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impact

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THE UGANDAN DRAMA

One upshot of the Amin-Asian affair is that Britain's Tory government, committed otherwise to restrict and minimise "large scale permanent" coloured immigration to the island, has come out with an unequivocal declaration that it stands committed to honour the British citizenship and passport it had granted to Asians whose forebears Britain had taken to East Africa to help rule and run that imperial colony.

President Amin is a Muslim, the bulk of the Asians involved are Hindus, and Britain, in more ways than one, a Christian country, but it would seem that (the label did not matter) in Gen. Amin's case.

As for Britain, it may be said that she needed more skilled, more anglicised and a cheaper manpower than what it had so far had from the Carribean and the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, particularly in view of a persisting industrial indolence and her impending entry into the European Economic Community. The British decision may be explained away as merely an enlightened self-interest but enlightenment is a moral quality, and credit, no matter how small, must be placed where it belongs.

On 1 June, earlier this year, President Amin, while inaugurating the Uganda Muslim Supreme Council gave vent to his unhappiness over the state of stagnation and fragmentation which 'Islam' suffered from in that country. He said that "although the Muslim Faith was the first of the modern religions to be introduced into this country, its growth has been by far the slowest and its impact . . . quite unimpressive". The reason for this, he said, was that there were too many factions, sects and sheikhs, and there was no central authority.

One could not agree less with this, but the more important cause of Muslim failure in Uganda and elsewhere is to be sought in the failure of its political leadership.

Whenever and wherever the leadership had an opportunity to prove Islam, more often than not, they have flunked, and flunked badly. The problem in fact is not simple, in many situations the leadership is Muslim only in name, in some

others it has been bred, groomed and imposed by outside agencies or is indigenous but either supine or incompetent.

In the present case, one does want to accept President Amin's charges against the Asians—rapacious exploitation and exclusiveness—yet the action itself is hardly justifiable. Despite the holy argumentations in justification of the old caste system or its later Marxian sophistication seeking to treat society and its problems through division and conflict, evils and injustices belong neither to one's heredity, nor colour, nor country nor even social or economic class. These are aberrations and inflictions, which apply upon and affect the human kind as a whole. A good and a noble man is good and noble irrespective of the fact whether he is black, brown, white or yellow and so is a bad and an evil person. Therefore, through a mere expulsion of the asians, one cannot see any end to the evils and miseries which the Ugandans naturally wish to eliminate. As it is, Uganda itself, like most other countries, does not have any ethnic homogeneity and the solution of its problems would not lie in any dis-integrated approach.

All said and done, the way the whole drama has come to be staged is incredibly mysterious. If really it came as a brain wave or as a dream, then the problem is mental and not political. Yet there can be more to it which may reveal itself, only when it is too late.

Undemocratic and revolutionary regimes are weak and being weak they have a natural propensity to go in for superficial fulfilments. Being so inclined these rootless and ruthless revolutions lend themselves to be manipulated by pro-colonial elements and agencies who build them into heroes, goad and guide them towards meaningless acts of bravado. And despite the hyper-euphoria that is so produced, such exercises keep the nation weak and ineffective. As for the hero, he is replaced by a 'superior' hero as soon as he has outlived his popularity and utility. The drama goes on, and this is not an exclusive Ugandan premiere, it is a Third World Drama.

Survey

● PAKISTAN-BANGLADESH ● CRIMEAN TARTARS

THE TWO HALF-COUNTRIES

The respective unrealities in both Pakistan and Bangladesh continue to cast their dark shadows over the situation in the two half-countries.

In respect to Bangladesh, Pakistan, from the very beginning had one of the three courses open to her:

(1) To accept the 'reality' and accord unilateral recognition. This would have been one approach to the problem of an undesirable but *de facto* split between two brothers and despite the unhappiness, and the legal, political and financial complications that it might have entailed in the short run, the attitude could in due course have helped to disarm the non-reconciliation extremists minority and helped Bangladesh out of the Indian tentacles.

The fundamental problem between the people of East and West Pakistan has been physical distance and a denied togetherness. The issues which came to divide later on, were, to begin with the problems of the elite—their bread and their power. They used nationalism in the same way as their West Pakistani counterparts were using Islam and Pakistan ideology. The establishment of a recognition bridge could have helped the (East and West) Pakistan masses to rediscover their innate oneness and regain the togetherness of the pre-independence years, particularly after the simple masses had their real taste of the promised 'Sonar Bangla': free, and free from 'West Pakistani' exploitation.

(2) The other course could have been to take a firm and a categorical stand, and totally rule out recognition, now or in future. The moral and legal side of the non-recognition argument is indeed so forceful and overwhelming: that no assembly or government in Pakistan has the legal authority to cede any part of the national territory and that Bangladesh was not a case of true secession. On the contrary it was a clear and a flagrant case of a foreign power invading and conquering Pakistani territory and installing a government of its choice. The East Pakistan electorate by voting overwhelmingly for Sheikh Mujib and his Awami League had given them no such mandate: the Six Points envisaged a federal centre with defence and foreign affairs. Bangladesh is, therefore, no more than an Indo-Russian creation and if nothing can be done just now to undo it, there is no need to sign a write-off and tie the hands of posterity.

(3) The last alternative was to first sort out the legal and political implications then work-out and a new relationship.

Pakistan's policy, however, has been an unstable amalgam of all three. The outward postures in Pakistan have fluctuated between a non-recognition and an impending recognition which has confused its friends and may even become a factor of Muslim disunity. Left to himself President Bhutto would have announced recognition, but the deeply injured public opinion would not countenance this. Recognition has always been implicit in many of the government policies: disarming and garrisoning the East Pakistani soldiers; asking the Bengali civil and defence service personnel to opt between Pakistan and Bangladesh, and relieving those who opted for Bangladesh; refusal to allow the beleaguered Biharis in Bangladesh and the fugitive Bengali East Pakistanis in Nepal and Burma to be repatriated to Western Pakistan; and to begin with, the release of Sheikh Mujib to go and take over the reins of Bangladesh.

Mr. Bhutto had the option of taking the nation into confidence and arriving at some consensus about proceeding with the question but, as with this was tied up the return of the 93,000 PoWs, he expected the people themselves to come up with a demand to recognise Bangladesh. The public mood has, however, become more adamant and more unobliging.

On the other hand, Shaikh Mujib who had before his release given assurance on some formal links with Pakistan finds himself in a situation no less different than Mr. Bhutto's: willing but unable.

Sheikh Mujib's difficulty is very much real. He is now a captive of extremist forces he had himself helped to unbottle but does not know how to face them. While as late as last December when the Indian forces were attacking East Pakistan, he had offered Yahya to do anything to help keep Pakistan one and declare opposition to the Indian aggression, after reaching Dacca, he had to adopt a different posture: that he had been working for an independent Bangladesh ever since the birth of Pakistan. Since he cannot contain his extremists he had to join them.

The problem and the tragedy would have resolved if he had agreed to meet Mr. Bhutto but not being sure of his leadership, Sheikh Mujib has continued to spurn such advices from all quarters: from Islamic Conference to Britain. He

would not meet him either in London or in Mecca. In view of Sheikh Mujib's apparent lack of control over policies and situation, the time for any unilateral Pakistani recognition seems to have run out. With the public mood in Bangladesh showing definite signs of reflectiveness and disenchantment, the unofficial public opinion in Pakistan is not very keen to bale out Sheikh Mujib. Even the PoW's have ceased to be a factor in the issue.

So India and deadlock stay in.

Comrade Tartars

The Crimean Tartars have a long record of oppression and political persecution. In 1944, these Muslims of the USSR were deported from their home, the Crimea, *en masse* by the Soviet regime which accused them of having collaborated with the Germans. Many of them died *en route* to Central Asia and Siberia. The survivors—numbering several hundred of thousands—have since been consistently denied the right to return to their homeland which has been resettled by Ukrainians and Russians.

The Tartars have now started a fresh campaign to be allowed to go back to Crimea and have sent a petition to the Communist Party Secretary, Brezhnev. The petition contains 20,000 signatures and states that the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Soviet Union should also mark a "turning point in our history". It goes on to say: "We, the Crimean Tartar people... appeal to you, to your honour and conscience, for a satisfactory solution of our national question".

A second petition, containing 18,000 signatures has been sent separately to the members of Politburo and government, and appeals for "an end to the political terror and national discrimination against the Crimean Tartar people."

The fate of the Tartars represents only a small fraction of the total problem of the so-called 'Islamic republic' under the U.S.S.R. and it is before long that the world would come to recognise it as a colonial problem.

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Survey

M.E. Oil — how good a weapon?

Last month Mr. Hasanayn Haykal, editor of the influential *Al-Ahram* asked the oil producing Arab countries to use oil as a lever in influencing the foreign policy of US in regard to her preferential treatment to Israel. Earlier on, Libya had asked major American oil firms operating in the country to exert their influence on their government to change its pro-Israeli policy. President Sadat also took up the issue in one of his speeches. All this has produced a discussion in *Arab World* as to whether or not oil could be used as an effective political weapon.

In 1971 Middle East's share of the International oil market amounted to 56%. Of this, oil supplied to US constituted less than 3% of America's total requirements. Projected requirements of oil in the US by 1980 show that this share of ME oil could rise to about 15% because of the gap created by the increased energy requirements as well as due to a depreciation of the home oil reserves. Whether the share of the ME oil will grow because of this and go to any higher level would depend *inter alia* on the reliability of the source. The present US oil-field reserves are expected to last at least another 20 years and any concern in the US over a possible shortage of oil supply can only be a matter of future and not urgent apprehension. Given time, many alternate sources of oil could easily be developed. Besides the supply of oil from the Alaskan North Slope (which will be on probably much more before 1980), necessary developments in technology may enable oil to be extracted from tar sands in Alberta, Canada (reserves estimated to be greater than the ME). Also production of synthetic oil from coal and domestic refuse, could come up. These sources have not yet been exploited because cheaper oil is available in the market. Any scarcity or rise in oil prices will make the exploitation of these alternate sources economical. To diversify its oil sources, US is already negotiating with Russia for a joint exploitation of the Western Siberian oil reserves. Japan which takes 80% of her oil from the Gulf is cooperating in this project. Another untapped, and may be even one of the greatest sources of oil lies under the Asian continental shelf, off the Chinese coast, the technology for the exploitation of which is so far available only with the US. Even in Britain one of the reasons prompting North Sea exploration was the desire to diversify energy sources. It is claimed that by 1982, this source will make Britain not only self-sufficient but may even leave some surplus for export.

● M.E. OIL ● SUEZ POLLUTION ● IRANIAN TRIALS

In the short-term, one possible effect of using oil as a political weapon may be on the on-going negotiations and the principle of participation between OPEC (Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries) and the international oil majors. It could also weaken the present solidarity of the OPEC members; so far their biggest bargaining counter.

On the other hand, oil reserves form up to 95% of the national income of the oil producing countries. Most of them are single economy countries and if they wanted to diversify, they would need to draw more on oil-revenue to achieve this. Oil could become a strong political weapon if the revenue is used to develop economic and industrial strength.

Talking of economic leverage one may also note the experience of the Suez closure. Immediately after June 1967 there was a temporary fuel crisis in Europe, it was soon overcome. The closure, however, provided an impetus to oil tanker business, and now it is cheaper to transfer oil from the Gulf terminals to European destinations by tanker round the Cape than pumping it through pipelines to the Mediterranean terminals and shipping from there to the same destinations. It is Egypt which continues to suffer a total loss of her canal revenues.

Suez—now the pollution argument

Israel has been quite adept at using smoke screens while making move to consolidate itself. The latest bogey is 'pollution' and the Suez Canal.

On 3 July an article entitled "Suez Canal Must be Dried", appeared in the Israeli paper *Ha'aretz* by Mr. Eliezer Livner, a member of both the Labour Party and the Greater (Eretz) Israel Movement and quite a serious publicist.

