades) was a sinking star and easier to be ditched. Humphrey, as Nixon's alternative, is not likely to give a situation of tight contest.

Probably the choice was made already at California. It is said that if the 'Los Angeles Jews, swing the city to candidate X, (then) X carries California, which as the most populous state with the largest number of presidential electors, decides the national election in a *tight* contest and puts X in the White House' (*Jewish Chronicle*, London 16 June 1972).

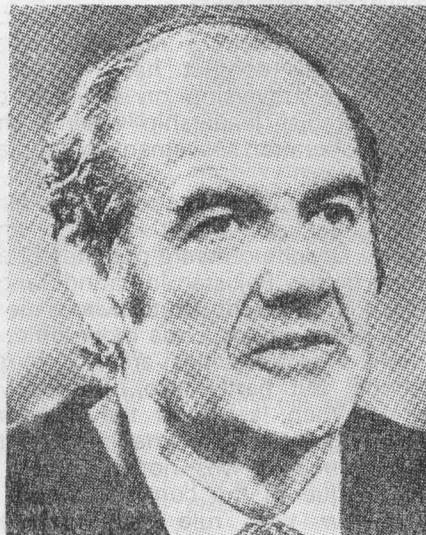
McGovern's credentials are indeed formidable. He is a newcomer, a radical, pro-left and someone with 'moral courage' and 'domestic priorities'. The first four qualities make him a likely winner and domestic priorities simply meant that his attitude to the merits of the Middle East situation would be less and less conditioned by America's global interests.

McGovern has promised that he would visit Israel as President and veto any 'anti-Israel' move in the Security Council. He accepts the present balance of power in the Middle East and says that only building up of Israel as a military deterrent can guarantee the present ceasefire and a permanent peace. So Israel should be kept furnished with an unconditional supply of advanced aircrafts and other equipment.

Such categorical commitments, however, seem to fall short of orthodox and extremist expectations. Advertisements and leaflets appearing during the Maryland and California primaries

attacked McGovern for being weak in support of Israel. His detractors point out that although in 1970 McGovern did support the sale of Phantoms to Israel but with the proviso that these are not used for incursions over Arab territory. This, the supporters explain, is so because as a World War II pilot McGovern knows that the bombing of civilians has a doubtful military value. One should also appreciate that as a politician, he has to stay honourable as well: while opposing bombing in Vietnam, he had to say at least that much. In any case, the statement was never repeated. Similarly in March 1971 McGovern had endorsed Roger's plan, yet a few days later 'he responded to protest from political and financial backers' and clarified that he wanted final borders to be decided through direct negotiations. In 1971 he had also recommended internationalization of Jerusalem, but during the California primaries in May, he retracted and said that the US should recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel.

Since McGovern is also soliciting support from other minorities like Afro-Americans and Mexicans (not Arabs) and claims being sympathetic to the oppressed and the Third World, some pro-Israelis feel that his may be dangerous in that if he really believed in these causes, he could also turn to even-handedness in the Middle East issue. His call for



George McGovern

a defence cut and opposition to the war in Vietnam underline unfavourable possibilities. It could in the long term, deprive Israel of the US arms umbrella. But McGovern says Saigon and Tel Aviv are incomparable, while the former is a corrupt dictatorship, Israel is a democracy and then South-East Asia is not as vital to the US as is the Middle East.

Despite bending over backwards, McGovern finds himself in no assured position. He is yet to settle with the pro-Nixonians. They contend that Nixon, the incumbent 'has been remarkably—and *unexpectedly*—reliable in complying with Israel's request for arms without forcing her to pay a diplomatic price.' He accepts the Israeli stand that the borders should be settled directly by the parties concerned and this is despite the fact that 'in his many political campaigns over the past twenty-five years, he has never received more than 15 per cent of the Jewish vote'.

Israeli Ambassador, Yitzhak Rabin said quite bluntly in an interview broadcast over Israeli radio that "we have to differentiate between aid in the form of action and aid in the form of words. While we appreciate support in form of words we are getting from one camp, we must prefer support in the form of deeds we are getting from the other camp."

Rabin said "no other U.S. President has made such a far-reaching statement committing the United States to support Israel's existence than in the declaration made by Mr. Nixon in his address to Congress upon his return from Moscow." While protesting at this interference in America's internal political affairs, McGovern has thought it wiser to concentrate on a massive television and advertising campaign directed to prove his moral and political commitment to Israel. The choice now is between Tweedledum and Tweedledee. So it all depends on who could offer the most. There are still five months to November and much can be bargained between then and now.

NEXT ISSUE APPEARS
ON 14 JULY

Survey

● OAU ● ARMS BUSINESS ● IRAQI OIL ● PAKISTAN VIOLENCE

African liberation

The 9th OAU Summit in Rabat ended "successfully" on a number of familiar notes from solidarity to special assistance for the resettlement of the refugees in Southern Sudan. The resolution on the Middle East denounced Israel's negative and obstructive attitude, urged help to Egypt and called upon Israel to withdraw immediately from the Arab territories. The Summit called upon all UN members to refrain from giving Israel any arms or military equipment or moral support which might enable it to increase its military strength and to continue its occupation of Arab-African lands. However, a part of this appeal could as well have been addressed to the OAU members themselves: to stop receiving military, economic and political aid from Israel.

Yet the resolution, how so much mild and of little practical import it may be, has brought to focus the diplomatic set-back suffered by Israel since her expulsion, lock, stock and barrel from Uganda. Not to say that the Israeli presence in Ethiopia, Zaire and Senegal has decreased to any extent.

The Summit also called for the vacation of the colonial occupations in Africa and affirmed strong support for the African liberation movements. So much so that King Hassan said that the African states should allow liberation movements to install military bases on their territories even if they are bombed day and night. However, euphoria and gregariousness apart, it is doubtful that any of these territories would have achieved liberation until the next Summit in Addis Ababa in May, 1973.

The problem of residual colonialism in Africa is related very much to the internalities of the African situation itself. Today in Africa, although there are scores of independent states, yet hardly one presented a model of freedom, dignity and democracy. Pan-Africanism is itself diffuse and undefined, more a western colonial imposition than a native concept.

The first problem in African liberation is that of the conceptual liberation.

Selling War

The latest yearbook "World Armaments and Disarmaments" published by SIPRI—Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, throws an interesting side-light, perhaps unintended, on the gross hypocrisy of some and crass stupidity of others. Unlike any other monopoly business the business of armaments is not only ex-

plorative, it has become a major tool of international insecurity in so far as the smaller countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are concerned.

The big Power attitude to disarmament is typified by a continued unwillingness on the part of the nuclear powers to agree to nuclear disarmament. A classical example cited is that of SALT—Strategic Arms Limitation Talks: the talks continued until recently and while it went on both Russia and America went on expanding and improving their deadly arsenal. So it was "arm-while-you-talk."

In 1971, the Third World share of arms imports came to 1,800m dollars, 80 percent of which went to the Middle East and Asia. No surprise it did not give them any better peace and security than in 1970, never in human history has a man upheld his dignity by borrowed weapons.

Iraqi nationalisation — CFP for IPC?

The recent nationalisation of the IPC by the Ba'ath regime has had the effect of refurbishing its falling prestige and popularity inside the country, particularly among two important pressure groups, the Communists and the Kurdish Democratic Party. IPC has been blamed for its involvement in Iraqi politics and now many national ills stand expiated by this single measure which has been compared with Egypt's nationalisation of Suez.

Outside Iraq, however, OPEC has suggested mediation between Iraqi Government and IPC within the framework of the nationalisation decree. This implies that IPC must drop its embargo on Iraqi exports from the northern Kirkuk field, difference over which led to nationalisation. IPC has accepted this.

On the European side, the Oil Committee of the OECD (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development) which includes all the major oil importing countries like US, Britain, France, Japan, West Germany, Holland, Sweden, Canada, etc have also supported a settlement with Iraq on the basis of maintaining oil supplies from Kirkuk. Angus Beckett, Chairman of the Committee and until recently head of Petroleum Section at the British Department of Trade and Industry said that OECD would give its collective blessing to anything which would bring about a quick settlement. 'If France can play a role that can bring about a satisfactory agreement, jolly good', he added. He however stressed that the settlement on compensation should take

place in the wider context of the negotiations on 'participation' with Gulf oil producing states.

Meanwhile Iraq has offered to France a special treatment 'in oil matters as well as in political, economic and technical fields' because of her just attitude in the Arab-Israeli conflict. The Vice-Chairman of the Iraqi Revolutionary Command Council, Mr. Siddam Hussain who visited Paris is understood to have been assured by the French government that she is ready to buy Iraqi Oil in substantial quantities at market prices.

Although ultimately CFP's decision on any new deal will depend on the French government, on her own part CFP is maintaining that it will do nothing which is not acceptable to the major oil companies. What is likely is an essentially political decision made on an analysis of costs and benefits.

Latest: France and Iraq have concluded a 10-year agreement whereby Iraq will sell to CFP 23.75 per cent of the Kirkuk oil on pre-nationalisation prices. This agreement does not, however, commit CFP to the purchase of any specific quantities. ● OPEC countries have decided to deny Western oil companies to make up losses of Iraqi crude oil from OPEC resources. ● Italy has agreed to barter increase quantities of oil from Iraq, including the former IPC fields. Earlier in March Italy had agreed to barter for 20m tons of Iraqi oil over a period of ten years.

Pakistan assassination

The recent murder in cold blood of Dr. Nazir Ahmed, an opposition member (Jamaat-e-Islami) of Pakistan's National Assembly marks in many respects a disturbing trend in that country's fragile situation. Viewed in the background of an earlier attempt on the life of Wali Khan, the NAP Leader, continued labour unrest and the recent police firings on mill workers in Karachi and prison inmates elsewhere resulting in more than 30 deaths, detention without trial of Mr. Abdul Hamid Jatoi, a ruling party MNA and the threatened purge of other non-conformist legislators, the murder assumes all the more serious implication. In the coming phases, the battle for power in Pakistan is to be fought between the country's fascist and the left-wing extremist elements and it is President Bhutto's hard luck to have come to power at the head of such a disparate coalition. Yet, there is none more suited than President Bhutto himself to put the genie back into the bottle. Each group may in its manoeuvrings appear to promise greater strength and stability to the present regime but in reality, this politics of short-sightedness and attrition may lead to the disintegration of the very country each one of these groups is so concerned to acquire an undisputed mastery of.

Waiting for the monsoon in fear and in squalor

"FRIENDS OF BANGLADESH CONCILIATION MISSION" reporting on Bangladesh Biharis and Pakistan Bengalis

"Bangladesh has tragically suffered in the past few years from war, famine and flood. A new page to that history of loss of life may very soon be written in some of the grossly overcrowded enclaves where the Biharis are already living in terror and squalor. Some of the camps are in low-lying land which is almost certain to be flooded when the monsoon starts later this month. Unless action is taken now by the Government of Bangladesh—with massive support from the United Nations, UNICEF and international relief agencies—to set up a new tented camp on higher ground tens of thousands of lives (particularly children, women and old people) are in peril . . ."

