

MUSLIM VIEWPOINT(S) ON CURRENT AFFAIRS

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Politics of the Unglamour: Interview with Dato Abdul Rahman ■ African Liberation, the task ■ Philippines' lack of scuples ■ Djibouti Francaise ■ Sabah Crusade ■ The Middle East Cupboard ■ East African Notes ■ The Jesus Commune ■ Books ● New Spectrum ● News Brief

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Mufti Mahmood, the Sarhad Chief Minister, said recently that the affairs of Pakistan were decided outside the country. Not much of a disclosure, but the question to be asked right now is what are 'they' going to decide? Clearly the crucial stage for West Pakistan—To Be or Not To Be—appears to have arrived.

The question still to be settled is whether West Pakistan or more appropriately the area that constitutes West Pakistan remains an American ghetto or becomes a Russian ghetto. Russia's aims and optimisms are clearly there. The Soviet media have been telling the South Asians how badly they needed the "creation of a collective security system in Asia" and how fast the idea was becoming popular among them. The Soviet stepping up of the construction of naval bases in the Andaman and Nicobar islands as well as in Vishakhapatnam signified an acceleration in the Russian race for hegemony in the area. The USSR is trying also to secure a footstep in Indonesia and Timor island; its naval presence in the Indian Ocean is now reckoned at between 15-20 warships. As to Pakistan specifically, the Russians are keeping a close watch and turn the screws as and when necessary. But there is no great hurry.

India has shown both confidence and patience. Mrs. Gandhi feels President Bhutto should be able to deliver the goods, but even if he fails or falters, the Pakistan politics is in any case suicidal. India has nothing to lose either way. There was both wisdom and meaning in the remark when the Indian Foreign Minister told the *Lok Sabha* that it was *too early* to sign a treaty with Pakistan similar to that they had with Russia.

President Nixon may like to maintain the present frontiers of West Pakistan because that was the U.S. interest too. But it is difficult to say how Nixon's own invisible government, would react to the opportunities of undoing Pakistan. Bangladesh is one example of how Nixon was out-manoeuvred by his own establishment. In November 1970 Nixon informed Yahya of India's plan to push in and establish a 'nominal' Bangladesh presence in Jessore area. He advised Yahya to tolerate this and avoid a major conflict with India because such a conflict served the Russian interests. While this throws some light on Yahya's complacence

and Pakistan's strategy of concentrating in Jessore and the Western sector, it also shows the limitations of the U.S. president's powers. The C.I.A. and the administration knew full well India's not so secret plans, but evidently Nixon did not. When, India attacked and started to push in towards Dacca from all sides except Jessore and the North-West, Nixon, like Harold Wilson in 1965, was furious at what he regarded as a gross breach of trust on Mrs. Gandhi's part. While Wilson later chewed his words, Nixon's relations with India are yet to be normalised. It could no doubt be suggested that Nixon himself was involved in the diabolical game, but either way the possibility of the same situation arising now in respect of West Pakistan cannot be excluded. Here too, Nixon could be sold the scheme of a "reorganised" West Pakistan-Iranian region. Indeed it can be argued that a splintered West Pakistan would not automatically bring in the Russians. Depending upon the US understanding with India or even otherwise, Iran can be allowed to cover the Baluchistan flank, and another map drawn.

President Nixon now wants to hear Mr. Bhutto because if he had to back up the integrity of West Pakistan, then he would need the co-operation also of Pakistan's leadership. Nixon who was instrumental in seeing Mr. Bhutto into power, is known to be

very uneasy on the state of Pakistan's post-bifurcation affairs. Tell Mr. Bhutto to help me to help him, literally was the message Nixon sent to President Bhutto not long ago.