The basic argument is that since the prevailing current in the south coast of the Mediterranean is west to east, any ships entering or leaving Suez especially oil ships will dirty the sea and this dirt will be carried to Israel and ultimately pollute the water. The author argues quite seriously that since "even in its present borders Israel is a small country", so this hypothetical pollution is for her "a mortal danger". He adds that Israel should already complain about the pollution brought to its coasts "from Libya and Algeria".

What can be certain is that pollution is not the real problem. The real concern is to keep the Suez Canal closed or make it

irrelevant so that Israel would not have to withdraw from any part of the Sinai. This might be one of the main reasons why American offers to help negotiate an interim peace settlement based on re-opening of the Suez Canal has so far not come to anything.

Political trials in Iran

In January 1972, it was announced in Teheran that military tribunals are to bring to trial 120 persons belonging to 'subversive' groups. By the end of May, 28 of these had been executed and reports of executions in other parts of Iran began to flow: 16 in Hamadan in late March, four in Susangerd in July, and a further five in Teheran in late May. Since March, observers have not been permitted to attend any of these trials. Amnesty International has been sending observers to these political trials in Iran since 1965 and on the basis of their investigations and findings have just published a report on 'Trial procedures for political prisoners' in the country. The report draws attention to 'deficiencies' in the procedures adopted during political trials. The Secret Police (SAVAK) has complete control over all stages of criminal proceedings involving political crimes and builds the case from the very stage of arrest to imprisonment or execution. This sometimes results in many months of pre-trial detention for the accused awaiting the successful production of evidence. Meanwhile, the defendants are kept *excommunicado* for months: they are not allowed to receive visitors or even to see their counsel—which is appointed by the court—until a few days before the trial. The tribunal proceedings are often wholly or partly held *in camera*. While in Court the accused is refused the right to demand that the witnesses against him be called and cross-examined. And most important of all: "The military tribunals accept as evidence confessions of guilt which the defendants themselves have already repudiated in court as having been made after torture." In summary, the "defendants in political trials in Iran have been denied rights which are normally regarded as fundamental to the rule of law."

Not because the Amnesty say so, the human rights situation in Iran has continued to be unhappy but, more unhappy rather alarming, is the callous complacency of the authorities who show no sign of rectifying a situation which basically and critically affects the country's social and political fibre.

Survey

● CHRISTIAN VILLAGES IN ISRAEL ● UNREST

Israel — not a question of just two villages

In 1948, unlike the vast majority of Arabs, the residents of the villages of Berem and Ikrit in Palestine did not flee when the Jews marched to occupy the land. Instead, they stayed and cheered the victorious Israeli troops. The Israelis in return ordered them to leave their border villages for fifteen days for 'security reasons'. Four years later they watched Israeli soldiers blow up their homes; once again for 'security reasons'. Now 24 years later, they are still waiting hopefully to be allowed to return to their land.

Recently the leader of the Greek section of the community, Archbishop Yussef Raya met the Israeli Prime Minister Mrs. Golda Meir. The meeting ended abruptly with the Archbishop protesting: 'There is not enough justice in this country. There is neither democracy nor liberty.' Mrs. Meir, acknowledged the loyalty of the villagers to Israel, but argued that they represent a dangerous 'erosion in Zionist Faith'. Many Israeli cabinet ministers, prominent Jewish writers and intellectuals have however publically expressed their dissent about the Government's decision. Support has also come from a large section of the Lebanese Arabs.

On the other hand, some Arab circles have expressed a clear scepticism about the whole episode which they see as an Israeli ruse. There are two million Palestinian refugees who want to go back to their homes. After creating a crisis in the eyes of the world, the villagers may finally be allowed to return making the world opinion believe that there is justice and equality in Isreal while the basic and the real problem will remain unsolved. They point to the unusual facilities that the Israelis have given to the world press to cover the troubles in the two villages. This contrasts with the felicity with which the Israeli's have been able to squash the plightful situation of the two million Palestinian refugees.

Whether this scepticism is real or imagined, the crux of the problem—the Palestinians—is undeniable. It is not the question of two villages, it is the question of two million people.

The warning bell in Morocco

Wednesday, 15 August witnessed another attempt on the life of King Hasan of Morocco, this time involving the officers of the Moroccan air force. The air force fighters machine-gunned the aircraft

bringing the King back from a private visit to France. The King was lucky to escape death or injury and the aircraft made an emergency landing on one of the three engines and with only a part of the under-carriage working. The air force fighters also attacked the palace and sprayed bullets over a crowd of officials and ministers gathered to receive the King. The incident took toll a of eight lives, and nearly 50 were wounded.

Last year in July, a similar attempt was made by the army officers who stormed the palace during the King's birthday party (*Impact*, Vol. 1:5) which ended with some 260 killed, 130 wounded and 10 executed. Since then and despite some measure of benevolence and a new constitution, the country has continued to show symptoms of discontent against administrative corruption, the ways of the court and against constraints on democratic expression and participation.

After the failure of the attempted *putsch*, hopes were raised of a genuine democratisation. But the King has been unable either to settle with the opposition or to arrive at some via media. This led to the withdrawal of the two major political parties—Istiqlal and National Union of Popular Forces—from negotiations with the King. While the deadlock continued the King presented a new constitution for referendum which received a 98.7% yes votes—the percentage being the same as quoted in the 1970 referendum.

While the country stayed unrestfully calm and without a national consensus, the deadlock began to affect the political parties as well. U.N.F.P. earlier this month split into two factions: the political and the trade union. This fragmentation was caused both because of the party's inability to give a clear programme and also due to official manoeuvres. The technocrats who presently run the country are not averse to exploit such weakness.

Another aspect of the stalemate, and far serious at that was the incipience of regionalism: Arabs, Berbers and Rif. The stage, therefore, was ready for any genuine or spurious saviour to emerge.

The failure of the attempted *putsch*, gives the King another chance to mend the affairs. It is obvious that he has'nt much time to contrive and devise a newer framework which gives genuine participation to the people, inspires their confidence and enables the Moroccans to carve their destiny. Surely, King Hasan needs to liberate himself from complacency and self-righteousness and his circle of sycophants. After all, from the Third World and revolutionary standards, Morocco has not been such a badly ruled country, and a successful coup in future may not necessarily be a good thing for the Moroccans.

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BROUMANA CONFERENCE

Too far from a two-way dialogue

BY OUR MIDDLE EAST CORRESPONDENT

"It is clearly inappropriate to speak about an encounter or dialogue between 'Islam' and 'Christianity'—as some people continue to do, even in our days."

So begins a paper which was submitted to the "Christian-Muslim Dialogue" held in Broumana, Lebanon, from July 12-18, 1972. The meeting was part of the World Council of Churches Programme Unit on Faith and Witness Dialogue Between People of Living Faith and Ideologies. The paper (by a Christian) went on to note that not much new ground was broken in the relationship between Christianity and Islam over the last thirteen centuries. There was a need for this to happen and for this the old theological issues (such as the prophethood of Muhammad or the divinity of Jesus) had to give way to, or be seen in the context of, new issues which have developed in the rapidly changing situation in which we live.

Some of these new issues were mooted by other participants: the increasing pluralism of society, the effect of technology and science on religious practice and allegiance, the resulting growth of secularism, movements of national awakening leading to the formation of modern nation-states, and the whole question of human oneness and the *Community* of mankind based on peace and justice.

All these were seen to be encapsulated in the theme of the conference "The Quest for Human Understanding and Co-operation". In this quest, dialogue between Christians and Muslims was seen to be essential and inevitable. Essential, because in many areas of conflict in the world, political and economic problems also took on a religious dimension, as in the Nigerian civil war or the situation in Cyprus. Inevitable, because on the social and community level especially Christians and Muslims are often seen to be living in harmony and also because with the growth of secularism, Christians and Muslims and others who testify to the existence of God would need to come together. For the Christians, however, this was not seen as a development of a 'holy alliance' or 'religious front' against the forces of materialism and materialistic ideologies since "much has been done and is done by men who serve God even when they do not know Him or even reject Him".

On the intellectual level, of which the conference at Broumana was an example, the calls for 'dialogue' (which are now so frequent as to amount to a Movement for

Dialogue) have been initiated largely by the Christians for many of whom it has implied profound changes of outlook amounting to iconoclasm.

The General Secretary of the World Council of Churches, Eugene Carson Blake, summed up this situation very well in his opening address of welcome at Broumana. He said: "We have willingly taken initiative in these matters (of dialogue) and will continue to do so . . . But such initiatives need not come from the WCC alone. There is no reason why the *menu* should always be prepared by us and you always invited as guests. I understand that for this meeting the menu was prepared jointly but the cooking was mostly done in one kitchen! We do hope that you will also take such initiatives and invite us to similar dinners which, I believe, might smell different, and taste better."

The fact that the "cooking was mostly done in one kitchen" has important bearings on the type of people who were invited to the conference, the form and content of the papers submitted, and on the final communiqué at the end of the conference. All this might even justify a description of the conference not as a dialogue but as a monologue.

All who were invited to the conference were invited on a personal basis. A number of Muslims present already had a special relationship with the sponsors of the programme. There were graduates or students from institutes in the West headed by dedicated Christian orientalists. An outstanding example of this was those who came from McGill university in Canada or from Harvard and were students of Prof. Wilfred Cantwell Smith. In some of the papers submitted, evidence of this pupil-orientalist relationship could be detected. Muslim scholars who contribute in this manner have an exceptionally difficult task. They have the necessary task of making Islam comprehensible in a new terminology and at the same time they have the duty to see that nothing of the letter or the essence of Islam is lost in the process. If they fail in this duty then of course they would be cut off from the Muslim community and any dialogue that Christians may choose to have with them as representatives of Muslim religion and culture would be no less and no more than a fiction, a make believe.

The excessive deference to a new terminology and a new ethic could lead to some loss in independence and confidence. This was dramatically illustrated

by the contribution of Dr. Mukti Ali, Indonesian Minister of Religious Affairs, who is a McGill graduate and was co-Chairman of the Broumana conference. Some of the proposals which he made amounted not merely to a loss in independence but a surrender to Christian missions. In contrasting the "miserable" conditions of Muslims mosques, schools and clinics to the "well-equipped and luxurious" Christian churches, educational centres and hospitals, he said: "We do not object to the churches in the western countries giving aid to the churches in Asian and African countries, but I should like to suggest that the churches in the western countries also give aid to the non-Christian religious communities which constitute the majority in most developing countries."

Incidentally, Indonesia has been an area of 'overkill' for Christian missions for some years now. An example of this can be seen in the number of schools run by the Catholic Church in Indonesia. In June last Archbishop Leo Sukota of Jakarta said that at the end of 1969 the Catholic Church in Indonesia ran 354 kindergartens, 2,950 primary schools, 588 secondary schools, 20 advanced technical schools, six secondary economic schools, 65 vocational schools for girls, 138 high schools and a number of other vocational schools.

In this respect the Boumana communiqué made one remark on 'religious freedom' which the Church might do well to observe. It said: "We should be scrupulous about our protection of religious liberty. This involves not only the rights of any religious minority, but also the rights of each individual. Proselytism should be avoided, whether by a majority intent upon pressing a minority to conform, or whether by a minority using economic or cultural inducements to swell its ranks. It is especially unworthy to exploit the vulnerability of the uneducated, the sick and the young."

Difficulties in the path of dialogue were conceded at the conference. Dialogue was not an attempt "to suppress differences but rather to explore them frankly and self-critically". In this respect a Nigerian delegate deplored the rôle of the World Council of Churches in supplying of arms and giving other support to the Biafrans in the Nigerian conflict. A Lebanese representative, Archbishop George Khodr deplored the Church's stand in the Middle East and the exclusion of Jerusalem in the draft communiqué. In the end a paragraph was added: expressing

Broumana Conference . . .

"deep concern about the situation in the Middle East which is a threat to world peace" and hoping that the "crisis will be solved in a spirit of charity and justice." It added: "We also took notice of our peculiar joint involvement in the status of Jerusalem. On this spiritual and international problem we aspired to the unity which that city should symbolise for all believers in God."