This impending threat from the monsoons to the Biharis in certain parts of Bangladesh has been underlined in a report published this month by the Friends of Bangladesh. The dreaded monsoons are due to start this month and are expected to last until September. About 200,000 people from camps at Khalispur, Mohammadpur, Mirpur and Murapara will need to be moved "to more suitable areas in Bangladesh. The estimated cost of 20,000 tents, food, medicines and personnel for four months is at least £2 million. This extremely urgent matter has been transmitted to the Government of Bangladesh and the international relief agencies".

In introducing the Report at a Press conference in London on 10 June, the Rt. Hon. David Ennals (a former Minister in the British Government) spoke of the "grim picture" of physical conditions under which the Biharis were now living in Bangladesh, conditions far worse than when the Bengalis crossed into India. "It was a picture of a people whose plight moved us deeply," he said, "What made their condition far worse and more precarious than anything else was the terror which they are constantly being subjected to—the fear of being attacked, the fear of being branded "collaborator" and all that this implied. "Even many totally innocent and loyal Bengalis are frightened, by the indiscriminate use of the word 'collaborator'. Not only has it been used against all the Biharis, but it has also been used against political opponents, business rivals, and anyone else who 'is getting in the way, of certain ruthless and ambitious elements. In such an atmosphere, those Bengalis who would normally have spoken up for the Biharis on basic humanitarian grounds are too frightened to do so, in case they, too, will be labelled as 'collaborators'.

The Report says: "In every colony we visited the Biharis complained of being a target for a variety of abuses. These included assaults, lootings, rapes, evictions, kidnappings and killings. In two cases we were also given evidence of mass killings,

in which several hundred people were killed by enraged mobs. (In Khalispur near Khulna on March 10, over two thousand people are thought to have been killed, and at Mirpur on April 19 possibly over two hundred were said to have been killed."

Fear of being terrorized is one of the factors which is forcing Biharis to remain in or around their camps which offer the psychological protection of being in a group. Many Biharis have been forced to vacate their houses and evictions have taken a variety of unofficial and official forms. Most of them have been dismissed from their jobs. "There are few Biharis still working in Dacca, but these are the exception not the rule. In Saidpur some 550 workers have managed to get their jobs back in the railway workshops compared with 7,500 Biharis employed there before." Another factor forcing the Biharis into a relief-dependent camp existence, is their inability to draw their money from the banks. "Some people, when accompanied by Europeans or Bengali friends, have been able to get through the bureaucracy and get their money, but those without these rare assets have come away empty handed."

The Report describes the living conditions in the camps. "In general, most of the Biharis who have vacated their houses, are suffering from poor shelter and intense overcrowding in the makeshift camps. The majority are now . . . totally dependent on relief supplies for survival." Supplies of both food and medicine have been erratic and inadequate and the situation has become particularly alarming.



Hope-still in the eyes



Quiet flows the drain

Records indicated "an average daily supply of food of less than 2 ounces per head. The sight of some children in the terminal stages of acute malnutrition gave some depressing supporting evidence for these figures. In some areas Biharis still living in their own houses are denied relief supplies available in the camps and are to some extent, in worse conditions (for example in Saidpur)" . . .

"With no jobs, no homes, no money, no possessions, no personal safety and finding themselves in over-crowded camps with a shortage of food and medicine, it is little wonder that many of these people feel that there is no escape."

In appendices to the Report, the mission describes in detail the conditions existing in some of the camps like Mirpur, Mohammadpur and Murapara. Conditions at Muhammadpur are the worst: "The first impression one gets of these areas (in Mohammadpur) is one of intense overcrowding. There is little space left to walk between the tents and as many as 12 people squeeze into each tent. There are even tents perched on the roofs of adjacent buildings." The explanation given by all the Biharis for this intense and extremely uncomfortable overcrowding is simply "fear" and the need to be near whatever meagre amenities are available. There is, for example, one water tap per 10,000 people.

Awful sanitation hazards are caused by this poor water supply. "Instead of being swept out of the camp by running water, the sewage remains stagnating in the shallow ditches which run between every second or third row of tents. There are already signs that many of the children have skin diseases and there have already been deaths from cholera. But, whatever the dangers to health now, they will be dwarfed by the conditions that will be created by the monsoon rains . . . Then, unless radical measures have been taken to improve the sanitary arrangements, the rains will flood the sewage tracts and spew their contents into the tents."

But the report comments: "Despite the fact that the living conditions in Mohammadpur are worse than in any other Bihari colony in Bangladesh, there are one or two hopeful signs there. Firstly, to a greater extent than, Mirpur for instance, there is a certain amount of integration with local Bengalis. There are even rare cases of Biharis and Bengalis sharing the same house. This is by far the best form of protection that they could possibly get and hopefully, the process can be encouraged. Coupled with this is the growing feeling amongst ordinary Bengalis and some intellectuals living in the Mohammadpur area, who have seen a glimpse of the living conditions of the Biharis, that they have suffered enough and a natural reac-

ion of sorrow is being matched by a growing feeling of shame as they see more and more foreign observers witnessing the plight of these people at first hand."

At another camp in the village of Murapara 27 miles from Dacca, "the biggest complaint (of the Biharis) was kidnapping and raping of girls. We were told that miscreants entered into the camp during the night, taking away women and girls and returned them after a few days. The guards and camp authorities did not provide them with any protection against this. The refugees were not allowed to talk to foreign relief workers or journalists and for many we were the first they talked to. We detected fear, even among Bihari doctors who were helping the camp administrators."

The report has put the main responsibility for the improvement of the status and living conditions of the non-Bengali population of Bangladesh on the government of Sheikh Mujib. He must "ensure" that his declaration, made soon after independence, that non-Bengalis will be welcome to settle as good citizens of Bangladesh, is turned into reality. At present it is a hollow phrase for people who are living under conditions of appalling hardship and terror in what, for most of them, is the land of their birth.

"But despite the fact that Sheikh Mujib reiterated in our presence that he felt a personal responsibility for the future welfare and security of the Bihari community, by the time the mission had left Bangladesh (almost three weeks after speaking to him) he had still not repeated this sentiment in public—a step felt to be crucial by nearly everyone sympathetic to the plight of the Biharis . . ."

Also, "very few government officials have taken the 10-minute journey to see the conditions at Mohammadpur for themselves and none of those officials giving public addresses have found it possible to include conciliatory references to these people. Instead they continue to harp on the past and the importance of punishing collaborators." (One of the delegation, Mr. Paul Connett, who had taken an active part in organising pressure groups in support of Bangladesh independence gave a speech in Dacca at a meeting organised to express the need for a lessening of hatred inside Bangladesh. All those who took part in the meeting were themselves branded as collaborators by the Bengali press). The mission noted a very unhealthy degree of censorship and regimentation of the Bengali press as a whole . . .

The report notes: "Probably the single most depressing aspect of present-day Bangladesh is the number of rational and intelligent Bengalis — whose loyalty during the liberation struggle is in no doubt—who are too frightened to speak out . . ."

"Many are prepared to admit in private that there has been suffering and excesses on both sides, and it is time to 'forgive and



A Bihari camp in Mohammadpur, Dacca

forget' the past. But they are not prepared at present, to state these views in public. They feel that if they did so they would immediately be labelled a 'collaborator' and thereby run the risk of imprisonment, harassment or jeopardising their careers.

"Many also recognise that . . . the people who are suffering the most today are the innocent ones; the babies, the children, the women, the old and infirm. Intellectually, they also recognise that there is no middle ground between elimination and absorption: if the Biharis are going to stay, apart from the criminals, they should be treated like any other Bengali citizen.

The mission was also concerned with the problems of the 400,000 Bengalis now in Pakistan. In the Lalukhet area and the Federal Area, Block B, of Karachi the mission found that almost all the people in the clerical staff of the civil service and the civilian staff in the armed forces have been made redundant because they were Bengalis. There was considerable overcrowding and shortage of money in these areas although the mission did not see "any instance of widespread violence."

In Moosa colony in Karachi, the population consists mostly of industrial labour and most of them have been laid off. "The original population of this area was reported to be 35,000 which has since swollen to 75,000 causing problems of intense overcrowding, water supply and sanitation.

"The mission met in Karachi a senior Bengali Civil Servant who summed up the situation as follows. The apprehension about the future is the most important problem, followed by the feeling of insecurity. The outbreak of violence may be just around the corner and after the March 18 statement of President Bhutto in Lahore that the Government could not guarantee the security of these Bengalis unless Sheikh Mujib looked after the Biharis in Bangladesh, they feel even more vulnerable."

It is the Mission's estimate that at least

95 per cent of the Bengalis in Pakistan wish to go to Bangladesh as quickly as they are permitted to leave Pakistan. The mission felt that the refusal so far to allow them to go is tantamount to keeping them hostage in return for the 90,000 or so Pakistani prisoners of war who are being held by India. The mission describes the Indian government's attitude as "obdurate" in refusing to allow some Biharis in Bangladesh to be reunited with families in Bihar who are willing to look after them.

The report concludes that the plight of the Biharis in Bangladesh overshadows all other problems. It underlines the possibility that "if there is no radical improvement . . . before the monsoon arrives—almost overnight these camps are going to be converted into graveyards as the weak, the infirm, the children and the babies are going to perish in a sea of mud and excrement."

The leader of the mission pointed out that the governments in the area—Pakistan, India and Bangladesh—have in the past shown themselves to be very amenable to outside pressures and is calling on various agencies and governments to exert diplomatic pressure at the highest level on them to see that every possible help is given. He appealed for strong and courageous action on the part of Sheikh Mujib to remove this "scar on the face of Bangladesh."

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MUSLIMS UNDER THE PHILIPPINES

The Bangsa Moro case for self-determination

FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

The Muslims in the Philippines from 1521-1898 were called by the Spaniards Moros, for like the Moors or Moriscos of Spain they belong to the Islamic Faith. The Dutch, the British, the Portuguese, the Chinese and the Japanese also referred to them as Moros. From 1898-1957, they were called Moros by the Americans and the Philippines (previously referred to as the Indios or the Christianized inhabitants of Luzon and Visayas). Since 1957, under Republic Act No. 1881, the Muslims are classed as one of the National Cultural Minorities, together with the other pagan tribes of the Philippines.