The Shah of Iran's two-day private visit to Pakistan last week is seen as arising from Iran's own as well as President Nixon's concern on the uncertainties of the situation. Mr. Bhutto's politics of over-manoeuvre have produced anxiety in Iran and doubts in the US about the real direction of the events in Pakistan. Is Mr. Bhutto preparing to move eventually into the Indo-Russian orbit? If so, Iran would like to secure itself against Indian expansion. During the 1965 Indo-Pakistan war, the Shah is reported to have offered to move into Baluchistan—should it become necessary. The Shah recently remarked that Iran's security perimeter is in the Indian Ocean and this coupled with measures to expand the navy and establish naval and air bases at Jask, Chahbahar and possibly Gawadar explain Iran's concern as well as her strategic aims in the area.

Another player in this power game is China. China seems to be in no doubt about President Bhutto's inability to play its ball. Pakistan's Army Chief, Gen. Tikka Khan visited China last week and was showered courtesies normally accorded only to high-ranking statesmen. Reporting the Eid al-Adha prayers in Tungszu Mosque, Peking, radio put Gen. Tikka's name at the head of an unnamed list of Muslim ambassadors who participated in the prayers. The banquet speech from the Chinese side mentioned "friendship between peoples and armies". Gen. Tikka in reply spoke of the "great pride in our association" and that "you are our tried friends..." It has also been reported, and denied, that Gen. Tikka accepted the invitation and went ahead with the visit more or less against the wishes of the Pakistan President.

Gen. Tikka is not known to be any Bonapartist but manifestly there is great dissatisfaction among the country's armed forces, particularly amongst the ranks and the Junior Officers. Mr. Bhutto knows this, and understandably he has his own plans.

Pakistan's greatest problem at the moment is the unbelievable incredibility of its politics, and this is something which is seriously worrying her friends in the Muslim World.

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**West Pakistan
whose ghetto
will it
be**

Survey • PHILIPPINE MANOEUVRING • DJIBOUTI INSPECTION VISIT • PROGRESS ON UNITY

PHILIPPINES—LACK OF SCRUPLES ABOUT MUSLIMS AND ABOUT DEMOCRACY

Whether authoritarianism is preferable to allegedly democratic government is a question which Muslims in the Philippines would be finding very difficult to answer, in view of the latest developments in the archipelago.

Up till the time that President Marcos imposed Martial Law on the Philippines, Muslims in the islands of the South were waging a desperate campaign to prevent the encroachment of the Christians, often aided and abetted by the government, on their lands and their economic and political position. This position was being steadily undermined under the secular democratic republic which was pursuing the facile goal of "integration" which the Muslims often identified with colonialization or christianization.

Conflict between Christian settlers in the south and Muslims reached a new pitch in 1971 and 1972. The unrest did not come to an end when Marcos proclaimed martial law last September and called for the surrendering of all arms in the country. Government troops were sent in to deal with the Muslim dissidents and this confirmed the Muslims in their belief that the central government was working against their interests and trying to eliminate them. The government forces suffered some setbacks and Marcos realised that, like the Spaniards and the Americans before him, he was not going to solve the Muslim problem by force. Moreover, Marcos needed his troops to deal with other problems of security and government in Manila rather than be bogged down by the conflict in the south. He had to free his hands there to deal with the mounting criticism which martial law and his increasing disregard of any democratic checks were giving rise to.

So, early in January 1972, Marcos called the Muslim leaders from the south to Manila and came to some sort of truce with them. According to reports, he announced an immediate halt to the army's 'offensive and punitive' operations and an amnesty for those who would lay down their arms. He promised increased aid for the Muslim areas, the establishment of facilities for a fishing industry and for health and agricultural services. Marcos also agreed to the re-establishment of the centuries-old barter trade between Filipino Muslims and their relatives in Indonesia and Malaysia which Manila had before considered as smuggling.

In spite of these concessions, the root cause of the conflict in the south remains—the problem of the southward push of Christian settlers and their secularising ways into traditional Muslim lands.

Marcos at any rate might have felt that

he had gained some time by his talking to the Muslim leaders for dealing with some of his more serious problems. Barely two weeks after the agreement, (on 17 Jan. '72) Marcos swept aside all democratic controls on his power and imposed "Constitutional authoritarianism" on the Philippines. All this Marcos is doing in the name of "reforming" the economic and political life of the country. With his absolute powers now, he has warned against any attempt to undermine the republic and disobey the "ground rules" in the new constitution. It remains to be seen how the situation in the south would be affected by Marcos' lack of scruples about democracy.