Perhaps the most perplexing part of this whole business of dialogue is the question of common meditation and worship. On the one hand the participants at Broumana wished "to find a theological, and, on occasion perhaps, a devotional framework for our mutual recognition". This in some curious way is supposed to "help us to be more faithful to our own tradition as well as being more appreciative and more coherent with our neighbour." On the other hand there is the call for each community separately to find spiritual nourishment in re-vitalized prayer and worship . . . The Muslim will be especially concerned to establish the fullness of *salat*, and the Christian to deepen the fellowship of the eucharist".

Beyond these ill-defined aspects of dialogue, there are important experiments and developments which are taking place in the new climate. Generally this means that the over-narcissistic attitude on both sides whereby each wants to see only a beautiful, and often uncritical, image of himself is giving way to a new sensitivity and a desire to communicate which can only prove to be good. The fact that the organisers of the Broumana conference have apparently realised that dialogue is a two-way process is perhaps one of the most significant things to come out of the conference.

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ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY

Destroying autonomy and character

On 9 August Muslims all over India observed a protest day over the refusal of Mrs. Indira Gandhi to withdraw or to amend the recent enactment which seeks to destroy the autonomy and alter the Muslim character of the Aligarh Muslim University ("Aligarh University—a question of Character", *Impact*, 2:4). The protest was supported by all the other parties except the ruling Congress party, the Hindu Jana Sangha and the Communist Party of India (Marxist). **Dr. A. J. Faridi**, an Indian Muslim leader, here, explains in detail their objection to the Aligarh Muslim University Act of 1972.

It is accepted by all democratic educationists that the seats of higher learning and research should be free of governmental interference and red-tapism, but the AMU Act 1972 has completely destroyed the autonomy of the University because under the Act:

(i) The nominees of the Visitor (India's President, but virtually the Union Education Ministry) will constitute about 70% of the University Court, 73% of the Academic Council and more than 75% of the Executive Council.

(ii) The Chancellor and the Vice-Chancellor will be appointed by the Visitor on the recommendation of the Executive Council.

(iii) The Executive Council is not authorised to make any statute except "with the previous approval of the Visitor (Section 24).

(iv) All the Deans and Heads of departments will be appointed by the Vice-Chancellor (Sec. 7 and 8).

(v) Any member of the University staff can be dismissed on the ground that he is incapable of performing his duties, and, the Act specifically debar the judiciary from determining the *mala fide* or otherwise of such a dismissal (Sec. 40).

(vi) The elected post of honorary treasurer has been abolished and, replaced by an accounts officer appointed by the V.C.

(vii) The Court which had so far been the governing body of the University has been left with no powers except to deliberate. So in effect the University would be run by the Education Ministry through an appointed VC and a subordinate Executive Council.

The Amendment Act sets up a new body known as Students Council. This will be a body functioning parallel to the existing Students Union which is an elected and autonomous student body. The Student Union will have three members in the new Student Council but the V.C. will nominate five other student members and a teacher chairman.

This diarchy in student-university relations may, in the short run, help a better authoritarian control of student affairs but its far-reaching effects on student character and discipline are too obvious to be spelled.

The Constitution of India has called this University an institution of 'national importance'. Why? What is the historical and minority character of AMU? The Government of India in 1961 appointed a committee of enquiry under the chairmanship of Prof. G. C. Chatterji. This report which was accepted by the Government of India, noted that "the aim the University set before itself was to preserve the best thought and culture of

Muslims while providing higher education to the students". On page 142 it records that "it is this living tradition, this dynamic force (i.e. Islam) which (Muslim) like to preserve and cherish in this University".

Articles 29 and 30 of the Constitution of India give special protection to such minority institutions. The ruling Congress Party in its 1971 election manifesto (paras 54 & 55) had given us a categorical assurance that it "will strive to ensure that minorities have full freedom to establish, manage and run educational and other institutions" and that it will also "ensure the democratic functioning and protect the autonomous character of educational institutions including those established at the instance of and for the benefit of minorities". Both these paragraphs were added for the first time in the 1971 manifesto and refer obviously to the AMU.

All these unmistakably imply that the majority of persons in all the managing bodies—i.e. the Court, the Executive Council, and the Academic Council as well as the teachers and the students would be Muslims. Unless this is given a statutory protection, it would not be possible to ensure the minority or the historical character of the University. The Act, instead, abolishes the representation of the old boys, the All-India Muslim Educational Conference and of 'Muslim culture and learning' which had been there since about three-fourth of a century.

The steps now taken run counter to the assurances that all the succeeding authorities have been giving. As far back as September 1965, the late Prime Minister, Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri had written to assure the Secretary of the Old Boys Convention Council that 'the character of the University will not be altered'. Further, at the instance of Mrs. Gandhi herself, Mr. Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed appointed the Beg Committee (1968) to examine the issue. This committee unanimously recommended that "Notwithstanding any judgement, decree or order of any court or tribunal to the contrary the Aligarh University shall be deemed to have been established by the Muslim minority as an educational institution of its choice and shall be administered and managed as provided for in Articles 29 and 30 of the Constitution of India".

The Minister accepted the Beg Report and assured that its recommendations would be incorporated in the forthcoming legislation. Surprisingly Mr Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed now says (14 July, 1972) that the demand for AMU as a minority institution "... is basically inimical to the interests of the Muslims themselves and in-

congruous in a secular democracy". While Mr. Ahmad says so, the Education Minister assures us that "the Act fully preserves the historical character of AMU". Apart from this inter-ministerial contradiction, it was Mr. Ahmad who, on 17 October 1966 conveyed to the Aligarh Old Boy, Mrs. Gandhi's assurances that she would soon announce the AMU policy in accordance with the recommendations of the Chatterji Committee. Again on January 1971, i.e. just before the last Lok Sabha elections, Mrs. Gandhi assured me that the minority character of the AMU would, as guaranteed under the Article 29 and 30 of the Indian Constitution, be retained. I may disclose that parts of paragraphs 54 and 55 of the Congress manifesto assuring the minorities the "full freedom to establish, manage and run educational and other institutions... and... ensure (their) democratic functioning and autonomous character..." were dictated by me on 22 January, 1971 to Mr. H. N. Bahuguna at about 11 p.m. after he had discussed the draft with Mrs. Gandhi.

Argument is now advanced that as the Government of India gives substantial grant to the AMU, it, therefore, should have control over its management, but this is in conflict with the Supreme Court opinion on the Kerala Education Bill that a minority cannot be compelled to give up its rights (under Art. 30 (1)) on the ground of financial aid given to it by the Government.

Another argument on the issue is that 'the minority character of AMU cannot be conceded in a secular democratic set-up'. But in that case Art. 29 and 30 of the Constitution, the Chatterji report and the Beg Committee report would have to be scrapped first. Then Aligarh is not the only institution of its kind, the policy should be uniform and apply to all such institutions.

No matter what the protagonists of the Act may say, the Act has destroyed the historical and minority character of the AMU. By establishing a department 'to promote oriental and Islamic studies', AMU does not become a minority institution; many such departments exist in the Western Universities. This Act is a retrograde step. It has shattered university's autonomy and is educationally harmful.

Nota Bene

The Black September organization, is reported to have claimed credit for blowing up oil tanks in Italy. A couple of years ago an airliner crashed in Switzerland and some 'genius' in the news-media reported that a group of Arab guerrillas had claimed the valour. The subsequent denials by all the liberation groups did little to correct the image.

A number of responsible people in the Palestinian leadership have privately voiced their uneasiness over the business of claims and counter-claims that pass in the name of the Palestinian liberation. They are helplessly aware of heavy infiltration amongst their ranks. They very much doubt the credentials of the ultras who in fact have been brought and built up as a countervailing power to the real liberation. While hundreds and thousands of the fideen were doing the real hard battle, hijacking came a short-cut to fame and prominence. Between jubilation and euphoria, few cared to find out who were the new 'heroes'.

After hijackings and bravado came the September 1970 confrontation in Jordan. Not only that there was avoidable spilling of Arab blood, Israeli frontiers along the West Bank were secured against the fideen. The only area for activity now left was Southern Lebanon, and after the Sabena hijack and Lydda killings this side of the Israeli border was also secured.

Now there has been some talk of using oil as an arm of diplomatic strategy. But, even before the idea could be translated into strategy, oil tanks in the West were hit.

So what's next?

Certain forms of social service are becoming the rich artists' public hobbies, but this show-biz in others' plight can be described as philanthropic snobbery or snobbish philanthropy. Amongst the latest ventures of this ilk is the Ravi Shanker-Yahudi Menuhin concert at Southwark Cathedral (August 15) to celebrate the centenary of Sri Aurobindo.

Centenaries have a useful purpose to serve. Concerts too have their own delight. But when a pleasure-denying yogi's message is commemorated with money-spinning concerts, the whole thing looks like a serious joke. The proceeds of the concert are of course to go for the establishment of an international township, Auroville, which will accommodate some 100,000 persons, but on whose first phase £24 million are to be spent. Sri Aurobindo belongs to India, whose per capita income is £35 and average monthly salary of an ordinary wage-earner is £4 only. Where 30 percent of the working population is unemployed or under-employed, including the educated labour force. Where millions are without shelter and thousands die

Discussion by Scribe

every week of starvation and under-nourishment. Where the rate of infant mortality is one of the highest in the world. Sri Aurobindo wanted to raise the living standard and the moral level of his people. Those who celebrate him propose to spend £24 million on the first phase of a universal city for 100,000 persons (India's population is 550 millions!). The project has the blessing of Unesco as well. Do they who sing in the name of such celebrities really know anything about their ideas and their mission?

Ravi Shankar sheds some light on the point: "I have always found his (i.e. Aurobindo's) writings very difficult, hard to understand. I have persisted, and read a few, and I am a great admirer. He was interested in nihilism, I am told".

What is nihilism?

□ □ □

The Eagleton episode has brought to light the mental illness of the great American nation. The revelation about his visits to psychiatrists cost him the prospects of being elected to the vice-presidency and have adversely affected the image of McGovern. After all, the selection, then the promise of one thousand per cent support even after the revelations were made, but finally the tame withdrawal will hardly reflect on the brilliant way McGovern is supposed to govern.

The Eagleton revelations have also brought to focus the psychic state of the American nation, from the President to the pedestrian. President Nixon too is reported to have consulted a psycho-therapist on more than one occasion. In 1955 he had sessions with Dr. Arnold A. Hutschnecker, and had another fit in May 1969. In July 1969, Dr. Hutschnecker wrote a book: "Mental Health of One Leader." Prof. Bruce Mazlish has now prepared a study of Richard Nixon's psychology which is to be out before the polling day. He traces the mental strains of the President to his crisis-obsession, emanating from the tragic deaths of two Nixon brothers in their teens, 'betrayals' by his mother and 'failures' of his father. All these are said to have produced an 'inferiority complex' in Nixon and the feeling 'that he was not wanted' and the urge 'to be liked'.

Similar studies about Kennedy brothers are also said to be on way.

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OPINION & DISCUSSION

Prayer and fasting in 'abnormal' zones

MUHAMMAD HAMIDULLAH

We on this earth are accustomed to a day of 24 hours. A sleep of about 8-10 hours is enough to refresh one for the toils of the following day. Had the axis of the earth not been slanting, we would have had both night and day of an equal duration of 12 hours—all over the earth and in all seasons. But, in His infinite wisdom, God has willed otherwise. The result is that on the equator there is no, or very slight, seasonal variation in the duration of the day and night hours. On the other hand as one moves towards the poles, this difference increases: in winter (of the Northern hemisphere), the nights are longer and the days shorter, and in summer it is just the opposite, so much so that in Norway, Russia and Canada at:

66°N from June 13 to June 29,

68°N from May 27 to July 17,

70°N from May 17 to July 27, and

72°N from May 9 to August 4,

the sun remains continuously above the horizon and sets neither during the 'day' nor during the 'night'. In the corresponding period of winter, the sun remains below the horizon all the time and never rises during any part of the 24 hours. On 90° i.e. on the poles, with the exception of the two days of the equinoxes, there is a continuous 'night' of six months duration

and a similar light-day of six months. With our present way of 'civilized' life, neither can we sleep continuously for six months nor fast (in the sense of a total abstinence from food and drink) that long.