But the Muslims refer to themselves as the Bangsa Moro (the Moro Nation) in order to keep their historic identity. The term Bangsa Moro refer to all the Muslims living in the Philippines and are of Malay-Indonesian origin. They became subject to the present Philippine government against their will and largely through the treachery and deceit of the United States of America and the Filipino leaders headed by Manuel L. Quezon in 1920. When the present constitution was ratified in 1935, the great majority of the Ra'yat Muslimin did not ratify or vote during the plebiscite. In 1936, when the Commonwealth was established, Acts No. 787, 1283 and 2520, which recognized and established the Moro Province (the Moro Homeland) as a semi-autonomous regional government, were repealed without the agreement of the Muslims. Since then, the government has consistently followed the policy of disinheritance and displacing the Muslims.

On February 1968, Major Eduardo Martelino, commander of Project Jabidah ordered the massacre of twenty six Muslim trainees at Corregidor Island because they refused to go to Sabah, Malaysia and perform sabotage activities against the Malaysian government. In December 1969, the Ilagas (Rats) or the "Christian mercenaries" in collusion with government soldiers and officials commenced the hostilities against unarmed and peaceful Muslim residents of Upi and Alamada, Cotabato. Similar incidents spread to the other Muslim municipalities; and these incidents were used by the government to increase its military forces in the areas. In June 1971, the Ilagas together with government troops massacred 61 unarmed Muslims inside the mosque in Manili, Carmen, Cotabato. The victims were eight children, twenty-two males and thirty-one females; all unarmed. The massacre of unarmed Muslims; the disfigurement of Muslim children; the burning of Muslim houses and crops; the desecration and burning of mosques and the tearing off the

copies of the Holy Quran spread throughout the Muslim areas, and the government, not only did tolerate these atrocities but actually aided and abetted the crusade to exterminate the Muslims and Islam from the Philippines.

Following is the summary of a report based on published Philippine Constabulary and newspaper accounts which contain the statistics on Muslim casualties covering the period from December 1969 to 11 February 1972.

Muslims killed—1,845
Muslims wounded—420
Muslim houses burned—2,561
Mosques burned—11
Muslim municipalities evacuated—11,
approximate area, 500,000 hectares,
These figures, however, represent only
30 per cent of the real scale of casualties
and damages.

There is considerable evidence to show that the Filipino government worked in collusion with the Ilaga or Christian mercenaries:

1. During the last election in November, 1971, the Ilagas campaigned, terrorized and voted for all the candidates of President Marcos.
2. The Armed Forces have not had a single encounter with the Ilagas in Cotabato, Lanao Sur and Lanao Norte.
3. The Armed Forces have not filed a single criminal case against any Ilaga member apprehended by Muslim soldiers or policemen.
4. On 17 March 1972, Commander Carmelino Abagon of the Ilaga group admitted before the Senate Investigating Committee that they were trained, financed and supported by the government. According to General Castro of the Police Commission, there are 35,000 armed Ilagas in Mindanao. In 1971, the Armed Forces of the Philippines spent P71 million on intelligence work. Since this is not subject to accounting, the Muslims claim that it was spent on illegal and criminal operations against them. The Defense Secretary partially admitted this charge in the 24 March 1972 issue of the *Manila Chronicle*.
5. Judge Juan Echiverri of the Bulacan court identified a Major as the head of the Ilaga in Lanao Norte.

On 20 March 1971, the Department of Social Welfare (DSW) disclosed that the Muslim refugees are in need of food, clothing and medicines and that the government will release aid through the Cotabato Industrial Development Enter-

prise (CIDE) under Colonel Abenier Bormales at P20.00 per refugee. The aid will be released to the Muslim refugees in Liguasan and Buluan, Cotabato through Fr. Isip on cent per cent basis (*The Manila Times*). According to the report, every week at least one Muslim died of hunger and sickness. They were eating grass and seeds of water lilies. The deplorable aspect of this policy, however, was that the Muslims were being compelled to go to the same extremist Christians for help, because the government is channelising all relief either through the Christian officials or the priests. For this reason, most of the Muslim refugees refuse to accept relief from government agencies.

On March 22, 1972 (*The Manila Times*), President Marcos ordered the creation of rice enclaves which are actually "military hamlets" in order to legalize the presence of the military troops in muslim areas. For this purpose, Marcos has ordered the release of 100,000 hectares in the Muslim areas. This is in pursuance of the policy to displace the Muslims.

The United States of America has also given P1,281,935 to the Department of Agrarian Reform for education, research and information. This money will be used to support settlement projects in Mindanao. This will also fund projects to establish kibbutzim type settlements in the country.

President Marcos has requested a 46 per cent increase of the military budget. The amount requested this year is 1.3 billion pesos with the following breakdown: General Headquarters, P93 million, Philippine Air Force, P102.5 million, and Philippine Navy, P114.7 million.

The United States will give the Philippines under the Military Defense Pact \$61.1 million or P399.750 million. The Philippines will also make representation with the US for an ammunition and arms plant. General Romeo Espino, the Philippines Armed Forces Chief of Staff, called for a P300 million annual outlay over a five year period for the establishment of a weapons factory and ammunition plant. This is contained in the budgetary proposal of the Marcos government.

This budgetary increase in the Armed Forces was opposed by the Muslim members of Congress. Congressman Ali Dimaporo, Salipada Pendatun and Indanan Anni denounced the present military approach to the Muslim crisis. In a privilege speech on 22 March 1972, Congressman Ali Dimaporo said that "the approval of the military budget would be a tacit approval by Congress of the abuses of the military against the Muslims. He warned the government to stop the killing of Muslims or else there will

be a full-scale war. He accused the army and the Philippine Constabulary (PC) of aiding the Ilagas in their campaign to eliminate the Muslims in Mindanao." (*The Manila Times*, 22 March 1972).

The present military plans of Marcos government could only mean increase military aggression against the Ra'yat Muslimin of the Bangsa Moro. With a military budget of this order and the US support, the Muslims must expect a fresh campaign of terror and genocide against them.

On the economic plane, the Muslims are now experiencing great distress and untold hardships. There is shortage of rice, salt, sugar, milk, flour and meat supplies. The prices of these commodities have gone up from 35 percent to 500 percent; invariably, one kilo of salt costs P3.00 and one kilo of rice costs P1.80. There are approximately 400,000 refugees who are in dire need of work, food, clothing, medicine and housing. Considering the fact that Muslim provinces have low income because all the income from its natural resources goes to the Manila government, the Muslim provincial governments are virtually helpless in the face of this crisis.

The Mindanao Development Authority (MDA) which is also monopolized by the Christians has estimated a P120 Million outlay for a four-year economic development programme. This programme will pursue the industrialization plan of the region. It will mean the displacement of the Muslim masses because they are not trained for technical or industrial work. An example would be Iligan city wherein the ratio of industrial workers between Christians and Muslims is 1,000:1.

On 25 March 1972 Ramon B. Cardenas of the MDA and the presidential economic staff revealed a reorganization plan to "fragmentize" Muslim groups. For example, Palawan would be assigned to the Tagalog region. Each Muslim community would be assigned to a Christian dominated area. In addition, the Muslims in Christian dominated areas would become non-entities. This indeed would be the coup de grace to the years of aggression against the Bangsa Moro. The government and the church now plan to realize their long cherished dream of bringing to conclusion the unfinished task of their Spanish and American masters i.e. complete christianization of the Philippines by either exterminating the Muslims or dispersing them under the political, military and economic control of the Christians.

According to a recent report reaching us here, the government has rejected the request of the Islamic Secretariat to send a six-man/deligation to the Philippines to make an on-the-spot investigation of the Muslim situation.

The only recourse now left is to take the case to the United Nations: to the Committee on Human Rights, the Committee on Genocide regarding the genocide and cultural extermination of Bangsa Moro.

Follow-up

Soviet Orientalism

A. M. Nuruddin's review of the late Prof. Belyaev's "Arabs, Islam and the Arab Caliphate" (*Impact*, 26 November—9 December 1971) sheds good light on the academic quality of Soviet Orientalist scholarship. Dr. Shaban, an Arab scholar has also taken note of Belyaev's statement: "Thus Islam arose in Arabia, a new ideology reflecting considerable change in Arab society, namely inequality in property, slavery and development of exchanges. The rise of this new ideology was due to the formation of a slave-holding regime within a decaying primitive-communal society." (p. 115). He said that "undoubtedly, it was a new ideology and undoubtedly there were considerable changes in Arab society, but the rest of the argument is not supported by any shadow of evidence in our sources."*

However, in my way of thinking, most scholars discussing the book, have overlooked one significant point, perhaps the essential theme, of this study. The book does not seem to be a history of the Arabs or Islam, but it betrays a conscious effort on the author's part to formulate a theory of exploitation of labour by Arabs in the Islamic social milieu. Belyaev endeavoured to establish one major point in the book, i.e., the status of labour in early Islamic society to the Zanj revolt in 869-883 A.D.

In the opening chapter of the book Belyaev laid down the premise that societies under the Byzantine and the Sassanid empires were buttressed on "slave economy" which was boosted by a successful exploitation of slave labour of the coloin, the corvée and the agricultural serfs. The remaining pages of the book are devoted to the assertion that in pre-Islamic Arabian society, and the Islamic society that replaced it under the Prophet and the Caliphs, the labour-capital relationships remained largely unaffected. The Islamic States under the Caliphs, according to Belyaev, was chiefly based on the exploitation of labour force, predominantly of servile origin. To complete the parallel between the "slave-holding" regimes of the Byzantines and the Sassanids with that of the Caliphates, Belyaev cites the "uprising of slaves, coloni and peasants" under Justinian's successors against Byzantine empire (c. 6th century) and the instance of the uprising of the African slaves (collectively known as Zunu) against the 'Abbasid Caliphate (c. 9th century A.D.).

The "exploitation", "distress", "discontent", "agitation" and "liberation" of the "working masses" are some of the clichés in Belyaev's magnum opus (Cf. pp. 8, 15, 147, 160, 186-9, 198-9, 205, 214, 229, 232-3, 235, 245 etc.). The book seems

to be overladen with Marxist jargons such as "pre-class society", "class struggle", "communes" and the like.

Of course, Belyaev is entitled to his own opinion, but his hollow statements do not deserve uncritical appreciation. We shall cite a few instances to demonstrate how Belyaev indulges in generalisations almost to the point of absurdity. Speaking about the Islamic society founded by the Prophet Muhammad, he states, "The main aim of the newly formed Arab state was now to ensure by armed might the economic subservience of the labouring majority to the wealthy minority." (116). This is one of the most superficial statements on early Islamic society ever made by a scholar or non-scholar. However, we wonder, on what evidence is this statement based upon? It is: "Cf. K., Marks i. F. Engle's *Sochineniya* (Collected Works), 2nd. ed., t. 36. p.9." in the footnote (p. 117). This is not untypical, seldom has he quoted original Arabic, Persian or Turkish literary or historiographical sources to substantiate his conclusions. Most of Belyaev's criticisms on Arabs or Islam are based on secondary and European, mostly Russian sources.