Djibouti for France!

President Pompidou's visit to Djibouti on 15-17 January has underlined France's desire to retain its hold on this "rough and difficult territory" sandwiched between Ethiopia and Somalia on the Red Sea Coast.

France's hold on Djibouti is maintained at an extremely high price. There are nearly 5,000 members of the French forces, including the gendarmerie, in the territory. There are nearly 10,000 officials in the top-heavy colonial administration serving a population of about 125,000. In the past seven years, France has spent about £117m on maintaining its personnel while the territory on the whole is afflicted with economic stagnation.

If such a high price is seen necessary to maintaining this toe-hold on the Red Sea, the benefits for France and her friends must be tremendous. The benefits are mainly strategic and security ones connected with the Red Sea and Middle East area on the whole. Continued control over Djibouti is congenial to Ethiopia which has a direct rail link between Addis Ababa and Djibouti through which over 50% of Ethiopia's trade and supplies pass. If Djibouti is to become independent or under Somalia's influence (the majority of the people have ethnic and cultural ties with Somalia), then this link would be effected. The Western powers and Russia too are keen to see that Ethiopia remains as a bulwark of their interests in the Middle East conflict. It is perhaps no accident that Djibouti was Pompidou's first port of call after his visit to Moscow after which he went on to have talks with Haile Selassie of Ethiopia to reassure him of France's hold over the territory.

One state that would be quite pleased with France's position on Djibouti is Israel. Israeli leaders have been trying to blame France for the diplomatic setbacks

they are having in Africa and France does appear or is made to appear at times to be "the main protagonist in the campaign against Israel". But as pointed out by a former director of information of the World Jewish Congress, Pompidou himself owes a great deal in his career to prominent Zionists like the Rothschilds and the French Foreign Minister, Maurice Schumann, who accompanied Pompidou on his visit to Djibouti, is of Jewish origin. Israel's free navigation in the Red Sea and its outlet into the Indian Ocean would certainly be guaranteed by the French presence in Djibouti. How important this outlet is for Israeli penetration into Africa and South East Asia has already been demonstrated.

It thus seems that Djibouti is a millstone around France's neck which it is carrying around for the benefit of others. To the people of Djibouti, the insistence of Pompidou that "You are French because you want to be and to remain it and no one can go against this obvious truth" may thus seem particularly hollow. Indeed the leader of the African People's League in Djibouti maintains that the present French-backed local government was "elected by fraud, maintained by pressure and is unpopular".

Happiness and unhappiness over Libyan—Egyptian merger

President Sadat has indicated that he does not see eye to eye with President Qaddafi on the preparatory work of various committees which is to form the basis of the union between Egypt and Libya. Sadat was speaking to journalists at the residence of Qaddafi in Tripoli. On the work of the legal and judicial committee in particular, Sadat was asked:

"What is the extent of the reaction of the Arab Republic of Egypt to the revolutionary resolutions issued in the Libyan Arab Republic, particularly the resolutions which seek to return the Arab Muslims to the fold of Islam? The most important resolutions ban alcohol and restrict entertainment places, for example. Why is such a course not applied in the Arab Republic of Egypt particularly since we are in the final stages of the merger unity?"

Sadat replied that the legal and judicial committee had not finished with its work and that basic legislation would not be issued in the respective countries before it is submitted to the legal committee concerned and before it receives ratification by the political organs and by the people. He said that Chairman Mu'ammur was not happy about the work of the committees so far but that he himself was really happy about it. Possibly the reason for Qaddafi's unhappiness, he said was

Survey

● POLITICS & MISSION IN SABAH

that he felt that legislation should have been and must be unified even before the committees completed their work.

The various committees which are dealing with political, economic, cultural and other matters are to finish their work by the end of April and the referendum is scheduled to be held on 1 September. It is hoped that the "long pause" between April and September would be sufficient time to "make every person in the two countries aware of his position in the new state". Sadat professed to be "enthusiastic" about the way things were going.