Islam as a living and also a universal religion must have an answer to the problem in areas like Norway, Russia and Canada where there already are a number of Muslims and their number is likely to go up.

Islam had not reached these countries either in the time of the blessed Prophet or his Companions. For the period, a little later, records are cited by Hajji Khalifa in his *al-Ilhâm al-Muqaddas*. Hajji Khalifa refers to the different opinions expressed by the various jurists in regard to praying and fasting in Khorzem and Qazan, but these opinions relate to places on 66° latitude and above. The problem now before us is more real and more acute and calls for a fresh effort. May God guide us to the right path.

The Qur'an says that for every difficulty there is a corresponding facility (*Inshrah*, 94: 6) and that "God does not burden any human being with more than he is able to bear" (*Al-Baqarah*, 2: 286). The words of the blessed Prophet are even more

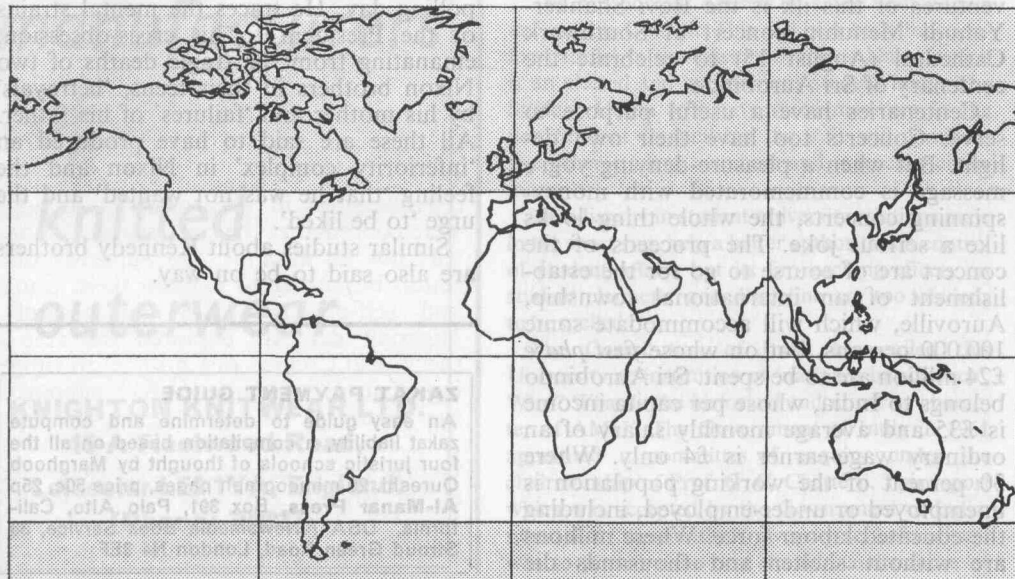
explicit in this regard. According to the *Sahih* of Imam Muslim, one day the blessed Prophet said: Before the end of the world, the Dajjal* will appear and will remain on earth for 40 days, of which the first (day) will be as long as one year, the second as long as a month, the third as long as a week, and the rest of the days would be like the days you now have. A Companion inquired immediately that whether on the 'day' which would be as long as a year, would it be enough to pray only five times during that one 'day'? The blessed Prophet replied: No, but compute.

Dajjalian times have not yet come, but the problem of more than a 24-hour 'day' is there in the North Pole and Norway-Sweden region. In fact a little below 66°N, there comes every year a period where for a whole week there is continuous sun-shine. In situations not governed otherwise, the blessed Prophet has asked us to follow the 'urf' i.e. the normal and the customary. In this case, those who are in these areas organise their lives according to the movement of the clock and not of the sun: they go to their night's sleep when there is sun still shining on the horizon, or go to work even in the night, finish the day's work and return home while it is still night. They receive their salaries for one week and not for only one day. The Prophetic guidance in a situation where the sun never sets for several days or months in continuation is thus clear. But what about situations of lesser inconvenience? What to do if the day lasts 23 hours 50 minutes, and the night is only ten minutes long? Or when it is of, say, 20 hours or 16 hours duration etc? Is it possible to fix the timings for *Salat* and fasting in relation to some town in the normal zone? If so which town can it be?

So where to draw a limit between the normal and abnormal zones? The blessed Prophet has not left a binding answer to this particular question, but he has said: "The learned are the heirs of the prophets (*al-'ulamâ warathatul-anbiya*). So the ruling of the honest and learned 'ulamâ is like the opinion of the Prophet himself. Praise be to God.

Some forty years ago, the Majlis-e-'Ulamâ (Committee of Islamic Scholars) of the State of Hyderabad (now annexed by India) had entrusted the matter to a special committee of the learned and God-fearing 'Ulamâ to which were co-opted an equal number of God-fearing experts in

SHADED AREAS SHOW THE ABNORMAL ZONES



* Anti-Christ

astronomy and related disciplines. Their report and its recommendations were discussed and unanimously approved by the full session of the Majlis, and published in the local newspapers. I have with me a clipping of this from the daily *Rahbar-e-Deccan*.

The opinion expressed by that Majlis is shared by many a learned 'Ulamâ in Mecca, Madina, Cairo etc., as I had the occasion of ascertaining it. It is not yet an *ijma'* (consensus), but I have not yet known any opposition to it.

The Majlis had suggested that the regions of the world be divided into normal and abnormal zones on the basis of normally or otherwise of the day length, and that the dividing line should be along the 45th parallels.

Under this classification, half of the World and more than three-fourths of the inhabited earth falls in the normal zone and includes all those areas like Spain and Turkestan where the Companions of the blessed Prophet had reached. Thus the bulk of the present Muslim population which is habituated since centuries to the observance of certain principles is unaffected. In the South the normal zone ends with the southern tip of South America and New Zealand. In the North it passes along Bordeaux, Bucharest, Urmuchi, Mukden, Halifax and Portland. All Arab countries, whole of Africa, whole of India-Pakistan sub-continent, practically whole of China and the whole of Southeast Asia and Australia come in the normal zone. Only exceptions are northern France, Germany, Scandinavia, Russia, Canada and the countries above 45°N where the Muslim community has only recently arrived. The Majlis made another practical recommendation: that the timings for *Salat* and fasting applicable on the 45th parallel should be valid up to 90°. That is to say, the timings of Bordeaux, for instance, can also be observed in England, Holland, Sweden, Norway etc. Some 'ulemâ from Egypt had suggested that Muslims in the abnormal zones could follow the timings of Madinah but this was probably withdrawn because that would also have affected all other people north of Madina (Egypt, Syria, Turkey etc.). The Companions had reached these countries and the normal precedent had been set already.

Other learned opinions would be welcomed. May God guide us all.

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Aid and Trade

International Aid

Afghanistan is to receive a Soviet loan of 100m Roubles.

Algeria entered loan agreement with Canada for purchasing equipment for Oran Metallurgical Institute . . . A medium-term loan of \$50m given by an Euro-American and Japanese Consortium to the External Bank . . . China to initiate underground water search in Eastern and Western Algeria.

Bahrain to receive a KD 7.35m loan from the **Kuwaiti** Fund for Arab Economic Development for financing a power station.

The tractor plant set up by Romania in Hulwan **Egypt** assembled 500 tractors; another 800 are to be assembled in the next six months.

India to receive a credit grant of \$75m from the International Development Association.

France to help establish a French-medium university in **Iran**.

Iraq received a **Soviet** technical mission to advise on use of Euphrates for irrigation.

Libya signed agreement to give economic, cultural and technical aid to **Uganda** . . .

UN Development programme is to grant **Morocco** a loan of \$0.215m for the Gulf of Agadir project.

A Soviet delegation to visit **Pakistan** to examine setting up of a steel mill in Karachi . . . Chinese experts to submit report on iron ore deposits . . . Radio programmes and documentaries to be exchanged with Romania.

South Yemen signed first cultural and scientific co-operation agreement with **Bulgaria**.

Sudan is to receive a low-interest loan for the purchase of buses from **West Germany** . . . **France** is to finance and establish a tannery at Wad Medani . . . **Britain** is to set-up a fodder factory at Gezira and to grant scholarships in agriculture to the Sudanese students . . . A **Romanian** team has carried out mineral prospecting in the Red Sea mountains.

The **USSR** to train **Tunisian** National Cadres at Moscow and Kiev . . . An engineering school opened with Soviet aid.

Yugoslavia is building four fishing harbours.

Uganda to receive a Saudi Arabian loan of \$15m and a Libyan loan of \$8m.

China agreed to finance development projects worth £8.5m in **Yemen**.

Trade and General Economy

Afghanistan is to purchase fertilizers from **Saudi Arabia**.

Algeria signed a shipping agreement with **East Germany**.

Bangladesh signed agreement with **East Germany** giving each other the most favoured nation treatment for 4 years; three agreements with **USSR** for supply

IMPACT Economic Report

and installation of 8 transmitters (cost 2m Roubles); and 3-year barter protocol with **Romania** worth Tk 37m . . . Jute goods worth 477m exported during half-year 1972 . . . Construction started on a new pilot TV station near Dacca.

Egypt signed trade protocol for 1972 with **Albania** and **Poland** . . . The Prime Minister opened new extensions to the copper factory in Alexandria.

The first 235 Mw Unit of the fourth atomic Power Station in Uttar Pradesh, **India**, would be completed in early 1980. The fifth and sixth atomic Power Stations are planned for completion during 1982-84 . . . The State Trading Corporation is to export military 'Software'—boots, uniforms, helmets etc—worth about Rs. 2.7m to **Nigeria**, **Lebanon**, **Jordan** and **Saudi Arabia** . . . A 1,000-line telephone exchange is to be supplied to **Jordan**.

Indonesian Minister of Finance said 1971 was a year of stable economy: the bank deposits have risen from 2 billion rupiahs in 1967 to 104 billion in 1971. The average output of crude oil is over 32m barrels per month . . . Two family planning officers in Semarang were enthroned as the town's "King of the Condom" and "Queen of the IUD" with crowns featuring a condom and a spiral. The F.P. Board said their success would save considerable sums in rice purchase and in education.

A **Soviet** built motor-vessel "Vavilon" equipped with latest navigational aids and automatic controls delivered to **Iraq**.

Jordan's Central Bank announced a "reasonable improvement" in the country's economy in the year 1971.

USSR is building a cargo-handling vessel for the port of **Kuwait** . . . The **Kuwaiti** firm of Alyan annually imports cakes and cookies worth £1m from Britain and elsewhere.

Libya is to obtain complete equipment for a steel works from Yugoslavia . . . **Bulgaria** sent a 40-men medical team for the new hospital for children at Tripoli.

Morocco signed an additional trade protocol with Poland providing for bigger supplies of Polish machinery, chemical products, sulphur, and sugar. Morocco's main export: fertilizer and raw materials . . . **Morocco** and **Algeria** are to build a cement factory in Oujda.

Pakistan to start changing to metric weight and measures from January 1974 . . . Commercial jute cropping is to be introduced in Punjab and Sind . . . Trade between Iran, Turkey and Pakistan is to be liberalized. Two cotton export promotion teams going to West Europe and Far East . . . The Pakistan ordinance factory at Wah to achieve self-sufficiency in ammunitions of all kinds by 1974-75 . . .

Qatar is to recruit 2,000 Pakistanis for development projects.

Social Monitor

The unalternative revolution

In the early sixties the Teddy boy epoch began to give way to a new beat generation the followers of Aldermaston with its contemporary folk-pop traditions against war and aggression. The beat generation expressed unhappiness about the state of the society: the corruption, the hypocrisy, the exploitation of the working class, the coloured, poor and weak. The question was: should the society be challenged head on and fought at every opportunity? Or should it be ignored and circumvented until it became ineffective because of its own irrelevance? These were the questions which were debated at the first 'Be-In' in San Francisco's Golden Gate Park in January 1965 by a gathering of twenty thousand—among them the 'flower children', the 'beautiful people', members of 'psychedelic subculture' and the underground of hippies, yippies, diggers and acid heads. Soon afterwards these twenty thousand celebrated the emergence of a new culture; most of the world learned about it at Woodstock some three years later. An 'Alternative Society' was born; and with it a new culture and a new set of norms.