Of the many generalisations of Belyaev on the status of labour in Arab society under Islam, the following deserve to be quoted verbatim. "The situation of the rural and urban working masses had not improved under the earlier Abbasids; in fact, in many cases they had deteriorated." (p. 232). "... The 'Abbasid rise to power in fact made no difference to the hard lot of the working masses." (ibid.) These statements are not corroborated by any historical evidence and Belyaev quotes no primary sources to support his conclusions.

My own research* on the social history of the labourers during the 'Abbasid Caliphate, shows that the condition of labourers had improved during the Abbasid period in comparison with that of the Umayyad epoch in the following ways: One does not find any forced labour and wages and working conditions of artisans, in general, show great improvement as compared to any preceding period in recorded Arab history. One also finds a general improvement in the cultural and economic life with workers being accorded a social status.

In all fairness to historical facts, we are inclined to stress that Belyaev's observation on Arabs, Islam and the Arab Caliphate are, by and large, presumptive and tendentious.

Dr. M. A. J. Beg

* M. A. Shaban, *Islamic History*, 600-750; a new interpretation, (C.U.P., 1971), pp 1-2.

* M. A. J. Beg: "The Social history of the labouring classes in Iraq under the Abbasids", (Ph. D. Thesis, Cambridge 1971)

“Somewhere the decision is taken and choices are not then available”

A. K. BROHI speaking to *IMPACT* on the nature of Pakistan's crisis

“Yes”, said Brohi, “I have been quite close to events. Although, not strictly in this business of politics, but I defended Mujibur Rahman for six long months and, therefore, I know a great deal about his point of view. I have studied this chapter of our history as a lawyer would study his brief. I have arrived at certain conclusions, but a post-mortem examination of events cannot be attempted by me, because whatever I might say might adversely affect the detailed situation which is there. Therefore, I have subjected myself to a self-denying ordinance of keeping quiet. Sometimes it is in the interest of truth that the truth should not be told. That is why I have not made any statement, directly or indirectly, which would embody my reaction to the situation”.

A human rights lawyer in the Pakistani context, member of Pakistan's first Constituent Assembly, Minister of Law (1953-54), international jurist, but above all a man of culture and refinement, A.K. Brohi's role in Pakistan's politics has its own quality, intensely concerned but refuses to be involved.

“I am not cut out for party politics. There are two types of men: the judge type and the father type. When you are a judge, you judge and you pronounce. So far as I understand myself I am the father type. You have your children, no matter their colour or complexion but you don't throw them out if they don't behave as they should. Whereas in politics, you must abuse and howl and shout. You have your eyes set on the seat of power. That is the kind of humbug party politics is associated with. I cannot play that part.”

After the death of Mr. H. S. Suharwardy, who had founded the Awami League, Sheikh Mujib approached him to accept the chairmanship of the Party. “I think I told him that you are too much identified with the provincial politics. You must aspire to be an “All Pakistan figure. Mujib said that is why I am asking you to be the chairman. “But Brohi felt that in politics you have to grow and not come through a notification or announcement that you are the chairman. “A person who cannot practise that sort of politics must by himself be quite an immoral person”. So he declined.

The Ayub regime hated Brohi but they asked him to be the state prosecutor in the Agartala case, but he declined. He was approached later on Mujib's behalf, but he had ruled himself out. A year or so after the start of the trial, Ayub Khan was

forced to lift the State of Emergency and have a Round Table Conference with the political leaders. Brohi wanted the RTC to succeed. He flew to East Pakistan and asked Mujib: “Are you for Pakistan?” Mujib replied: “Yes, I am for Pakistan” and Brohi told him that as long as you are for Pakistan, I will stay with you. He served a notice on the State that the Agartala case was being tried under a law which had become void after the lifting of the Emergency. The Court upheld this and Mujib was acquitted.

Two years later when Mujib was brought to trial before a military court for waging war against Pakistan, Yahya Khan's Law Minister, Mr. Justice Cornelius requested him to act for Mujib's defence but he did not feel like being involved. Cornelius approached again told him it is Sheikh Mujib who has suggested his name and the President requests him to accept it. This is there in the government press note announcing his appointment as Sheikh Mujib's defence counsel. When Brohi agreed to defend, he said he would defend for the cause of justice and not for money—half a million rupees. Brohi, indeed, has been quite close to the events and is now perhaps the only person in Pakistan who could talk to and be listened to by Sheikh Mujib. So one expected light on that crucial segment of Pakistan's history, he has been so closely associated with. Did Mujib really want to break away? Was he innocent? Was he guilty? What was his defence? What sort of person Sheikh Mujib is? Would he make a successful statesman? Brohi would answer none of these. “Let's try to face the problems that lie ahead”.

But what future? Hasn't the experiment of organising a state on the basis of Islam failed? Did not the break-up of Pakistan signify a failure of that polity?

“No, it all depends from where you look at it. The old Greek philosopher, Heraclitus said that the way up and the way down is the same way, depending which end of the way you are. I have come to the conclusion that whatever has happened in relation to the dismemberment of Pakistan is the result of mis-handling of the political situation, it was not inevitable. The foundations of Pakistan have been built on a view which is of enduring character, its foundations are not sandy. I have no doubt that religion is the significant factor and that Islam does provide brotherhood and national integration of a sort which modern Europe and America have not been able

to achieve. The historians of future will accuse us for not having exploited the immense possibilities that existed in fortifying the frontiers of Pakistan in relation to its ideology, its spiritual and its moral foundations. When Pakistan was conceded, people thought that that was the end of their efforts and a new dawn would come automatically. We should have continued the jihad, worked diligently made sacrifices, instead of doing all that, that would divert our attention to purely material questions. I am not against the economic aspect of life which should be catered for, but surely in an ideological state, there is something more which comes first. It was this that was ignored. I think this is the fundamental reason why a situation emerged which led to such disastrous results.

“I suggest that we learn lesson from this, because what now remains of Pakistan is to be preserved, fortified and consolidated. The dismemberment of Pakistan has triggered off various centrifugal tendencies. There are people who have begun to say that religion is not a decisive link in the mid-twentieth century. Yet these critics cannot tell us precisely that the Sindhis, the Pathans, the Punjabis and the Baluchs, how are they to live together, if you remove the common link of Islam that unites them. Racially, even historically, we have never been a nation before. What remains now of Pakistan had never constituted itself as an administrative unit in Indian history. Once you accept to be a secularist, or a socialist, society you will sink Pakistan into the arms of Indian history. There is nothing to stop it.

“To me it seems that when we asked for Pakistan we broke away from the general current of history. We said to the world at large that our destiny lay in another direction. It was this commitment to this new type of destiny which was responsible for the claim being put forward by the Indian Muslims that they should have a separate homeland. I assert that the recent events demand from us further allegiance to the same principles. To those who say that religion was not able to keep East and West Pakistan together, I would like to tell that it was so because we did not stress this common factor sufficiently. The present failure is not the failure of Pakistan, the ideal. It is the failure of the Pakistani people. We should draw a distinction. Islam has not failed us, we have failed Islam.

“I am clearly of the opinion that if we had stressed the religious factor and institutionalised it in all forms, at all

"Of course, today we have the right to say: No, we are sorry, we do not want Islam, Then my question is how will you keep West Pakistan together? . . . The question is either we adhere to Islam to its better end or disintegrate and wither away".

levels—for instance if we had stressed it in our system of education, if we had valued those means and institutions which had pledged Pakistan's ideology, then we would have established, by example, that Islam is the basis of self-integration. The leaders of Pakistan during the last 20 years with honourable exceptions said that we wanted to raise the standard of living of the people. And if this has to be regardless of the means, then I deny that merely the raising of the material standard would lead to betterment of life or society.

"We have really done nothing to promote *education*. It was allowed to become a provincial subject. How do you expect the provinces to impart, each in its own way, an awareness of one Pakistan into the rising generation of our children. This lapse on the educational front in Pakistan should serve as a warning to Muslims all over the world. They should know that Islam is not a Brahminic or a racialist cult. You are not a Muslim simply because you were born in a Muslim home. Islam is something you are called upon to declare, and to believe: in God, in the Prophet, in the Books, in the angels, in the hereafter and accountability.

"At present we think in terms of quantitative indices, so many people, so much army, so much GNP. I am not quarelling over it, but the more crucial factor is the factor of consciousness which is a transcendent dimension of national quality and which counterveils, the other negatives, the numerical deficiencies. So what we have lost in the physical dimension we can still recover by giving an unconditional loyalty to our way of life. Therefore, I would like to begin my battle in the school, in the colleges and in the universities so as to build up a compacted and unchallengable the nation in the sense of inner belonging.

"We also failed in linking franchise with the people's awareness. I don't say that the right to vote should be given to those who pass this or that examination, but let it be exercised by those who at least can read and write. If we have had done so, the landlords would have seen to it that they opened schools and promoted education. Obviously they are interested in obtaining votes. The Quran speaks about the ink and the pen, the need to think, to understand, to differentiate, and so on, which all emphasize on developing one's internal consciousness. So, how do you discriminate without any criteria or culture? The result now is that the constituency

of power has become the constituency of ignorance and superstition. I am absolutely clear that democracy without education is hypocrisy.

"True Pakistan was founded by show of hands, but it is one thing to say that I am for Islam and another to reflect what follows from it. It is not denying participation. It is inviting them to be educated. Why do you put it the other way.

"Closely linked to this is the question of separate electorate for the minorities. The independence of Pakistan came about as a result of agreement between the Hindus, the Muslims and the British. Separate electorate has been part of the subcontinent's history. People make the mistake of taking Islam to be one religion amongst others. Here the whole national ethos is conditioned by one's commitment to the religion.

"In an ideological state, the minority submits to the test of ideological limitations. In China and Soviet Russia, they don't even allow other political parties to function. Islam says you are free to belong to any religion and to hold any political view, you will have representation according to your population and you will elect them yourselves. Could anything be more fair?

"Our problems boil down to this: Are we prepared to establish a state on fixed ideological basis? The answer is yes or no? At present I am not debating the pros and cons of having or not having an ideological state. The choice has been made. In the Objective Resolution passed by the first CA in 1948 and included in all subsequent constitution, we have accepted that sovereignty belongs to Allah alone and it was to be exercised by the people of Pakistan as a trust within the limits prescribed by Him.

"Of course, we have the right to say today that 'no, we are sorry, we don't want that'. Then my question is: how will you keep West Pakistan together. Ghazali was once asked how far is a man free and how far is he not? The man was standing. Ghazali asked him to lift up his right leg. He did that, then he said now lift your left leg up. He said: I can't', Ghazali told him that to begin with you had the freedom to lift your left leg, but then you would not have been able to lift your right leg. Somewhere the decision is taken and choices are not then available. For the history of Pakistan that choice is foreclosed. The question is either we

adhere to Islam to its better end or disintegrate and wither away.