On the Libyan side, however, there are reports that many people in the country are not taking too kindly to the free movement and role of Egyptians who have already entered. The Egyptians are proving to be no more popular than the 15,000 Italians whom Qaddafi expelled soon after taking control and who provided the manning for Libya's infrastructure. On this reckoning the Libyan would have to do a lot of self sacrifice to vote "Yes" in the September referendum. The planned and guided structure which according to Sadat, would form the basis of the socialist economy of the unitary state would have also to be the basis of political conditioning and organisation.

The frankness with which President Sadat dealt with many of the questions put to him was an encouraging sign though.

Sabah Crusade!

Tun Datu Haji Mustapha bin Datu Harun, Chief Minister of the East Malaysian State of Sabah, seems suddenly to have become a subject of some international focus. But this is not because of his political and economic stewardship of the State.

Politically the State has enjoyed both stability and freedom; and freedom includes religious freedom too. One Far Eastern correspondent wrote: "leading Christians are being asked to convert to Islam. Many do—and what is more important—many don't, and still retain their position of strength". Development progress in education, communication, agriculture, and social welfare is most impressive. In fact it is Tun Mustapha's relationship with the foreign missionaries or vice versa that seems to point the way to a developing situation in Sabah. Sabah is immensely rich, has a population of less than a million, and is over 1,000 miles away from Kuala Lumpur. All these constitute a secession pressure—which makes the authorities more sensitive about foreign presence, including that of the missionaries. The system of work permits introduced over a number of years applies both to foreigners and West Malaysians. In 1967, the Europeans and foreign missionaries were issued as-much-

as-they-asked-for quota of work permits, and given a period of 10 years within which to train local priests and church workers. In Sabah, where the church now has a history of 100 years, the authorities feel that the church should be able to train sufficient number of local priests and hand over to them.

The present "trouble" relates to the expulsion last December of three European priests. Their work permit had expired early in 1972, but they refused to leave saying that they were conscience-bound not to leave their flock. Having refused to comply with the final notice to leave by the end of November, they were expelled on 14 December.

The missionaries allege that Tun Mustapha who is actively patronising the United Sabah Islamic Association in its efforts to spread Islam among the Chinese, Kadazaus, Muruts and other non-Muslims is trying to weaken the Christian position in the State. The authorities, on the other hand, charge the missionaries with becoming politically involved. This politics may or may not be too involved but it certainly is true that there are allegations of interference in the secular affairs of the State. Although immigration is a State subject, in this very case interference was sought from Tun Abdul Razak. Whether he had agreed to "intercede" or not it is not known, but a pastoral letter issued by the Senior Bishop in the Malaysia-Singapore region said "they acknowledge a higher authority than that of the civic authorities". Ostensibly "civic authorities" and "higher authority" referred to are the State and the Federal governments respectively. It must have been an embarrassment to Tun Abdul Razak too.

Bishop Ian Shevill the Anglican bishop—designate of Newcastle, Australia, mentioned recently the problem of "some Western Christians (who) find it difficult to participate enthusiastically in mission if they cannot do so from the position of those above to those below... (But) today the new nations of the World have lost all these illusions—if they ever had them — about the superiority of the Western morality and culture". (*The Times*, 8 January 1973). Bishop Shevill was trying to suggest causes for a certain decrease in the Western society of support for overseas missions, but the psychological inability, which he mentioned, applied to a number of missionaries.

However, no matter how certain priests have behaved, Tun Mustapha has his own obligation to deal with people not only with justice but with generosity. Whether people accept Islam or Christianity, the matter would depend neither on the number of foreign missionaries nor the sheer fact of Muslim authority. It really depends on the quality of individuality and society Sabah Muslims are able to create and to offer

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In a world where communication has become an art of commerce, truth a shade of grey, and opinion a matter of expediency, *Impact International fortnightly* resumes the long lost dialogue with reality

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The task of the African Liberation

Africa is the only continent where racial minority governments exist. One of the tasks of the Organisation of African Unity which has now completed its second decade is to combat these racist regimes and the survival of colonialism in the continent. Since the last summit meeting of the OAU in Rabat last July which has been called the "Liberation Summit", the mood and the progress of the various liberation movements seem to be growing increasingly bright. This mood has been reflected in the week-long meeting of the Liberation Committee of the OAU which met in Accra at the beginning of January.