Alternative? Alternative because the followers of this culture refused to 'toe the line' of the traditional Western/Christian culture. Alternative because a new and radically different set of values were developed to challenge the 'straight' society.

The dilemma of the alternative culture movement, however, is one of definition. Few years back, 'alternative' was considered synonymous with 'underground', and like 'beatnik' 'hippy', 'skinhead' etc. it is part of continuously changing language of the young generation. How can, then, one conveniently classify an amorphous movement? Publications such as *OZ*, *IT*, *Time Out* and *The Red Mole* are the recognizable expression of the movement. The differences reflect many shades of opinion from liberal socialist inertia of Mick Farren (*IT*), to revolutionary fervour of Tariq Ali (*The Red Mole*), to plain sexual anarchy of Richard Neville (*OZ*). Significantly, all the 'alternative' shades have an apparent leftist colour. But 'alternative culture' is much more than a confused amalgam of political ideologies. It is a compound of outlooks towards sex, drugs, property and work.

So far as sexual morals are concerned, an action which might be condemned by traditional Western/Christian morality is thought to be right and proper in the alternative culture, so long as other people, not party to it, are not hurt or damaged. Some followers of this culture not only feel but think that third parties ought not to mind or suffer damage. In the new culture the emphasis is not on duty (as for example duty of husband

towards his wife or vice versa) but on the spontaneous and sincere impulses and understanding of people who express their unique personality by either being faithful or not being faithful. Similarly, unmarried people can have sexual relationships if their conscience permits them or if they feel a need.

Attitudes to drugs is similar. One uses drugs to satisfy oneself or to be sociable. The fact that it is illegal to use most drugs or that many drugs are dangerous is irrelevant. Personal satisfaction and acting in a sociable manner are much more important. Drugs also help, so say the followers of this culture, to make one more aware of one's environment, social conditions and so on. Those who use marijuana are seeking not the wholly passive, sedative, pacifying experience that the users of the tranquillizers want, but a heightened sense of awareness. This the alternative culture has inherited from the beat generation.

Property too becomes a new concept in the alternative culture. It has no exclusive ownership. In other words, statements like 'this belongs to so-and-so' do not mean that no one else can use or share it. Common use of property, however, is not a new idea. What is new is the way in which moral justification is given to the common use of property belonging to someone who does not share that belief. The underlying concept is very much similar to the former two cases: immaterialness of the material for the sake of the material.

As regards work, the moral view in traditional Western culture, that it is good for a person to do some work is rejected: it is not *just work itself* that is important, but rather achieving personal fulfilment, which can be done in many ways.

These attitudes coupled with rebellion against authority and bureaucracy, the development of new—and rapidly changing—form of folk music, art, dress and speech make up what is referred to as the 'alternative culture'.

In the beginning, the movement represented a search for an authentic spirituality. The influence of Indian mysticisms on this search is particularly discernible. Both *IT* and *OZ* have carried such articles as 'The Hindu Trinity', 'The Golden Dawn' and 'The Key to Self Realization'. Even now the alternative literature has 'back to the land flavour'. In the early days of the movement the insistence on harmony and beauty was very strong. Thus Timothy Leary: "When this man 'turns on' he sees the horror of his mind reflected in his surroundings. If he 'tunes in' he begins to change his movements and his surroundings so that they become more in harmony with his internal beauty. If

everyone in London were to 'turn on' and 'tune in' grass would grow on the Strand and tieless, shoeless divinities would dance down the car-less streets. (This will happen within twenty-five years. Deer will graze down Charing Cross Road.)" (*Playboy*, September 1966).

The movement has acquired the anti-ritual elements associated with the mystics. Professor MacIntyre reviewing R. E. L. Masters and Jean Houston's *The Varieties of Psychedelic Experience* (1967) said that the theory has a perfectly respectable ancestry. It figures in William James's *Varieties of Religious Experiences* and is put to much the same use by Masters and Houston as it is by James. On this view our ordinary consciousness is the product of a process of filtering, of screening reality; but there are other possible modes of consciousness in which the filtering and the screening would be removed and we would confront reality face to face. Nitrous Oxide and ether were for James what peyote and LSD are for Masters and Houston, agents which might perhaps remove the screen and filters. (*New Society*, 6 April 1967).

Along with this insistence on harmony and beauty there are also some elements of violent anti-urbanism in the movement. But in general, the movement was and is now to a much more extent against violence. *OZ* and *IT* have carried many articles against violence. One issue of *OZ*, for example, says that "violence is not, in reality, beautiful and dynamic. It is banal. It is mundane. It is committed mostly by rather small minded people for petty reasons." (5th Anniversary issue).

Yet, the present mood of the alternative movement is that of uncertainty hanging anxiously and subversively. The young extroverts of the '60's are going introspective in the '70's: trying still to find their bearing. The spark has gone, and what are left are the robots, and of course the programmers. Meanwhile, magazines like *IT* which were started with a few pounds and a typewriter have now become big business. For sure there would come an alternative to the alternative, but after the law of diminishing returns has come into operation.

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Books

Muslim Bengal — from Plassey to Pakistan

East Pakistan: A case study in Muslim Politics by D. N. Banerjee, *Vikas*, 204 pages, 1969.

The East Pakistan: A Case Study in Muslim Politics, has been introduced as a study of the politics of Muslim Bengal from the fall of Muslim power in 1757 down to 1969. Since this long political history had to be condensed within the space of less than 200 pages, the author concentrates mainly on one aspect of Muslim politics: 'how the interests of the Punjabi and the Bengali Muslims have differed from the very early days and how this divergence has been further accentuated in Pakistan,' and that Muslim nationalism was a product of British inspiration and patronage.

It is claimed that the views and opinions expressed in this study 'do not reflect the thinking of any official or non-official body'. The author, however, is an expert on 'Pakistan Politics' attached to an all India training institute for senior service personnel and the study is financed by the Indian Council of World Affairs.

The book reads like a prosecution counsel's indictment of non-Bengali Muslims, particularly of the Punjab. The main theme is the non-Bengali Muslims took no notice of the sufferings of the Muslims of Bengal until the first decade of the present century; that ever since their first political contact the Upper India Muslims conspired to suppress the Bengali Muslims; that throughout the period of contact between the Bengali and non-Bengali Muslims, the former never committed any political mistakes without being instigated by non-Bengali leaders; and that no non-Muslim leaders and communities in India had played any positive rôle in the Muslim politics of Bengal.

Banerjee repeats the Indian view that the Simla Deputation of 1906 was organised 'at the behest of the rulers' (p12). Even Indian authors like M. S. Jain ("The Aligarh Movement: Its origin and Development, 1858-1906", Agra, 1965) accept that the Simla Deputation was conceived and organised exclusively by the Muslims. Indeed, the mass of unimpeachable evidence already published in India, Pakistan and Britain leave hardly any scope for doubting the entirely Muslim origin of the Deputation.

The author has cited two instances of non-Bengali Muslims' antagonism towards the interests of Muslim Bengal. First, the opposition of Mian Muhammad Shefi and

Mian Muhammad Shah Din to the inclusion of the question of Hindu agitation against the newly-created Muslim majority province of Eastern Bengal and Assam in the Memorial to be submitted in October 1906, to Lord Minto at Simla (p 12); and second, the callousness of non-Bengali Muslim leaders in the 'hour of agony' of Muslim Bengal after the dissolution of Eastern Bengal and Assam in 1911 (pp. 14-15).

But, that is not the whole truth. Even before the proposal for a Muslim memorial had come up for discussion, Muslim leaders of the Punjab like their counterparts in Bombay, the U.P. and other parts of India had supported the Muslims of Eastern Bengal and Assam *vis a vis* the so-called 'anti-partition' or 'Swadeshi' movement. Furthermore, it was Khwaja Yusuf Shah of Amritsar who first suggested that the situation arising out of the resignation under Hindu pressure of B. Fuller, the Lieutenant Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam, needed immediate attention of the Indian Muslims. In fact the growing and active interest of the Upper India Muslims in the affairs of Eastern Bengal and Assam caused serious indignation among Hindu leaders. On 9 September, 1906, the *Bengalee*, whose editor Surendra Nath Banerjee, a prominent Congress Leader, had cautioned the non-Bengali Muslim leaders of the grave consequences if they tried to make a common cause with the Muslim leaders from Bengal. Thus, it was with a view to avoiding a headlong confrontation with the Hindu leadership that Shafi and Shah Din felt it would be prudent not to mention directly the anti-partition agitation in the Simla Memorial. The issue was, however, mentioned indirectly in the Memorial and individual members of the Simla Deputation, including Shafi and Shah Din in private conversation with the Viceroy and other government officials, strongly upheld the demands of the Muslims of Eastern Bengal and Assam. Lord Minto, in his reply assured the deputationists that the future of Muslim interests in Eastern Bengal and Assam would be safe-guarded.

The other point that the Muslims of Bengal were left alone by the Muslim League leaders of India after the annulment of the partition of Bengal is a travesty of the truth. Anybody who cares to read the contemporary Muslim newspapers, particularly, the *Zaminder*, the *Waqt*, the *Vakil*, the *Millat*, and the *Curzon Gazette* of the Punjab, the *Al-Bashir*, the *Zulqarnain*, the *Tajir* and the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* of U.P. and the

Comrade of Calcutta would be convinced that the indignation of the Bengali Muslims at the liquidation of Eastern Bengal and Assam was shared equally and fully by Muslims all over India.

The anguish of Muslim Bengal was so widely and intensely shared by their co-religionists all over India, that a Hindu newspaper, the *Punjabee* of 20th January, 1912, rightly commented: 'Almost everybody who is anybody in the Muslim League Camp, who on the eve of the Coronation Durbar, would have boxed your ears if you had asked him for a new policy—loudly advocated a change of policy . . . as soon as the Royal announcement modifying the partition of Bengal was made'. The Muslim League's profound sense of 'regret' and disappointment at the annulment of the partition of Bengal was formally recorded at its Calcutta session in March, 1912. The mover, the seconder and the supporter of this resolution were, respectively, Muhammad Ali; Shaikh Zahur Ahmad and Syed Wazir Hasan—all from the United Provinces.*

Possibly the author did not have access to necessary source-materials including the latest research works concerning Muslim politics in Bengal, yet his treatment could still have been more objective. He has studied the politics of Muslim Bengal in complete isolation from the politics of the Hindus of Bengal. He has also conveniently overlooked the long history of economic exploitation and political subservience of the Muslims of Bengal to the Hindu landlords, money-lenders, lawyers and politicians. The growth of Muslim political consciousness in Bengal was largely influenced by the long and continuous sufferings of the community at the hands of their caste-Hindu overlords. The politics of the Bengali Muslims was intimately connected, with the currents and cross-currents of the Hindu politics both at the provincial as well as all-India levels. A proper study of the former cannot, therefore, be complete without an analysis of these relations at the different stages of their developments.

Banerjee has given a pen picture of the West Pakistani leaderships' callousness towards the interests of East Pakistan. There is no denying as to the fact of injustice and inequity in the Pakistani situation, but a proper study of this phenomenon as applied to East Pakistan cannot be complete unless one takes note also of the related historical and political factors. At the birth of Pakistan, East Pakistani Muslims had little or no representation in the military, civil and diplomatic services; hardly any share in the trade, commerce and industry of the

* For a comprehensive and authoritative discussion of the Muslim League's role *vis a vis* the Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam as well as the Simla Deputation and other related matters one may refer to *From Consultation to Confrontation: A Study of the Muslim League* by M. Rahman. Luzac, London, 1970.

province and no capital for development. (These were the direct outcome of about two centuries of repression of Muslim Bengal by both the British and the Hindus). More over, the political leadership in East Pakistan, at the inception of Pakistan, was divided and weak; Fazlul Haque and Shaheed Suhrawardy were outside the centre of politics, though for different reasons. In the event the bureaucratic-military machine that progressively took over the government of Pakistan soon after the death of the Quaid-e-Azam in September 1948, could afford to ignore the interests of East Pakistan for the sake of self-aggrandisement and enrichment. The situation could possibly have been different if the East Pakistani leaders like Fazlul Haque, Shaheed Suhrawardy and Muhammad Ali Bogra had not fallen among themselves, thus playing into the hands of the civilian-military complex.