"When Pakistan came into being I was a student engrossed in my own world. As I grew up I began to think about these things, think of the decision others had taken, and the commitment which had been made. To me it came to signify only one thing that in the mid-twentieth century this was going to be a laboratory for the great experiment of founding a state of supra-linguistic, supra-racial and supra-regional loyalties. This meant not only the redemption of the Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, we thought it would be a model of excellence to be replicated all the world over. The greatest contribution that the Prophet had made to human history was to devaluate the ties of race, blood, geography and tribalism, and substitute in their place a unique brotherhood—that you belong to the same God, come from Him, return to Him, you need not be proud of the blue blood in your veins because you come from Adam and Adam was made from dust. Between the Bengali and myself there was not much that was common, but it was our Faith which was uniting us and we said this is the way the whole humanity can be brought together. It was the revival and translation of these bonds of brotherhood and equality that made it so exhilarating to us in Pakistan. If this is brought to an end what is the safeguard for the future existence of Pakistan. The words of Bible always come to me: But if the salt will have lost his savour, wherewith shall it be sacked?

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Science & Society

IMPACT science report

Natural anti-freeze in Polar fish

Polar fish is known to survive in such cold waters that would freeze other fish to death. They are able to do so because of the presence of a natural 'anti-freeze' in their blood. This has come out from investigations carried out at Scripps Institute of Oceanography, San Diego, California.

The tests that disclosed the presence of this natural anti-freeze in fish were carried out on two Arctic and four Antarctic species. In their Arctic and Antarctic habitats, the species have been known to survive a temperature as low as minus 1.9°C.

Salt water has a lower freezing point than zero degree centigrade which is the freezing point for normal water. Because fish contain salts in their body fluid it too does not freeze at zero degree centigrade, though most fish die if cooled to below minus 1.2°C. Polar fish have an unusually high concentration of proteins in their blood plasma and these proteins inhibit formation of ice at temperatures down to almost minus 2°C.

In the experiments carried out at Scripps Institute, blood samples were taken from each fish and cooled until frozen to ice. Similar experiments were undertaken on blood drawn from polar birds and mammals and common salt solutions. Blood from birds, and mammals was found to have a freezing behaviour very similar to that of salt solutions, in which ice begins to form when the solutions are cooled to their freezing points. But in the deep water polar fish, ice-formation does not begin until cooling reaches 0.3°C below the expected freezing point. In shallow water polar fish, blood plasma does not freeze until it gets to 0.9°C below the expected freezing point.

How freezing is delayed remains unclear. But chemical tests show that certain glyco-proteins could well form the natural anti-freeze of fish blood. Species found in colder waters have a higher concentration of these proteins in their blood and there is even a seasonal change within a species—greater concentration in winter than in summer.

● Efficient organisations and better training of nurses and doctors working with the resuscitation team at Montreal Hospital have resulted in saving more than 200 lives.

In the past 10 years the team has attempted resuscitation of 1,204 patients, 230 of whom left the hospital alive. More than half of them were still alive three years later and more than a third, seven years after leaving hospital.

In most of the survivors there is no evidence that the heart or brain has been

adversely affected by the period of "death". Only 4 of the 230 survivors had permanent brain damage, others in fact improved their health compared to their state when the heart had stopped.

● A British Company, C & N Electrical Instruments has developed a water purifier based on a principle which had so far been regarded as merely antique and mythical. People who used silver bowls or tumblers believed that this gave them protection against water-borne germs. Now C & N are using sterling silver plates which release silver ions into the water stream, and the electrical charge so produced destroys the bacteria.

The technique saves the use of chemical additives like chlorine used commonly for the purpose. The swimming pool unit costs £200, is lightweight, portable and runs on a simple torch battery. At the moment it is being used only for killing bacteria in swimming pool water. But the technique is being developed to purify contaminated drinking water from doubtful sources like cholera-carrying river and lakes.

● Polyurethane is used in cars for comfort and safety padding. In 1966 some 10,000 tons of it was used in American cars and it is estimated that by 1975 its consumption will rise to 300,000 tons. But at this level of consumption polyurethane is also going to pose a serious disposal problem. Burning it in the open will pollute the air. Ford has developed an inexpensive method to reclaim polyurethane foam. It involves heating the foam to 400°C in a sealed container with a small amount of water. After about 15 mins., the polyurethane turns to a liquid slightly thicker than water. The liquid is then distilled to obtain polyurethane residue for reuse.

● Recent work on plant behaviour has shown that plants are also endowed with a kind of physiological defence against attack by insects or other predators.

For some time certain plant substances have been known to inhibit the activity of some enzymes. Scientists at Washington State University have now discovered that although the inhibitors—at least in the tomato and potato plants—are usually distributed at a low concentration in all the leaves, but when attacked by an insect, inhibitor concentration in the attacked leaf suddenly becomes very high. So if the insect eats up any part of the leaf, the inhibitor neutralises its plant material digesting enzyme thus making the eaten foliage indigestible. The insect is left with bad digestion and a bitter lesson for the future.

IMPACT international fortnightly

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

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WASHINGTON LETTER

Befriending some, confusing others

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

There is a popular song on the American hit parade called "What's Going On?". This expression is on the lips of many American Muslims these days—and not because they have all of a sudden gone 'pop'. If anything, the expression reflects surprise and even consternation.

It all began when *Muhammad Speaks*, the weekly paper of the Nation of Islam popularly known as the "Black Muslims", carried a story in its 12 May issue detailing "significant support" for them from "Dr. Muhammad Rauf, Director of the Islamic Center in Washington, DC." who attended a Harlem rally called to express condemnation of recent N.Y. police action in invading a "Black Muslim mosque" in Harlem after receiving an anonymous phone call that a policeman was in trouble there. Dr. Rauf was accompanied by (Shaikh) Mahmoud Khalil Al-Husary Member of the Ministry of Religious Endowments of Egypt, Dawoud Assad, Vice-President of the Federation of Islamic Associations in the United States and Canada, and "other Middle East Muslims."

According to *Muhammad Speaks*, Dr. Rauf declared: "We have come to express our admiration for your work and the great achievements of the beloved leader, the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. I would like to assure you all that the whole Muslim world, which includes seven hundred million people, is behind you." The incident and the remarks have since been confirmed with Dr. Rauf in Washington, D.C.

Earlier on 8 May, had appeared another report in *The Philadelphia Inquirer* from Charles Bartlett titled "Foreign Aid comes to the U.S." "Libyan President Muammer El-Qaddafi," he wrote, "has agreed to loan \$3 million to establish a national Black Muslim mosque in Chicago. The loan was negotiated in Tripoli by Muhammad Ali (the boxer) and the money is being held here in the Riggs bank until the contract is signed by Elijah Muhammad. The Libyans are not, in line with Muslim practice, charging any interest but they want total repayment within three years. The Libyan ambassador here, Abdalla Suwesi says... "We are merely helping to build a church... and this is something American missionaries have done in many countries." Plans for the national mosque are confirmed by the Black Muslim's chief prophet, Elijah Muhammad, who plans to buy a Greek Orthodox church in Southside Chicago for \$4 million and transform it into a national center for Black Muslim worship.

Perhaps the huge loan could have been anticipated when Washington papers recently ran pictures of the heavyweight

boxer Muhammad Ali making *ruku'* in a Libyan mosque, since this mode of prayer is not customary for "Black Muslims". They always pray standing erect and so also do not make *sajda* or prostration. They do not fast during the month of Ramadan but always in December and as a general rule they do not make pilgrimage to Mecca, though some of them have performed *umra*. The "Black Muslim" divergence from Islam relates also to the status of Elijah Muhammad, formerly Elijah Poole who founded the movement in 1930 in Chicago. When a "Black Muslim" speaks of Muhammad, he does not mean the blessed Prophet Muhammad ibn Abdullah the last Prophet of Islam, but Elijah Muhammad. It is not denied that he claims and is acclaimed by his followers as the "Messenger and representative of Almighty God, Allah, who visited America in the Person of Master Fard Muhammad".* It is all this which has caused consternation among the "orthodox".

So much indeed has been the ire that a campaign was launched by a group of Afro-American Muslims to have Dr. Rauf ousted from the directorship of the Washington Center.

Dr. Rauf's support has been explained in various ways. It has been seen as an affirmation of the Muslim's duty to come to the aid of the oppressed, whatever their race or creed. Then, there is the hope that, with leader Elijah Muhammad being old and in ill health, the "Black Muslims" will be moved or encouraged to adopt the Islam after his death. His son, Herbert Muhammad, has studied in Arabia and over the years Elijah has come to admit that perhaps other people besides blacks can be Muslim too—another difference between his teachings and that of the Islam, as Elijah had once preached that white people could never be Muslims. (It was the realisation that true Islam admitted people of all races and practiced equality among them that partly prompted Malcolm X to leave the Black Muslims and become a Muslim. He was eventually martyred because of this defection.)

The "Black Muslims" are very sound financially, holding property and other assets worth about 75 million dollars at least. This fortune has been amassed through rigid frugality and the commendable doctrine of self-help and self-reliance. They have established scores of successful businesses and stores, a printing plant for their weekly newspaper, possess 25 thousand acres of farmland in three American states and have substantial investment in real estate. Thus, by ordinary terms, they are eminently

qualified of a loan of \$3 million.

The questions being asked, however, are: Does it not amount to paying a premium on error and misrepresentation? And how far would this help other Americans to understand Islam, quite a number of whom are in search of the True Faith?

* Bernard Cushmeer *THIS IS THE ONE Messenger Elijah Muhammad* (Truth Publication, Phoenix, Arizona, USA, 1970), p.7

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Books

Economic Iconoclasm

Economic Justice in Islam by S. M. Yusuf, *Sh. Mohammad Ashraf*, Lahore, 108 pages, Rs. 7.50.

The deplorable poverty of the teeming millions in the underdeveloped countries along with high concentration of wealth in a few hands has attracted greater attention to the question of economic justice. Muslim thinkers feel, that only the economic teachings of Islam, when put to practice, can create the right environment for economic justice. Dr. Yusuf's book "Economic Justice in Islam" tries to study various aspects of the Islamic economic system. He contends that over the centuries, the capitalist system has come to perpetuate itself and be taken as something 'natural' and 'unquestionable'. But, as a matter of fact, the various institutions of the capitalist system promote exploitation rather than justice, poverty rather than prosperity, and misery rather than welfare. The unregulated right to own even to the point of misuse and abuse, is one major source of exploitation. It has resulted in an inequitable distribution of free gifts of nature. Islam curtails and regulates this right. You have right to own a property but this is subject to certain conditions, the principal of which is that the property owned should be exploited to the benefit of the society, should not lie in disuse and should not be detrimental to common good. Islam recognises the right of all on the free gifts of nature like land and does not allow Ricardian rent for the "original and indestructible powers" of land. Similarly it prohibits interest and such other kinds of business practices which involve exploitation in any form. There are limits on the acquisition of wealth. There are restrictions on use as well. First is the compulsory *Zakat* on all surplus wealth, after basic needs have been fulfilled. There are restrictions on extravagance and wastage also. Individuals have been exhorted to direct the flow of wealth from the rich to the poor so that "wealth does not circuit among the rich" only.