The increasing commitment of various states to the goals of African liberation (though many have not yet honoured their promises of financial support), the lessening of squabbles among the liberation groups in their respective areas, the occasional successes of the freedom fighters against entrenched white positions and signs that the colonists are being hit in sensitive places—have all contributed to this new mood.

The number of states which now have membership in the Liberation Committee has now risen to almost twenty from just over ten before Rabat. The recent stands of countries like Senegal and Guinea with regard to Portuguese colonialism and now Zambia's stand against the Smith regime in Rhodesia show that African governments are prepared to bear some of the direct cost of allowing or sustaining guerilla activity against foreign domination.

One of the persistent complaints of the liberation movements has been that of the failure of governments to fulfil their promises. The meeting in Accra has now declared that since all possible avenues towards a peaceful solution with the minority racist authorities in southern Africa were treated with contempt, an end to foreign domination now can only be achieved by armed struggle. The meeting agreed to equip the freedom fighters with more adequate resources to deal with the problem. In practical terms, this still does not amount to much. The combined contribution of the OAU and individual African states to the liberation movements is just about £10 million. South Africa alone has a military budget of some £200 million, excluding the sizeable amount allocated to the Bureau of State Security (BOSS) and its huge para-military police.

With an eye to the propaganda benefits to be gained, all sorts of people have been trying to jump on the band-wagon of assisting the Liberation Committee of the OAU. These include the World Council of Churches and Israel. The role of

these two bodies have come in for a lot of criticism, for their divisive and opportunistic habits — demonstrated for example in the Nigerian Civil War. The Churches in particular are keen to show that they are in the forefront of the liberation movement in order to disown their acknowledged close relationship with colonialism and white domination. Israel, keen to steal a march over the Arabs and on the lookout for economic and diplomatic gains, has tried to demonstrate its help and sympathy for the cause of African liberation but was immediately rapped by South Africa.

Paradoxically, the interests of both the World Council of Churches and of Israel coalesce in the interests and policies of the Ethiopia of Haile Selassie who is held in the highest esteem as the fighter and elder statesman of African liberation. Freedom fighters do not have to open their eyes too widely, however, to appreciate the significance of the Emperor's declaration to Pompidou of his satisfaction at having France retain its hold on Djibouti. Djibouti, like Angola and Mozambique and Guinea Bissau, remains colonized but it is yet to become a focus of attention for the Liberation Committee of the OAU.

Viewing Israel's diplomatic setbacks in Africa, Johannesburg radio has attributed the present mood and upsurge of what it calls "the terror merchants" of Africa to the steady march of Islam down Africa across the Sahara. It warned that Islam's influence has all the marks of a new imperialism which is meant to achieve the enslavement of black Africans by Arabs. Arab oil riches are being used, it says, to build up Muslim pressure on the continent. Discounting the perjorative overtones of the Johannesburg attack, it seems that there is a real fear of the liberation potential of Islam. Objectively there is no gainsaying this potential but it may be true to say that Islam has played no more than a minimal role in the liberation movements of Southern Africa the rank and file of which very often receive their motivation and training from left-wing sources. There are some remarkable exceptions to this, but the observation is borne out by the fact that disagreements between various groups in the liberation movements often arise from whether they turn their faces to Moscow or Peking.