The names of several prominent Muslim leaders have been misspelt in the book. The names of Dr. Abdullah-al-Mamun Suhrawardy, Habib Shah, Khan Bahadur Syed Nawab Ali Choudhury, Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy, Mahmud Ali and Fazlul Rahman have been spelt respectively as Dr. Abdul-ul-Momen Suhrawardy (p. 19), Sabib Shah (p. 19), Khan Bahadur Syed Nawab Choudhury (p. 20), Hasan Shaheed Suhrawardy (p. 45), Mohammad Ali (p. 65) and Fazlul Rahman (pp. 72-73). While Deoband Seminary has been turned into Deobandi Seminary (p. 58), the author does not seem to be aware that 'ulama (not 'ulema) is plural (of A'lim) used 'Ulemas' (pp. 19, 20, 58, 59 etc.) for 'ulama.

One can put up with lack of objectivity and a study based on insufficient and selective source material but it is very annoying to see famous and familiar names grossly mis-spelt. Above all it shows both unfamiliarity with the subject and a lack of thoroughness.

Dr. M. R. Ali

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Emancipated and unequal

Women Workers in Britain—A Handbook
by Leonora Lloyd, *Socialist Women Publications*, 46 pages, 25p.

Leonora Lloyd has indeed done a good job for the Women's Liberation Movement. But alas! She is not a statistician. And as such her 'Handbook' does not carry as much force as it could, had the depressing statistics been handled properly. Most of the information is tabulated (with one exception, this being a histogram) which makes it difficult to study the information and thus much of the impact of the graphical method is lost. The diffused and hazy picture which emerges, however, reveals inequality on all fronts.

In Britain, there are approximately 17.5 million women: 51% are in full or part-time employment. Some 18.5% are part timers and 60% are married. Most of the women workers are to be found in lower paid unskilled manual jobs. It is worth pointing out at this stage that "most women's jobs are defined as unskilled." A lot of women are in teaching and nursing, making up 25% of qualified doctors and 15% of staff of higher education. Very few women workers join the unions, but this minority is rapidly increasing. Around 1.5 million women and girls undertake further education. This makes them just over 50% of those receiving further education. The author is quick to point out that these figures are misleading (as indeed are many others throughout the 'Handbook') for women outnumber men two-to-one in evening classes and other non-vocational courses. In manufacturing industries where technical operation requires intensive training, prejudice against girls is strong. In industry, women workers on the factory-floor are seldom promoted to be 'forewomen.' "Chances of promotion above other women are slim enough, over men almost nil."

The section on 'Pay, Earnings and Hours' is even more revealing. The percentage differential between the earnings of men and women is decreasing by about 0.6% a year; the cash differential, however, is increasing in practically all occupations. In 1971 men earned an addition of 8.2p an hour while women earned only 6.3p. In teaching, the traditional career for women, women earn around £7.00 a week less than their male counterparts. In other professions such as administration and technical work the differential is about £15.

While women play an increasingly important role in the labour movement, their representation in the Trade Union hierarchy leaves very much to be desired. In the Transport and General Workers Union, for example, women make up 13.6 per cent of the membership but only one out of 600 officials is female. In the General and Municipal Workers Union,

which has the largest female membership, out of 162 full-time officials, 158 are men.

As regards unemployment, it is greatly underestimated in the official estimates. "The position of women as a pool, of either unemployed or underpaid workers leads to an anomaly: the organised, male orientated T.U. movement pulls in the direction of women being thrown out of their jobs first in the event of rising unemployment, whilst the employers may prefer to keep on lower-paid workers if possible."

Tucked away between a section on unemployment and a section analysing the position of women in the Common Market and U.S.A. is an article on the Equal Pay Act (EPA). The EPA comes into force on 29 December 1975 and 'seeks to eliminate discrimination between man and woman both in regards to pay and terms and conditions of employment . . . "The EPA is rejected by the members of the Women's Liberation Group as amounting to a betrayal. Even if it met the demands of the Women's Liberation it contains certain inherent weaknesses. For example, there are no penalties for non observance of the act. Also; it has nothing to stop an employer having a lowest (non-discriminatory) rate for which no man will work! And there are so many other defects. From the discussion on equal pay emerges a dilemma: in a period of increasing unemployment any move towards equal pay will increase joblessness. And no woman wants that!

So what is the solution? How all this oppression of the female sex can be terminated. The answer offered by the 'Handbook' is: "only through militant united action will women achieve real and not illusionary progress."

At the end of the 'Handbook' there are a set of demands:

- Equal pay for work of equal value.
 - All jobs to be open to women—an ending of women's work.
 - The right to work for all, men and women.
 - Full equality in training and promotion.
 - A reduction of working hours for all; minimum shift-work, etc. (i.e., where women have better conditions, these should be extended to men too).
 - Maternity leave on full pay, with a guaranteed return to work.
 - Union meetings in working hours, when women can attend.
 - Housewives to be allowed to retain union membership.
 - Work-sharing, shorter working week, with no loss of pay, when threatened by unemployment. No productivity deals.
 - A minimum wage, tied to the cost of living, to be paid also to unemployed workers.
 - 'Family leave' available to both parents, with pay, for children's illness, etc.
 - Enough nurseries, crèches and after-school facilities for all children.
- And who would agree with this?

Z.S.

Briefing

Landscape with Arabs: Travels in Aden and South Arabia by Donald Foster, *Clifton Books*, £1.75.

Reminiscences of the author's stay in what is now called "Republic of South Arabia"; sheds light on last turbulent years of the British rule—"a tale of unparalleled tragedy, the renunciation of responsibility, the breaking of promises, the handing over to obscure groups whose sole political training had been in thuggery and violence..." Foster says that when the British left, the country was not ready for independence, it had no natural resources and its commerce was destroyed.

South Africa—An Historical Introduction by Freda Troup, *Eyre-Methuen*, £4.50.

The South African writer, Miss Freda Troup's present book is meant "for the truth-seeking outsider". Tracing back the history of the country since the coming of Van Riebeck in 1652, Freda holds British Government and the British people solely responsible for the tragedy of South Africa. Without the help of the British forces, the Trekkers could never defeat the African peoples who desperately defended their independence to the last. Thus continues one of the biggest international scandals, in the form of an unholy alliance between the two countries. Says she "... United Kingdom companies are making huge profits, British people drawing huge dividends from South Africa only because the workers whose labour provides the profits are remorselessly underpaid, and because the whole machinery of government prevents any betterment, whether by acquiring improved skills and productivity or by conventional industrial action such as is available to workers in Britain—and in South Africa if they are white".

The Jana Singh. A biography of An Indian Political Party by Craig Baxter, *University of Pennsylvania Press*, O.U.P. £6.00.

An important book which works out yet another aspect of the long romance between Western political scientists and Indian political parties. The importance of the Jan Singh lies in its disciplined militancy and a certain ascendancy in Northern India. The author, an American Foreign Service Officer, traces the Party's ancestry in the Hindu Mahasaba and the R.S.S.

The author's own romantic approach to the Indian communal problem and Hindu orthodoxy prevents an objective treatment of the subject matter.

The Recovery of Paul's letter to the Galatians by J. C. O'Neill, *SPCK*, £2.60.

Dr. O'Neill, the Presbyterian Professor of New Testament at Westminster and Cheshunt Colleges, Cambridge, revives the earlier view that "Nobody but Paul could have written Galatians, yet the Galatians we possess is not entirely Paul's". He asserts that a third of the Epistle of Paul to the Galatians including a large part of the prayer book reading for the Sunday after Christmas was not the work of St. Paul but was added into it long afterwards. Says he, "I can find nothing specifically Pauline in the collection and nothing that would have had specific bearing on the situation facing the Galatians".

Pearl S. Buck: A Biography (Vol II: Her Philosophy as expressed in her letters) by Theodore F. Harris, *Eyre-Methuen*, £3.95.

The book depicts the variegated life of a talented woman of great energy and sincerity whose "literary genius has always ensured her a platform and a voice". Her philanthropic work with respect to the handicapped and mixed-race children is dealt with at great length. As a liberal, freedom of the individual is all for her, hence her aversion

to Communism. But she does not approve of combating Communism by force. It can only be done through goodwill and 'paternalistic aid' to the developing countries.

Come Let us Change this World, compiled and translated by Kaukab Siddique, *The Islamic Party in North America*, Washington, 65 cents.

Selections from the speeches and writings of Abul A'la Maudoodi, leading Islamic thinker and chief of Pakistan's Jama'at-e-Islami; deals with a number of questions and issues viz., secularism, and democracy to Capitalism and Socialism; from religion and science to economic problems and problems of cultural interaction. The most dominant theme: "The real thing is not a government by Muslims but the government of Islam; that which embraces the universal principles of honesty and integrity, and is not exclusive to anyone within or outside..."

The Spoils of Progress: Environmental Pollution in the Soviet Union by Marshall I. Goldman, *The MIT Press*, £3.75.

Shows that it is the rapid industrial growth rather than the form of government which is the prime agent of environmental havoc; describes abuses of water, air, land and raw materials, and analyses factors responsible for the present state of pollution.

Listing

Man and Environment:

The Rise and Decline of Fidel Castro, Maurice Halperin, *The John Hopkins University Press*, £4.95. (an intimate portrait of the man and his regime.)

Mao's Way by Edward E. Rice, *The John Hopkins University Press*, £5.85.

Terrorists and Terrorism by Edward Hyaws, *Dent*, £2.90. (anatomy of terrorism and revolutionary politics.)

The Super Powers: The United States and Soviet Union compared by W. H. Parker, *Macmillan*, £7.00. (comparison of the two Super Powers from historical, geographical, economic, social and political viewpoints).

Novy Mir (extracts from the most important Soviet literary periodical) edited by Michael Glenny, *Jonathan Cape*, £5.00.

Private Letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie edited by J. G. A. Baird, *Irish University Press*, £7.00.

Man, Environment and Disease in Britain (a medical geography through the ages) by G. Melvyn Howe, *David & Charles*, £4.75.

The Turks by David Hotham, *John Murray*, £3.50.

Religion:

The Old Testament for Modern Readers by Miss D. B. J. Campbell, *John Murray*, £1.50, Students Edition 70p.

On the Constitution of the Church and State by S. T. Coleridge, *Dent*, £2.00, paperback £1.00.

The Religious History of the American people by Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *Yale*, £7.45.

Hindu Scriptures, translated and edited by R. C. Zaehner, *Dent*, £1.40, paperback 80p.

Reference:

A Concise Pronouncing Dictionary of British and American English by J. Windsor Lewis, *Oxford University Press*, £1.40 (for non-native English speakers with emphasis on practicality of use).

The International Who's Who, 1972-74, *Europa*, £10.00.

Biographical Dictionary of World War II, by Christopher Tunney, *Dent*, £3.50 (a biographical reference book of over four hundred men and women who achieved prominence during the second World War).

Index Islamics, (4 vols, also available separately), *Mansell*, £30.00/U.S. \$80.00 (Catalogue of articles on Islamic subjects, 1906-1970, compiled at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, approx. 50,000 entries).

A Selection of Islamic Titles

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

Meaning of the Glorious Qur'an, by M. Pickthal, 464pp, 60p.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Science & Society

Most revolutionary tool since the Atom Bomb

The purpose of a Laser—Light Amplification by Stimulated Emission of Radiation—is to produce intense beam of highly monochromatic, coherent light. Lasers have been developed which make use of insulated solids, semi-conductors, liquids and gases. Their energy can come from light, electrical discharges, or chemical processes.