State protection to the industries is also one of the causes of injustice in the society. The industrialists are 'fed' on the labour and hard work of the poor people. Similarly, indirect taxes like customs, excise and octroi also add to the miseries of the masses.

The author has objected to the modern financial institutions like banking, insurance, paper money, credit-creation, joint-stock companies etc. He thinks that

the present day paper currency management "bolsters unsound economic system". Islam has accepted gold and silver as a medium of exchange. All other uses of these precious metals are forbidden. Thus, the total production of these metals should be made available for monetary purposes. Either there should be no paper currency or it should be fully backed by the gold reserve. Thus we should turn back once again to gold standard. The creation of credit, and discounting of promissory notes are all "fraudulent tricks played upon the unwary public". Credit is only a "misnomer for taking chances with the creditability of the customers and introducing the element of gambling in business enterprise."

Similarly, the aims of insurance are acceptable, but the modern form of insurance involves wagering and profiteering and should be replaced by a system of state insurance. The writer has also criticised modern fiscal tools like trade tariffs, custom duties, indirect taxes, progressive taxation etc. He has pleaded free domestic and international trade, and thinks that progressive taxation presumes "illegitimacy of income". He has recommended proportionate taxation on the pattern of *Zakat* which is levied on capital and not on income. Income tax is not acceptable.

The author has come out with many iconoclastic views. He has challenged almost all the institutions of the modern age yet does not make a strong case. Instead of analysing and establishing the "evils", for the most part he has confined himself to making observations and citing instances from the pre-Industrial Revolution history of the Muslims. Without such an analysis, it is difficult to be plausible about. For example, the idea of going back to gold standard and doing away with credit-creation system of banks will create immense problems of liquidity. Already the world is credit hungry and SDRs have been created to fill this gap. Similarly the theory of free trade has not stood the test of time. Progressive taxation, is considered to be one of the tools for breaking the hold of the capitalist class and it is difficult to understand how can it be replaced by proportionate taxation. All these needed to be argued out. Likewise, if one objected to the modern fiscal tools, he should show as to how to meet the revenue needs of a modern state which also aimed at providing social security to its citizens.

M. A. KHAN

Briefing

Nasser

by Anthony Nutting,
Constable, £3.95

Anthony Nutting writes from personal knowledge he had of the late President Nasser, the man, his government and country. An appraisal of Nasser's achievements and failures. The author tries to present his vast collection of information objectively and in the wide context of Middle East and international power politics. Nutting lost his political career and his post in the Cabinet as a result of British Confrontation with that extraordinary man who forms the subject of the book.

The Brink of Jordan

by Charles Johnston,
Hamish Hamilton, £3.00

Laying bare the agonies of a dying imperialist power, the book covers the 1956-1960 period when the author was stationed in Amman as the British Ambassador. Information reading on the role of the British and other neo-imperialist powers in the area.

Arab Socialism

by Abdul Moghni Said & Samir Ahmad,
Blandford, £1.75.

Lot of useful information for the uninitiated but lacks in analysis and perspective. As it is, more an apologia than a study.

Golda: The Life of Israel's Prime Minister

by Peggy Mann,
Valentine Mitchell, £2.25

A biography which reveals as well as hides, yet provides a first person account of Israel's evolution into a state.

A History of the Russian Secret Service

by Richard Deacon,
Muller, £5.80

Underlines the evolution of the Russian secret service and the place it occupies in Soviet Russia, its government, and the whole socio-political system.

Ecology: Can we survive under Capitalism?

by G. U. S. Hall,
International Publishers, New York

The book analyses the problem of environmental pollution from the Marxist standpoint. The author, who is the Secretary of the US Communist Party, shows that pollution is not a technological but a social problem and is closely related to the prevalent social system. Like all other crises, pollution also has its roots in the modern capitalist system. Hence the inevitable challenge before modern man: capitalism or survival? Pollution is but one ugly aspect of the capitalism. The author has given statistics in support of his postulates.

Gandhi's Rise to Power

by Judith M. Brown,
Cambridge University Press, £6.40

The book outlines the evolution of Gandhi's political status from a crank philanthrope in 1915 to a virtual dictator of all-India politics. The author draws generously on newly opened official documents and the prolific writing and correspondence of Gandhi himself. The Gandhian political strategy of non-cooperation and non-violence and their contribution to Gandhi's rise are explained and supported.

365 Days

by Robert J. Calasser,
Longman, £2.50.

The author, an American doctor describes the horrors of war in Vietnam in relation to American casualties during his 365 day stay in that country.

The Almanac of American Politics

by Michael Barone, Grant Ujifusa and Douglas Matthews,
Macmillan, £4.95

Useful Guide to the contemporary American Politics with necessary information on public figures, congressmen, senators, and the States and district representatives.

Network

by Heinz and Hermann Zolling, *Secker and Warburg*, £3.50

Life story of the German spy master, Gehlen, who survived the Nazis, served Chancellor Adenauer's government and finally greatly helped and enriched CIA in the anti-Soviet espionage.

Is Religion a thing of the Past?

by Muhammad Asad, 80 paisa

Islam today

by Syed Abul Ala Maudoodi, 80 paisa

Islam, The Faith of Future

by Syed Qutb, 50 paisa

Religious Way of Life

by Allah Bakhsh K. Brohi, 60 paisa

Four separate essays on aspects of Islamic thought, and intellectual problems of post-colonial modernism. Republished by *Tar-jaman-e-Hayath Publications*, 4-1-729, Moazzam-jahi Market, Hyderabad-1, India

Report

The Chinese in Indonesia, the Phillipines and Malaysia by Hugh and Ping-Ching Mabbet, and Charles Coppel, *Minority Rights Group*, 36 Craven Street, London WC2, 45p

The overseas Chinese are the political weathercocks of southeast Asia. Whenever governments feel threatened or people feel disconteneted, they tend to vent their frustrations on the local Chinese community. It happened in Thailand, in the Phillipines, in Malaysia and in Indonesia. And it may happen again.

The Report analyses several reasons why the overseas Chinese are so often singled out as suitable cases for mistreatment. The first is their great economic strength. Throughout southeast Asia, generations of immigrants from China have come to dominate the fields of commerce and banking, their disproportionate success has inspired proportional envy and antagonism among their local rivals.

A second reason for hostility is the exclusiveness of Chinese communities. Although some overseas Chinese have assimilated into the local population, most of them continue to live, study and work as a group apart. This separateness breeds resentment which is further inflamed by the traditional Chinese sense of cultural superiority. And what makes the Chinese even more suspect to their neighbours is their relationship with their large and powerful homeland.

A small percentage of the Chinese in each country of southeast Asia have helped to raise the spectre of a fifth column by choosing to remain citizens of China and carrying passports issued by Peking or Taipei. But for the vast majority of overseas Chinese, southeast Asia is home and they would happily adopt local nationality—if only they could.

In the Phillipines it is practically impossible; in Indonesia it is extremely expensive; only in Malaysia are substantial numbers of Chinese gradually becoming local citizens. And as a result, only in Malaysia is there a real chance that the Chinese will no longer be "aliens" a generation from now.

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Letters

Israeli polemics on Jerusalem

Mr. Hamid's excellent article on Jerusalem published in your issue of 26 May might have ascertained the background of the Israeli allegation that Jordan denied the Jews access to the Wailing Wall. Such access was in fact offered, as early as 1949, through the UN Conciliation Commission. Because it formed part of a general settlement which included the return of the refugees to their homes it was rejected by Israel with the rest of the proposals.

Another Israeli allegation quoted in the article is likewise unfounded. There is no evidence that 34 "synagogues" existed in the so-called Jewish quarter in the Old City. There were only two main synagogues and the larger, the Khorba, was destroyed in 1948 in the course of fighting. The Zionist forces used it as a strong point. The other "holy places", far fewer than 34, were no more than small religious schools housed in dilapidated buildings which were left uninhabited and neglected for twenty years. Here it is necessary to explain that the "Jewish quarter" was no more than a section of the Muslim quarter, with a great many of its dwelling houses, schools etc. owned by Muslims and let to Jews.

Finally, there can be no doubt about the sanctity of the land to the west of the Wailing Wall. It is the traditional site of Muhammad's approach to the Sanctuary on the occasion of his miraculous night journey (*isra*) to Jerusalem. Hence the site was dedicated as *waqf* foundation by al-Afdal, son of Saladin. On this site rose the Maghariba (Moroccans) quarter as beneficiaries of the foundation. The destruction of the quarter by Israel is an act of sacrilege. The acquisition of such land is inadmissible in Islamic law which does not allow its alienation even to Muslims. The whole outrage is of course contrary to international law and the UN resolutions.

Esher, Surrey

DR. A. L. TIBAWI

"The Times" reaction to Lod

I was shocked to read *The Times* leading article, "The Arab reaction to Lod (Friday June 2, 1972). May I be allowed to make the following comments:

(1) I do not believe that any responsible Arab would condone tragedies like that of Lod whoever might be the author: Arab, Zionist or Japanese! The Prime Minister of Egypt did not "rejoice" at the Lod incident as the article states. He simply commented that Israel is after all vulnerable and the myth of its invincibility should be dismissed, for it is this myth that had made Israel so arrogant as to defy the overwhelming majority of world opinion as well as all United Nations Security Council and General Assembly Resolutions.

(2) The article, which rightly mentions some Israeli atrocities like those of Deir Yassin, Quibya and Nahaleen, could have added the tragedies of King David Hotel, Jerusalem, the massacre of Kafar Qassim, and the more recent bombardment and killing of school children in Bahr-El-Baqar and the civilian workers of Abou-Zaabel in Egypt.

(3) The article seems to justify further Israeli atrocities and aggression as a reprisal against Lebanon. This is very unfortunate indeed, for it is Israel's aggression and expansionist policy that is at the root of tragedies like that of Lod.

(4) It is a sad situation, but the remedy is not in further bloodshed and reprisals. It is in fair and clean dealing with the roots of the problem.

DR. MOHAMMED FADHEL JAMALI
Former Prime Minister of Iraq

The University, Tunis

The drug scene

Would you legalise marijuana for America's sake?