Apart from ideological conflicts, there have been personal clashes and friction between ethnic groups. That some of the groups have decided to come together and sink their differences indicates that the movements are on their way to regaining their sense of purpose and credibility. Re-

conciliation between the two rival factions in Angola—the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FLNA), the coming together of the Zimbabwe rival groups—ZAPU and ZANU—and their co-operation with the FRELIMO in Mozambique are all part of a necessary closing of ranks if the liberation movements are to disturb at least the psychological composure of, and the effective co-operation between, the entrenched European regimes in southern Africa. They have succeeded in doing this in Rhodesia (witness Mr. Smith's increasing draconian measures against Africans alleged to be harbouring rebels), in Mozambique and Guinea Bissau (witness Portugal's action of trying to keep its hold by both force and by its plans for giving greater autonomy to the Africans). In Guinea-Bissau, the PAIGC is supposed to be in control of most of the country and now its determination increased with the murder of its leader, Amilcar Cabral.

Despite the high morale among the liberationists and the members of the OAU, there is a danger of too much euphoria. The regimes in southern Africa would not lightly give up their position of dominance over the blacks. The struggle against colonialism and racialism would be a protracted one and obviously would be more so the longer such countries like Ethiopia can continue in their anomalous, even double-dealing positions.

All this makes one reflect on the fact that many of the countries who belong to the OAU and its Liberation Committee are far from presenting a model of freedom and dignity for their citizens. Ironically this is frequently pointed out by South Africa. The code of behaviour which the OAU has adopted prevents its member countries from expressing their concern or doing anything about the excesses committed by various African states against its citizens in the name of respect for the internal affairs and sovereignty of others.

The OAU can effectively help liberation movements only if it is prepared to look coolly and critically at the mal-practices of some of its member countries and to stand out clearly for justice and humanity in all circumstances. One has only to look at recent shocking events in the Congo, in Burundi, Ghana and Ethiopia to name but a few places, to realise that all is not well. There is no difference between white tyranny and injustice and black tyranny and injustice. In this sense, independent Africa has to concern itself not only with its liberation from outside domination and control but with improving the quality of life of its citizens on an equitable and humane basis.

East African Travel Notes

By a Special Correspondent

Whether they are in the majority or in the minority, whether they live and work in conditions of freedom or suppression, whether they have official governmental backing or not, Muslims in East Africa—Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania—and Somalia are not making a good showing of themselves.

In Kenya and Uganda where the Muslims are in a minority, they are uneducated and disorganised. In Tanzania where they are in the majority Muslims are backward and are unable to exert much influence on the course of affairs in the country. In Somalia, which is a 100% Muslim country, the "Scientific Socialism" of the new regime is doing serious cultural harm and is likely to bring about the alienation of the youth and especially the students.

The present problems of Muslims in the area are traceable to legacy of European colonialism, the divisive work of the missionaries and the Muslims' own inability or unwillingness to put the Islamic teachings into practice, particularly the teaching of Islamic brotherhood and co-operation.

So far as Muslims in Uganda are concerned, they are very backward in all spheres of life, be it educational, economic, social or political. The Christian missionaries both in the colonial times and in the pre-Amin era controlled all educational and cultural machineries and gave all the benefits to the Christians or to the prospective converts among the pagans and the animists. Muslims with higher education may be counted on the fingers. In the administration Muslims do not have even one tenth of their percentage represented and they have almost no representation in the higher hierarchy. There is just one Muslim minister, who used to hold the portfolio of education, but now holds the portfolio of labour. No permanent secretary is a Muslim. Most of Amin's ministers were permanent secretaries in the time of Obote. Yet Amin's coming to power has given the Muslims in Uganda a boost and a sense of a individuality but Islam remains to be restored in the day to day life of the people. Amin looks tough and keeps vigil, yet things are not quite certain.

Tanzania presents a very different picture. It is the biggest of the three East African countries. Its population of over 13 million is at least 65% Muslim. Tanzania claims to be a socialist country, practising a peasant form of socialism called 'ujama', egalitarianism and self-reliance being its two bases. Trade and industry as well as houses in Tanzania have been nationalised. The Republic's President, Dr. Julius Nyrere, is a militant

Catholic, very well educated, honest and hard-working. Aboud Jumbe head of the government in the Zanzibar part is the first Vice-President of Tanzania. He is not uneducated and early signs are that he is not rough and tough as his predecessor Karume who was assassinated in April 1972.