The development of Lasers opened up many scientific and other applications. Under the enormous intensity of beam from a high power Laser, matter behaves in a strange new way, generating beams of different wavelengths and even producing delayed echoes. Light waves have long been used for communication, now one Laser beam can carry as much information as all radio channels put together. The medical uses of Lasers are well known. Also in the public eye is the use of Laser in holography: a lensless, truly three-dimensional method of photography. However, there are other more, sinister and not so well known uses of Lasers.

Since its first successful application in 1960, both the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. have been working under extreme secrecy on Lasers: racing to produce the Science Fiction 'death ray'. In the United States, its security level "was comparable to the World War II atomic bomb project." In June 1971, the U.S. completed its first Laser testing laboratory at Kritland, near the foothills of the Manzano mountains. Here scientists play with their gas dynamic Laser Gun "sending up puffs of light grey smoke" to distant targets. The 16 micro-radian beam of the Laser Gun has ignited wooden targets two miles away.

The first use of Lasers in battlefields began four months ago in North Vietnam. Planes are guided by Lasers to within twelve feet of their target; with these Laser guided bombs—known as 'smart' bombs—the U.S. Air Force has hit targets within 15 miles of the Chinese border, confident that bombs will hit only the target.

Plans are in the making for equipping the B-1 supersonic bomber with Laser Guns. Armed with this weapon the B-1 "would be capable of penetrating any known defended area with near impunity".

It is estimated that 80 per cent of aircraft losses in Vietnam war have resulted from manually aimed, optically sighted anti-aircraft weapons. To deal with this, the U.S. has launched a \$5 million crash programme for the development of 'electro-optical warfare'. Lasers would be used as 'visual counter-measures' which may actually damage or destroy human retinal tissues.

As regards Ray Guns, it seems that chemical Lasers are suitable candidates for their development. Chemical Lasers

require little or no electrical power and produce huge amounts of energy as compared to their size and weight—typically about six megajoules per lb. At present, however, chemical Lasers are not as powerful as gas Lasers but research continues in various aspects of the relationship between "the most revolutionary tool for mankind since the atom bomb" and the battlefield.

Garlic is more than a spice: Garlic may provide an insecticide as effective as DDT and a bactericide that kills bacteria on which penicillin has little effect, so report two researchers, after eight years study, from Henry Doubleday Research Association. Having isolated the oil of garlic, emulsified it and adding a spreading agent, the insecticidal properties of the preparation were then tested in field trials which showed the mixture to be between 80 and 92 per cent effective in killing different types of insects. When tested on animals for its toxicity, the preparation produced surprising results. Hens, for example, were found to be less prone to bronchial infections and the yolk of their eggs darkened in colour. Rabbits put on weight more rapidly and were more resistant to myxomatosis and intestinal infections. The effectiveness of garlic as an insecticide and bactericide appears to be dependent on the availability to the garlic plant of certain essential nutrients from the soil. Where these have been destroyed by the extensive use of chemical fertilisers, the garlic may appear to grow well enough, but it lacks the insecticidal and bactericidal properties.

Silent Jets: Future jet airliners may be able to fly at supersonic speed without producing sonic booms, if a radical design now being tested at NASA research centre, California, proves efficient. The new design consists of anti-symmetric wing which rotates at its centre allowing one tip to point forward and the other aft. An aircraft equipped with these wings could fly at supersonic speed without producing noise audible on the ground.

Black Environment: Greater exposure to cancer-causing substances in the environment is suspected as being the main cause of an alarming increase in cancer deaths among black Americans, according to a recent report prepared at Harvard University.

From 1949/67 cancer death rates for non-whites—91 per cent of them negroes—rose from 138 to 182 per 100,000 population, a 32 per cent increase. Deaths among whites rose from 149 to 154 per 100,000 population, an increase of only

IMPACT science report

3 per cent. In 1949 the cancer death rate for non-whites was 8 per cent lower than whites. In 1967 it was 18 per cent higher. These figures reflect on the working environment to which the black people are exposed in America.

At this stage the researchers are not prepared to identify the cancer causing substances, but they say that these substances could be present in a number of areas: at work, in the home, on the street, in the air and in the form of chemicals used in foods, cleaning materials and other products.

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WASHINGTON ISLAMIC CENTRE ACTIVITIES

... we "Muslims in this country are fortunate to have this Islamic Centre close at hand. We all belong here. In this Centre we all take refuge and from it we draw our spiritual strength." These are the words of Shaikh S. Al-Sabah, Ambassador of Kuwait to the US. He was speaking at the Islamic Centre, Washington D.C. during the last Maulood celebrations.

The recent bulletin from the Centre reveals it to be a focus for a kaleidoscope of Muslim social activities. During the first quarter of this year 19 marriages took place at the Centre. Out of these eight couples were from Iran and there were eight intermarriages between eastern and western Muslims. During the same period 55 people embraced Islam at the Centre. Out of these twenty per cent were females and sixty per

cent preferred to adopt new Islamic names. Almost all newcomers to Islam were from Eastern States and approximately 33 per cent were from New York and Washington and an equal number from Pennsylvania. Perhaps this is due to the fact that the Centre itself is situated in the East. The Centre also has library facilities and holds regular classes in the Islamic faith.

Pakistan Students' in America deny secular and attritional politics back home, call for exchange relief to students abroad

The events of the last two years have transformed the "Pakistan Students Association of America" from being a mere annual club to a powerful forum and a rallying point for the patriotic and 'no-nonsense' Pakistani students and trainees in the USA and Canada. The "Pakistan Students' Association of America", represents Pakistani students and trainees across the US and Canada, but the farcical events of the last two years have transformed it into a powerful forum as well as a rallying point for the patriotic students who feel grievously betrayed by the succeeding leaderships.

PSAA's Annual Convention this year was held at George Williams College, Downer's Grove near Chicago, through July 21-23 and it drew over 450 participants. The programme included three panel discussions with maximum audience participation. The younger speakers minced no words in expressing their disillusionment at the succeeding Pakistani regimes, the anti-Islamic role of the ruling parties and the failure of the leadership to lead the nation to its destiny. The Pakistani Ambassador to the US, who in September 1971 (then Foreign Secretary), had talked of Pak-Soviet friendship came in for severe questioning on the Simla Agreement, the present economic mess and the recent events of Sind.

Two of the speakers commended the reform instituted by the present government but their plea for the recognition of "Bangladesh" drew an unmistakable audience reaction: this would be a stab in

the back for the patriotic Bengalis. Some saw it as a Leftist progression with outside manipulations, but most agreed that it would be a negation of the Pakistan ideology".

The Convention reflected a clear ideological polarisation between the 'Islamists' and the secularists. Almost every discussion centered negatively or positively around the role of Islam in building a just society.

The attempt to censure the PSAA organ "The Pakistan Students" for its anti-establishment policies was turned down and the Convention elected Warisuddin Cowles as President, Rasheed Bhatti as Vice President, Khurshid Qureshi as General Secretary, M. Abbas as Treasurer and Samir Hoodbhoy as Executive Member.

The Convention also called for the repatriation of the 'Biharis' to West Pakistan, and a solution of the problem of students affected by a 300% devaluation of the Pak Rupee.

HALAL AND HUMANE

The Doctors Islamic Society in Great Britain, has in a letter, addressed to all Muslim organisations and associations in Britain and Europe, explained the scientific bases underlying the 'halal' method for animal slaughter. The letter shows how in the light of medical facts it is necessary to drain blood from the meat and how only the Muslim method of slaughter is truly humane and involves least pain to the animal.

The process of bleeding, it claims, is not any more painful than that experienced in blood donation. On the other hand, electric stunning or carbon monoxide suffocation or shooting in the head etc. are far more painful as evidenced by the experience of those who have survived electrocution or those who suffer from asthmatic suffocation. The letter notes that British regulation allows Muslims and Jews to practise their own method of slaughter, though some local authorities do come up with their own notions of humaneness. (A Copy may be obtained from the President, Dr. G. M. Khan, 17 Weston Road, Guildford, Surrey. The paper which is also available in Urdu is being translated into French and Turkish.)

Pakistani workers on strike in Nottingham

Pakistani workers of Jones Stroud & Co. Ltd., a textile firm in Long Eaton, Nottinghamshire, have been on strike since last month. The strikers allege that they are paid 40p an hour for doing a skilled job in sub-human conditions with virtually no provision for safety or hygiene. They claim that the machines are dangerous and the first aid facilities are non-existent. The workers are required to work upto sixty hours a week and the overtime and night shift allowance is only one old penny an hour. It is alleged that the management treat the workers with contempt, often using abusive language. At the centre of the dispute is Mr. Mahmoud who made attempts to unionize the factory and was sacked. The strikers are demanding better pay, working conditions and hours and reinstatement of Mr. Mahmoud.

Church Conference on education

The British Council of Churches conference on 'Interfaith dialogue in Education' held in Leicester from 14-17 July has been described as being successful in creating a "creative rapport" between the various denominations. There was mutual respect throughout between Anglican, Roman Catholic, Jew, Muslim, Sikh, Humanist and Buddhist, and differences in approach were conceded. Several Muslims were represented but only on a personal basis as was the case with the other delegates.

The Conference did not have any official sanction but with responsible persons from the Education Inspectorate, training colleges etc. one should expect some of the conclusions to become effective. For example, the inspectorate of schools have agreed to the principle that books, teaching aids and other materials on Islam intended for use in the schools should meet with the approval of Muslims themselves. Also, some teacher training colleges have expressed the desire to have courses of lectures on Islam and these to be presented by Muslims.

The conference was fairly well represented so far as the educational field itself was concerned but the purely religious aspect was poor. An unusual feature of the Conference was the participation of pupils themselves, each one a committed member of his own faith.

NO NEED TO CREATE MISFITS AND CARBON COPIES

In a letter to the *Times Educational Supplement* (4 Aug.) Mr. Iftikhar Ahmad of the Plaistow Muslim Welfare Association (London E.13) has called attention to the problems resulting from attempts to make Muslim Children carbon copies of English men and women. The educational policy, he said, should be development of cultural harmony and not creation of misfits and prototypes. Mr. Ahmad has listed a number of measures that need to be taken up in this regard.

Round-up

● Prof. T. B. Irving of the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, USA presented a paper entitled 'A Contemporary English Translation of the Qur'an to the International Modern Languages Conference (Federation Internationale de Langues et Litteratures Modernes) held at Cambridge, England, 15-20 August. Prof. Irving is presently working on a new English translation of the Qur'an.

● **Race Riots in Rotterdam.** Racial riots in Rotterdam began on 9th August when a Turk was alleged to have bullied a Dutch tenant to vacate his house. Soon afterwards fighting broke out and one-sided violence continued for several days while the police went out of their way not to intervene.

The Turkish workers (along with the Moroccans, Spaniards, Indonesians and Yugoslavs) were invited by the Dutch authorities to fill the labour-gap. Many of them cannot speak Dutch, are forced to take menial jobs and live crowded in the poorer parts of Dutch towns.

● **Pakistan Day:** Mian Mumtaz Daultana, Pakistan Ambassador told a London meeting that never in its history had the subcontinent been one single nation or a state. He said Pakistan's achievement was a fulfilment of the subcontinent's true multi-national destiny and signified liberation from an imposed and colonial centralism. □ Sung Chib-Kuang, Ambassador of China, was the chief guest at a cultural evening held at the Pakistan Embassy, London, on Monday 14 August. Also present was the Pakistan Ambassador. Artistes Nazakat Ali Khan and Salamat Ali Khan delighted the audience with their recital of Indian Classical music: Raga Rageshwari and Raga Darbari. □ Pakistan Day functions were organised by the various Pakistani associations all over Britain.

● **The Standing Conference of Jews, Christian and Muslims** has appointed Sir Zafarullah Khan and Rt. Rev. Mahon, Auxiliary Bishop of Westminster as its patrons. The German Chapter of the SCJCM will hold a Theology Students Seminar on the joint study of Scriptures (28 Nov.-3 Dec.) and another from 16-19 Dec. with authors, publishers and teachers on 'World Religions in school text books'.