The individual reasons for taking drugs by the young people here in the West are very simple. The first and perhaps most difficult to appreciate is *Pleasure*. Only an addict can understand and recognise how compelling is the gratification that can come from chemicals coursing through the blood. The second reason for an increase in the use of drugs amongst the young is the impoverishment of their environment. The Western youth has never before been confronted with a world so empty of reality and so filled with contrivance and sophistication. The third reason for drug use amongst the young is the medicinal use of drugs amongst the not so young. From the day of its birth a baby is forced to consume a cumulative assortment of pills, antibiotics, capsules, tonics, nasal sprays and what have you in thoughtless response to the outrageous commercialism of the pharmaceutical industry. The fourth reason for the high incidence of drug use among the youth is peer-group pressure.

There are, of course, those who differentiate between pot smokers and hard drug addicts, but views about drugs generally appear to depend less on any ethical viewpoint than on socio-economic considerations. Thus when the US National Commission on Marijuana and Drug Abuse recommended in its final report (22nd March 1972) that criminal penalties for the personal possession and private use of marijuana be dropped, it was able to note the increasing social acceptability in the USA of pot-smoking. "Marijuana use", it claimed, "became a fairly common form of recreation for many middle and upper-class youth... the trend spread across the country into the colleges and high schools and into the affluent suburbs as well... the stereo-type of marijuana user as a marginal citizen has given way to a composite picture of large segments of American youth, children of the dominant majority and very much a part of the mainstream of American life."

Recently, the medicinal use of drugs has also come under attack. Dr. Peter Parish writing about his study on prescribing habits of General Practitioners in Midlands in *General Practitioner*, says the medical profession and the general public are coming "to regard psychotropic drugs—that is drugs which reduce the activity of the central nervous system—as a universal panacea for a wide range of social and emotional problems." He continues; "Drug medication is expected to provide happiness

when we are sad, energy when we are tired, calmness when we are excited, sleep when we are wakeful, and clear thinking when we are cloudy."

Back to marijuana and the US. Dr. Roger O. Egeberg, special adviser to President Nixon on public health, surprised a Council of Europe sponsored symposium on narcotics held in Strasberg, by telling them that the US would be prepared to finance experiments in legalizing marijuana in smaller countries. He added that his Government could not undertake such an experiment because if marijuana were legalised in the States the policy would be irreversible, whereas, smaller nations could be more flexible and reverse the course of the experiment if the need arose.

It is worth mentioning that the United State is planning to spend \$594 million this year for the prevention of drug abuse in the country. The US is also busy internationalising its drug programme on other fronts. In the beginning of April four teams were despatched to Europe, the Middle East and Latin America. The task is to examine the possibility of providing technical and material aid and advice to the countries involved on how the production and illegal trafficking of narcotics might be stopped.

Z. Sardar

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WORLD OPINION WORLD OPINION WORLD OPINION WORLD OPINION

The imperialists would be pleased

The people all over the world know that imperialists armed the Israeli extremists and encouraged their aggression in the fervent hope of overthrowing the progressive regimes in the Middle East. However, the Soviet Union, other socialist countries, and all progressive mankind immediately supported the Arab people. As a result of this powerful support, the aggression was halted. Since then, the Soviet Union has provided Cairo with a great number of modern weapons and military technology. Because of Soviet fraternal assistance, the Arab countries' military potential has not only been rebuilt but also considerably strengthened within a short time. When the Israeli militarists were carrying out acts of terrorism against the Arab people by bombing some Egyptian towns, the Soviet Union immediately gave additional anti-aircraft missiles to Egypt. Thus, Israel's attempt to carry out air attacks was foiled...

The imperialists would be pleased if the Arab people were left to rely only on their own resources, and all Arab people are aware of this. (*Radio Moscow*, 7 June 1972)

Haykal's dilemma!

Some people have criticized my writings about and reference to the super-powers, saying this reference implies equality between the United States and the Soviet Union. So far I have not heard a single remark from these people about the equality in the Moscow statement between Egypt and Israel.

When speaking about military relaxation in the area, would it not have been in order to refer, even remotely, to the roots of the problem which caused the Middle East crisis; namely, the problem of the Palestinian people?

I want to say quite honestly that I am against any attempt to cast doubt on the USSR attitude out of my profound belief in the importance of Arab-Soviet friendship to us both in war and in peace. But at the same time, I am not ready to nod my head in approval at every word coming from the USSR. Perhaps I adopt this attitude out of my concern for Arab-Soviet friendship before anything else.

I see the difficult dilemma the USSR is facing. It is competing with the United States, but it finds its security in agreeing with it. In front of the world liberation movements, the USSR is anxious to show that it is different from the United States. But in front of the United States, the USSR is anxious to show that it is similar in order to preserve its equality with it...

The Soviet Union, by conviction and experience, is our first friend

although I hesitate to say it is the only friend because this would mean we are admitting failure in the world in which we cannot find but one friend.

(Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal in *Al-Ahram*, Cairo, 9 June 1972)

But a quarter of a century ago

Most observers would characterise the USSR's attitude towards Israel today by three factors: firstly Russia's generous military assistance to the Arab powers in their holy war to extinguish the Jewish homeland; secondly her refusal to allow more than a handful of the three million Jews living in the Soviet Union to emigrate to Israel; and thirdly her rejection of Jewish claims to civil and religious rights within Russia.

But a quarter of a century ago, things were very different...

It was, in fact... the secret collusion between the Soviet and other Communist authorities and the Zionist underground which had... made possible the passage of Jewish immigrants, arms and skilled military personnel through the British blockade into Palestine. And it was this policy of flooding Palestine with 'illegal' Jewish immigrants which was in the end decisive in persuading the British to leave.

And in the final stages of the making of Israel, it was the Soviet and Ukrainian delegates who, at the special U.N. committee in the Palais de Chaillot in Paris in October 1948, frustrated all attempts by the two British representatives, Sir Alexander Cadogan and Harold Beeley, to prevent the U.N. from recognising the Israeli occupation of the whole of the Negev.

(Jon Kimche: "Russia backs the Zionist", *The Observer* magazine, London, 11 June 1972)

Last summer, last autumn

Last summer 'Ma'ariu' carried a report by its correspondent in Paris. This said that an Israeli leader had met Chinese diplomats at the Chinese embassy in Paris... at the invitation of the Chinese. About the same time, the British weekly, the 'Observer', reported that China had proposed to Israel that they establish diplomatic relations, and that this proposal had been conveyed to the Israeli Premier, Mrs. Meir, through a third party.

Last autumn, the Beirut 'An-Nida' reported that in September 1971 Chinese and Israeli representatives had held talks in Berne, Switzerland. The talks, again at the invitation of the Peking leaders, had been conducted under extreme secrecy...

This report was refuted by the Chinese authorities. However, events have proved it to be correct. For example, Israel voted for the restoration of the PRC's rights in the UN, and the Chinese delegate did not support the Afro-Asian countries' draft resolution on the Middle

East, which called on Israel to hand back to the Arabs the illegally occupied territory...

(*Radio Peace and Progress*, Moscow, 8 June 1972)

The new slave-market

The recession in industry has made it a buyers' market, though prospects for scientists and technologists are less alarming. However, it is not the same situation that existed in the Fifties, when Industry would go out of its way to attract graduates, to the extent of providing them transport to visit factories.

In today's circumstances, it will be the immigrant, coloured graduates who will feel the pinch first.

One of the Appointments Officers at London University (there is a total of ten), a kindly and self-consciously liberal person, has informally remarked that he was coming across increasing numbers of African and Asian students offering themselves to the 'milk-round' and who intended to settle down in this country. He had been able to arrange successful interviews for some of them and what mattered was the ability to communicate, presentability, and the extent they were willing to assimilate. Industry suffered from considerable prejudice, and coloured graduates were more acceptable in research and production rather than advisory posts. A more recent handicap had been the increasing difficulty for firms to obtain work permits for foreigners. There was also a danger, that 'students from countries which have a tradition of submissiveness towards the British—such as India or Pakistan—would end up with the meanest graduate-class jobs, because they were the only ones willing to accept them'.

To view the matter in perspective, one must remember that there are about 262,000 immigrant school-children in this country, which represents 3.5 per cent of all pupils. The Plowden Committee (1967) gave a figure of 7,800 Pakistanis at School...

(M. A. Sherif: "The dustbin of disposable labour", *The Muslim*, London, May 1972)

Verbal Rubbish

The BBC cannot be blamed, of course, for what guest speakers say... Lord George-Brown, who declared on Radio 4 that the Labour party "didn't used to do" something or other, is not a professional broadcaster, but the interviewer who asked: "What kind of problems that you didn't used to face?" was. And sure the news reader who said that in Bangladesh "the fighting and the killing is widespread" should have discovered that a plural subject takes a plural verb...

Phrases and idioms also are getting peculiar treatment. The speaker who said "he has a fascination for animals"—like the one who trotted

out "he has a fascination for pantomime"—both meant the opposite... Gerald Priestland told us in *PM* that India "is caught between the horns of a dilemma", which at least is a change from falling on two stools...

A new announcer said the Post Office was confident that mail sent by the recommended dates "should" be delivered before Christmas. It would have been curious had the Post Office not possessed this confidence. In fact, its confidence was that the mail would be delivered. The same programme said it was thought that Prince Philip's Concorde flight "could be" over the Bay of Biscay. True, it could... New radio favourites include "overall" and "basically". "Overall length" has become quite a friend. "You can meet men anywhere, basically," a woman confided on the morning news. In 1972 "polarisation" = taking sides (as "confrontation" = clash and "dialogue" = talks) is the word to watch. Its star is rising.

... Every age has its cant. Ours is unique in getting an endless supply of verbal rubbish by pressing a button and turning a knob.

(F. J. Salfeld: "What do you mean by that", *The Daily Telegraph Magazine*, London, 9 June 1972)

Pollution Mess

Pollution is like war; everybody is against it, except when it is unavoidable in the production, or defence, of something else. Very few people set about making a mess for the sake of the mess: the mess is the by-product of some other activity and purpose and the consequence of laziness, carelessness or economy in clearing it up afterwards. Great industrial combines do not poison rivers because their directors like poisoned rivers, but because it is cheaper to discharge poisonous effluent into rivers than not to do so. Nation-states do not engage in 'ecocide' for the sake of destroying vegetation but for the sake of waging war more economically. Just as every man and every country is against all war except the one he and it are fighting, so is everyone against pollution except for the mess he himself is making...

(*The Spectator*, London, 10 June 1972)

A group of girl students and some teachers of a local girls' high school went to see him and insisted that he should give autographs to all of them.

The Bangabandhu who was hard pressed for time due to other engagements asked them to leave him for important state business. But the girls persevered. They surrounded him and insisted for photographs.