● **Bangladesh H. C. Syed Abdus Sultan** told a Convention of the London Overseas Awami League that they should unify all the various Awami Leagues in Britain. □ The H.C. inaugurated a month long exhibition on Bangladesh at the London Institute of Contemporary Art.

● **Mushaira:** Urdu poetic symposium under the auspices of Anjuman Taraqqi-e-Urdu on 9 September at 6.00 p.m., Conway Hall, London, W.C.1.

● **Exhibition of the calligraphic paintings of Osman Wagialla**, at Woodstock Gallery, from August 29 to 16 September.

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

ALGERIA. 120 Iraqi teachers signed contracts to teach in Algeria. More to be recruited for primary and secondary schools from Iraq.

BANGLADESH. The US AID granted another \$20m for foodstuffs (American aid since the beginning of this year totals \$300m).

Foreign Minister said his country would never allow any bases on its soil. He added Bangladesh visualizes cordial and mutually beneficial relations with China and expressed the hope that China will reciprocate. ● A Presidential order promulgated to screen out the corrupt officials, collaborators and those still wedded to Pakistan ideology. The order brings the University teachers and other organisations within the jurisdiction of the screening Boards. ● India agreed to provide facilities for trade with Nepal. ● President Chaudhary said the existing University Ordinance would be replaced with a new law providing complete autonomy to the Universities. ● Bangladesh nationalized the life insurance business but Foreign companies will not be affected. ● All state-owned land to be distributed among farmers. ● Bolivia, Peru, PDR of Yemen and Guatemala announced recognition. ● Malaysia to sponsor Bangladesh as a member of the non-aligned group meeting in Guyana. ● The passport and visa system for regulating travel to and from India to be introduced from September 1. ● The first batch of cadets of the Army, recruited from among the guerrillas, commissioned on August 5.

CANADA. The Foreign Minister said Canada does not plan any move to admit British Asian refugees unless there was a definite request from Uganda or Britain.

CHINA. China's Permanent representative at the UN firmly opposed the Security Council's consideration of the Bangladesh membership.

EGYPT. Foreign Minister, Dr. Murrad Ghalib, said that relations with France were excellent. He said 'France always helps us and backs us'. ● The government decided to lend the services of 3,325 teachers to 12 Arab and Foreign States, of these 2,472 teachers will be sent to Lybia.

INDIA. A Visa system introduced for Indians from Uganda. ● The Lok Sabha was told that the Chinese Ambassador met his Indian counterpart in Warsaw on 14 July. ● The Defence Minister said arms production is to be so arranged that no country can hold India to ransom over crucial items. ● A giant ordnance factory to be built in Madhya Pradesh at a cost of about Rs. 760m. ● Mrs. Gandhi said the reports about anti-India feelings in Bangladesh were exaggerated. ● India ratified Simla Agreement. ● Minister for Defence production said that urgent attention is being given to increase the strength of the submarine fleet. ● Former President of the Swatantra Party, Prof. N. G. Ranga, joined the ruling Congress Party.

IRAN. A huge oil refinery will be built on the Gulf island of Kharg with the co-operation of Western Oil Company, Iran getting the

"biggest possible share" in production, refining and marketing. ● Two missile-carrying, British made, warships joined the Iranian Naval Fleet.

INDONESIA. Fourteen cases of Chinese and Russian books seized in Tandjungpriok. ● Museums of President Soekarno's private possessions to be opened in Jakarta and Bogor. ● In the continued purge of Communists in the navy and army, several officers were arrested for involvement in 1965 abortive coup. ● Chairman of the World Anti-Communist League described Algeria's invitation of an Indonesian Communist leader as flagrantly unfriendly towards Indonesia. ● Ex-Brig-Gen. Suharjo is reported training Indonesian Communists in the Soviet Union, eventually to be smuggled into Indonesia.

ISRAEL. The Head of the Greek Catholic Church announced that all Churches will be closed on Sunday and demonstrations will be organised to protest about the lack of Justice in Israel. ● 2,000 Arab visitors who came under the Summer Visit Programme requested the authorities to allow them to stay with their families. Some 120,000 Arab visitors have so far arrived in Israel. ● Israeli Ambassador in the US said Israel will remain neutral in the forthcoming American election, adding, 'regardless of who wins the election, America will remain Israel's friend'.

KUWAIT. Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs said we must build arms factories and keep abreast of the technological evolution. He added that it is not in the interest of anyone to use petroleum in a negative way by cutting off supplies, because some states would seek other petroleum resources.

LYBIA. President Sada'at and Col. Qadhafi, announced the creation of a union of Egypt and Lybia to be effective from September 1973. ● France to continue deliveries of Mirage jets to Lybia.

MALAYSIA. Nine heavily armed river patrol boats to be bought for use in the Eastern part against Communist Guerrillas. ● Tunku Abdul Rahman inaugurated International Islamic News Agency Conference on 16th August; representatives from 21 Muslim countries attended. ● The Malaysia Aid to Palestine Committee to give nearly \$90,000 (US \$31,000) to Al Fateh through the Islamic Secretariat.

MOROCCO. The Istiqlal Party organ *L'opinion* confiscated on August 5 without any official explanation. ● The Old leadership of Morocco's Socialist Opposition Party suspended in a major shake up. The Party's old leaders were accused of 'paralyzing' Party organisation and stifling debate among rank and file members.

PAKISTAN. President Bhutto said "China will veto the Dacca administration's entry into the UN unless the UN resolutions of 7 and 21 December of last year are first implemented." ● The Sind government arrested 90 persons for anti-State activities. ● Minister for political affairs said the government had no

intention of banning any political party but no party would be allowed to play with the solidarity of the country. ● The NAP Chief, Wali Khan said his Party had entered into an agreement with the ruling PPP for the restoration of a Federal Parliamentary system. ● A cultural exchange programme agreement signed with USSR on August 4. ● Six senior Army Officers were retired with immediate effect. ● Central Minister for Education and Provincial Co-ordination said no legal ban existed on Communist Party in Pakistan. ● A general agreement reached with India about the line of control in Jammu and Kashmir.

SAUDI ARABIA. A joint Morocco-Saudi Committee to study the possibility of promoting mutual economic relations. ● The Japanese translation of Koran rendered by the Moslem World League in co-operation with the Japan Muslim Association has been published. ● The Supreme Administration Committee is considering reduction of the work-days to five.

SOUTH YEMEN. All residential and commercial buildings owned by individuals were nationalized. A Housing Ministry to supervise the nationalization.

SUDAN. President Numayri said the Communists had ruined both the public and private sectors in the country. He warned parents not to send their children to study in Eastern Europe because the Communists turn them against their own people and country. ● President Numayri issued a decree on the People's Council—the first legislative body which is to decide on future constitution of the country within six months.

SYRIA. President Asad denied any knowledge of reported Soviet attempts to reconcile the two disputing wings of the Syrian Communist Party and added "such interference, if it happened, would not be in harmony with our friendship with Soviet Union". ● President Asad denied that Syria was not in the new Union between Egypt and Lybia either because of the difference in the political organisations or because of religion, adding 'I am not against Islam being the religion of the State in Egypt and Lybia'. ● France agreed to grant 45 scholarships for higher studies for the years 72-73 and 73-74.

UGANDA. President Amin ordered over 80,000 Asians holding British, Indian and Pakistani passports to leave the country within 90 days. The leases of houses and land would go to Africans. The Asians have to register themselves with the immigration office and surrender all firearms by August 16. ● Some officers of the armed forces would be trained in Pakistan. ● President Amin expressed appreciation for Saudi financial assistance of 2m shillings for the setting up of the headquarters of the Uganda Muslim Supreme Council.

UNITED KINGDOM. Foreign Office acknowledged that Egypt had displayed interest in buying arms from Britain. Egypt is said to have put similar feelers to the US and

France directly or indirectly. ● As a result of Pakistan's withdrawal from the Commonwealth, letters by sea mail will cost more from October 1.

UNITED STATES. A Jewish Committee for the re-election of President Nixon was formed by Dr. William Wexler, the Chairman of the World Congress of Jewish Organisations, and other prominent Jewish leaders.

● The Presidents' Conference, which represents 25 major religious and civic Jewish Agencies in the US, would meet President Nixon and Senator McGovern and obtain their views on all the issues of Jewish concern, the Conference Chairman announced.

YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC. Kuwait, Abu Dhabi, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Egypt offered educational aid. ● Premier Muhsin al-Ayni denied the existence of any Soviet military bases in the country saying the number of Soviet experts in Yemen was small and the termination of their services was not contemplated.

PEOPLE

John B. Conally appointed to the US Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board. Professor Nathaniel Lichfield of London, appointed Jerusalem's Chief Town Planner. Hamid Mahmood to replace Yunus Said as Chairman of government controlled Press Trust of Pakistan. Palestine Commando Chief Yasser Arafat for medical check-up in an Egyptian Armed Forces hospital. Dr. Shivesh C. Thakur, an Indian, appointed new Head of Philosophy at Surrey University, England. Sheikh Mujib flew to Geneva for convalescence. Pakistan opposition men Shorish Kashmiri, editor weekly *Chatan*, Gen. Sher Ali Khan, former Information Minister, M. Hamza, ex-MP arrested.

VISITS

Muhammed Marzaban, Egyptian Deputy Premier and Minister of Economy and Foreign Trade to Poland. Emanuel Wakhweya, Ugandan Finance Minister to Lybia. Abdullah Badhi, South Yemeni Minister of Culture and Tourism, to Bulgaria. Shubladze, Soviet Deputy Minister for irrigation to Iraq and Syria. Muhsin al-Ayni, the Yemen Republic's Premier to Egypt, Qatar and India. Bujor Almasan, Romania's Minister of Mines, petroleum and Geology, to Turkey. Fawzi al-Kayyali, Egypt's culture and National Guidance Minister, to Bulgaria. Abbas Ali Khalatbari Foreign Minister of Iran, to Bulgaria. Hafiz Badawi, Speaker, Egyptian Parliament, to Moscow. Nguyen Diang, with a South Vietnam NLF delegation to Lybia. Umif Haluk Bayuiken, Turkey's Foreign Minister to Iraq in September. Anwar al-Khatib, ex-Mayor of Jerusalem, to Amman. Mrs. Anwar as-Sada'at of Egypt to Syria. Erol Yilmaz Akcal, Turkey's Minister of Tourism to Romania. Muhannad Masnudi, Tunisian Foreign Minister to Turkey. Tanaka, Japanese Premier to China in September. Mitchell Sharp, Canadian Foreign Minister to China. Mukti Ali, Indonesian Minister of Religion, to Egypt. Dr. Abdul Samad Hamed, Deputy Premier of Afghanistan to Moscow. Prof. Fadel Jamali, former P.M. of Iraq to London. Maulana Jamal Mian Member Muslim World League Mecca, to London. President Asad of Syria to Gulf Emirates by the end of summer. Rashed al Irfan, Kuwaiti Minister of Islamic Affairs to Syria. Sh. Abdullah Mahdi, Director General of the Saudi Civil Aviation to Algeria. Othman Kimau, Senegalese Minister of Information and Parliament Affairs, to Saudi Arabia. Lt-Gen. Hamad Al-Shumaimari, Saudi Chief of Staff to Jordan. Sh. Hassan Kutbi, Saudi Minister of Pilgrimage and Endowments, to Morocco in September.

DIPLOMATS

Vassily Kornev new Soviet Ambassador to Yemen Arab Republic. Kuznetsov, new Soviet Ambassador to Indonesia. Mehdi Masood, new Pakistan envoy to Jordan. Ali Abdullah, Special Assistant to Tunku Abdul Rahman appointed Malaysian envoy in Dacca.

DIED

Brig-Gen. Said Taheri, 45, shot dead in Tehran, on August 14. Sir Colin Campbell Garbett, 91, former Financial Commissioner of Punjab and Minister of Agriculture Bhopal, at Champneys (Herts.). Sir Claude Pelly, 69, C-in-C ME Air Force (1953-1956), at Orford (Suffolk).