At this the Bangabandhu gave a broad grin to them and in a slogan-raising voice said "Julumbaji Bandha Karo" (stop persecution)! He wrote the words on one of his autographs. (*The Bangladesh Observer*, Dacca, 3 June 1972)

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

ARAB AFFAIRS. An extraordinary session of OPEC in Beirut assured effective support to 'Iraq against 'Imperialist oil monopolies'. ● The International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions in a technical study disclosed that more than 25% of the surplus account in the US trade balance is contributed by the Arab States. It demanded closing up of Arab Market to US trade. ● World Health Organisation agreed to the use of Arabic as official language in its general discussions.

BANGLADESH. US signed an agreement to give \$90m worth aid. West Germany is to provide DM 10m grant. ● The Home Minister said that Bangladesh will not tolerate any sinister propaganda against friendly partners particularly against India and the Soviet Union. ● The Communist Party has called for the constitution to embody principles of Socialism. The draft Constitution of Bangladesh has been reported finalised and is to be approved by the Constituent Assembly sometime in July. ● The Prime Minister said, Bangladesh is a sovereign state and no country will be allowed to interfere with its internal affairs. The people of Bangladesh will ever remain grateful to the people and Government of India and the Soviet Union for their help during the Liberation War. ● Tun Abdul Razzak accepted an invitation to visit Bangladesh at a convenient date. ● The Danish Government is to give \$30m for development of fish-processing industry and insecticides. Soviet Russia has despatched first three of the ten trawlers promised.

EGYPT. Contract signed with Rumania for delivery of sulphuric acid works (annual capacity 100,000 tons); another contract with Bulgaria for equipment for four poultry farms. ● West German consortium of Banks to give a loan of DM 150m to finance German imports for the Suez-Mediterranean oil pipeline. ● Two senior Foreign Ministry officials who recently criticised Soviet policy at a seminar held by "al-Ahram" have been dismissed. ● Two men sentenced to five years imprisonment and fined \$460 each for distributing anti-Government leaflets among workers in Hulwan. ● The Parliament approved additional \$41.4m allocation for War efforts.

INDIA. A joint meeting of Planning Commissions of India and Bangladesh reviewed common problems relating to development, employment, distribution of essential commodities, price stability and social justice. ● India is to admit 100 cadets from Bangladesh army to its Military Academy next year. ● More than 200 persons arrested after anti-Muslim riots in the University town of Aligarh. The riots followed the passage of a bill in the Indian Parliament stripping the Aligarh Muslim University of its Muslim character. ● The Jammu and Kashmir Government withdrew restrictions imposed on Shaikh Ab-

dullah's entry into the State. ● Russia is to supply rolled steel products, paraffin, asbestos, sulphur, zinc, chemicals, drug intermediates and copper to make up for the shortfall in supplies following suspension of US aid.

INDONESIA. Investigations have been ordered against P.T. Suburi, the opinion survey firm which had conducted a door-to-door survey about nation's leadership without the Government permission. President Suharto was placed third in the survey. ● Authorities have seized PKI pamphlets and flags distributed in Pontianak.

IRAN. Carpet exports during the year ending 20 March were valued at R5,496m, R1,016m more than in the previous year. These accounted for one-fifth of the value of all non-oil exports which totalled R27,116m.

IRAQ. The last of the four dry cargo ships built in Soviet Union, the 10,675 tons ship 'Sindbad' raised the Iraqi flag on June 1. ● INOC to receive the second oil tanker built by a Spanish Company at the end of June. Two Soviet tankers, leased to INOC, left with Iraqi oil for East Germany.

ISRAEL. The Government have made public the war order which authorised Prime Minister Levi Eshkol's government on June 4, 1967 to go to war. This is the first time Israel has admitted that its decision to launch the six-day war was not a reaction to Egypt's aggression. ● London correspondent of 'Yedi'ot Aharonot' reported that Moscow would in the near future make a direct approach for resuming diplomatic relations with Israel.

JAPAN. Agriculture and Fisheries Ministry described the 10-year ban on whaling by the Stockholm UN Conference as unacceptable and liable to seriously affect their national food. ● A Japan-Bangladesh Society has been inaugurated with a senior Diet member Takashi Hayakawa as its Chairman.

JERUSALEM. A sex boutique, the first and so far the only sex shop was opened about a quarter of a mile from the walls of Jerusalem's ancient quarter by a 26 year old Israeli.

JORDAN. King Hussain said in an interview that he refused to renounce Jordan's sovereignty over Jerusalem. War would be resumed unless there was a just solution, he said.

LIBYA. Chairman Kadafi criticised Russia for being responsible for the current no war, no peace situation in the Middle East. ● The Libyan civil servants have been ordered to work in the afternoon as well. ● An agreement reached with France on increased co-operation in Radio and T.V. matters. ● Arab Socialist Union is to be the only political party in the Republic through which the people might exercise freedom of opinion and expression. ● Libya

started exporting oil to USSR defying the BP embargo.

PAKISTAN. President Bhutto assured political leaders belonging to various political parties that there could be no question of accepting compromise on fundamental principles during the forthcoming summit talks in India. He declared that the government would never by-pass the National Assembly in taking decisions and that Pakistan was committed to securing the right of self-determination for the people of Kashmir. ● A Foreign Office spokesman denied reports that Pakistan intended rejoining the Commonwealth. ● Pakistan's budget for 1972-3 announced by the Finance Minister over the radio proposes a development expenditure of £140m; £50m are to be raised through deficit financing. The budget stipulates tax increases over a wide range of items from income tax to petrol. A sum of £148m has been allocated for defence expenditure.

PHILIPPINES. The Philippine government has refused a request by Tunku Abdul Rahman to admit a 6-man delegation from the Islamic Conference to investigate the situation of the Muslim people in South Philippines. Islamic Secretariat sources say that from December 1969 to February 1972 the number of Muslims who were killed totalled 1,845, while the number wounded was 420; 2561 houses and 11 mosques were burnt down. Muslims were also evicted from 11 municipal areas during the same period.

SOUTH AFRICA. South Africa has acquired from France another new submarine of the Daphne Class.

SOUTHERN YEMEN. During the last five years trade with socialist countries had increased by about 700 per cent; with the Soviet Russia in particular by about 300 per cent.

SOVIET RUSSIA. Soviet Union is building a 30,000 ton aircraft carrier in the Black Sea Shipyard at Nikolayev. This is based on the experience gained from operation of the 15,000 ton helicopter carrying cruisers Moskva and Leningrad in the Anti-Sub-Marine Warfare role. The new carrier can be used as a reconnaissance, anti-submarine warfare or a vertical take off platform. ● CPSU has called for measures to intensify struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism which is causing 'tremendous damage' to people's health, upbringing of children and whole of Soviet Society.

SUDAN. China donated 4,000 tons of wheat and medicine worth £5 0'3m for the relief of the Southern refugees. She also gave eight MiG-17 fighter aircraft and enough tanks to equip one armoured division.

SYRIA. China agreed to give an interest free loan of £17m repayable over a period of 10 years, beginning 1988.

TURKEY. Two tank and personnel landing craft converted into mine-

layers are to be bought from West Germany. ● Justice Party has won most of the Mayoral elections held in 204 new municipalities. ● In 1971 Turkish cotton production was the 'highest in the world at 758 kilos (1,667 lbs) per hectare—142 per cent higher than the world average of 367 kilos (807 lbs.) per hectare. Cotton and cotton products form 3-6% of total Turkish export.

UNITED KINGDOM. Some leading Catholics have approached the Vatican to lift the ban on Roman Catholics becoming Freemasons. A small number of practising Catholics already enjoy the permission to be full members of lodges.

USA. The US Senate voted to cut off military aid to Pakistan, India and several other South-east Asian nations.

YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC. Saudi Arabia is to give SR500,000 to Yemen Airlines to establish aircraft maintenance centres for planes. Yemen airlines also exempted from paying an overdue civil aviation fees amounting to SR 0'13m.

YUGOSLAVIA. An unidentified object exploded and destroyed the building of the Islamic Religious Community in Skopje. The explosion was heard throughout Skopje but no one killed.

PEOPLE Mahmud Riyad, took over as Secretary-General Arab League. ● Maj-Gen. Muder Badram, appointed King Hussein's adviser on national security.

DIPLOMATS Kamil Sharif, Jordan's envoy in Pakistan accredited to Malaysia and Indonesia. ● Zbigniew Byszewski Poland's new Ambassador to Bangladesh. ● Li Lien-Pi, China's Ambassador to Belgium. ● Pavel Kuznetsov, Soviet Ambassador to Indonesia. ● Qasim Jiri, appointed Morocco's Ambassador to China. ● Agha Shahi, Pakistan's new Ambassador to China. ● K. K. Panni, Bangladesh Ambassador to Indonesia. ● Li Chun, China's First Ambassador to Turkey. ● Pavel Stepanovich Kuznetsov Soviet Ambassador to Indonesia. ● Dr. Mawlud Kamil Abd, Iraq's new Ambassador to China. ● Mrs. Isabel Teshea, First High Commissioner of Trinidad and Tobago to Nigeria, Ethiopia, Tanzania and Senegal. ● Omar Al-Nabulsi to be Jordan's new Ambassador to Britain.

VISITS Shah of Iran and Emperor Hail Selassie to London. ● Henry Kissinger to Japan. ● Australian F.M. McMahon to Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore. ● Egyptian War Minister, Gen. Muhammad Ahmad Sadig to Soviet Russia. ● Iranian Minister of Water and Power to Moscow. ● Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Michael Ramsey to Bulgaria. ● Soviet F. M. Gromyko to France. ● British Labour Party Leader, Harold Wilson to Romania. ● Iraqi Foreign Minister Abd al-Baqi to Moscow and Saudi Arabia. ● George Habash, the Leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and Yasir Arafat, Head of Al-Fatah to Moscow. ● Bangladesh F.M., Abdus Samad to Malaysia and Singapore. ● Yemen Premier and Foreign Minister, Muhsin al-Ayni to Saudi Arabia. ● United Arab Emirates Minister of Justice to Syria. ● Syrian Foreign Minister, Abd al-Halim Khaddam to China. ● Bulgarian Deputy Foreign Trade Minister, Yanko Chibukov to Iraq. ● Bangladesh Law Minister, Dr. Kamal Hussein, to India and Britain. ● Saudi Minister of Communications to Jordan. ● UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim to Turkey, Greece and Morocco. ● Syrian Defence Minister, Maj. Gen. Mustafa Tlas to Saudi Arabia. ● Aziz Ahmad, Secretary-General, Pakistan Foreign Office to Peking.

DIED Syed Mohammad Ghazi, Morocco's first Ambassador to Saudi Arabia. ● Abdul Aziz Atta, head of Nigerian Civil Service in London on 12 June.