Muslim activities in Tanzania are run under the aegis of the government through the Supreme Council of Muslim Affairs. All Muslim associations, including the East Africa Muslim Welfare Association (which was purely an educational institution) have been banned. The members of the Supreme Council have to toe the line of the government but some inspiring work is being undertaken, for example, the Islamic Centre in Dar es Salam around the mosque of which will be grouped a hospital, library, halls for the running of classes and conference facilities. But generally Muslim work is at a disadvantage because of the work of the missionaries and of Communist influence predominantly that of the Chinese who are undertaking rail, road and factory constructions in Tanzania.

Compared to Uganda and Tanzania there is more freedom in Kenya. The tenseness one finds in Tanzania and Uganda is completely absent. People can be met freely and they are not afraid to talk. And with freedom comes diverse activities both of a commercial and religious nature.

Muslims form about 33% of the population of Kenya. The north eastern part of the country (formerly part of Somalia) is predominantly Muslim and there are Muslims in all the ethnic tribes, be it Kikuyu, the Luo, the Luhya or the Kambo. Besides this, everything seems to be on the debit side. Muslims are politically powerless, educationally poor, socially backward, economically nowhere and, to top all, they are badly fragmented into divided communities: the Asians are Sunnis, Athna Ash'aries and Ismailis. There being no love lost between one and the other. The African Muslims and those of Arab descent present a similar picture. The great cementing force of *ukhuwwa* or brotherhood unfortunately is sadly lacking. This is true even of the 21 Muslim members of parliament. The Muslims are badly divided and have hundreds of small and big associations most of which are dominated by non-Africans.

However little satisfaction the present situation gives, it is true to say that the Muslim situation in Kenya today is better than at the time of independence. Then they did not have a single Mayor or deputy mayor. Today the mayor and deputy mayor of Mombasa are Muslims.

At independence, no Muslim M.P. was elected from Nairobi. Today there is at least one in seven. In the Nairobi City Council there used to be one Muslim councillor, today there are four. So there is progress, but the pace is too slow and most of those in a position to help remain easy-going, sleepy and callous.

Moving to Somalia, conditions of control rather than freedom once again obtain. The new Revolutionary Council under General Siad Barre is pursuing Scientific Socialism with a vengeance. This is the craze and cry of the government, with active assistance from the Russians in their programmes to banish illiteracy, poverty and disease. Although the ulama have objected to the trend of the new government and the type of terminology that it uses, Siad Barre presses on. The real worry in this situation is not that communism would dictate the economic order of the country (because the gap between the haves and the have-nots is not very great in Somalia as in Africa as a whole) but that it would do serious cultural harm to the young by its constant attack on religious and spiritual values as something of the dead past. In this way the foundations of Muslim society are being attacked and the threat of their destruction remains.

The situation in East Africa, is acute and urgent, and calls for programmes of economic and technical assistance to the Muslims of the area, for educational co-operation and training schemes, for the development of press and radio communication, for specific attention to be paid to the development of the Swahili language and to the training of indigenous personnel. Living in a fast world of radical changes, muslim must do a little bit of cool rethinking in the present circumstances, and see how best to project the brotherhood of Islam.

Merely saying that the Holy Qur'an says "All Muslims are Brethren" is not enough. Merely repeating that the Holy Prophet (may Allah's blessing always be upon him) made no distinction between Arabs and non-Arabs and between the white and the black and the rich and the poor is not enough. Muslims have to go beyond words.

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Something in the Middle East cupboard?

A. W. Hamid

What is "probably the most sensational political document of the post-war years" is being kept in an underground vault in Whitehall and would remain secret for another 84 years!

The document which was prepared by Guy Millard, private secretary to Prime Ministers Anthony Eden and Harold Macmillan, is a detailed history of the secret diplomacy and domestic political dealings of the Suez operation of 1956. If released, according to the prognostications of *The Times Diary* (10 January, 1973), the document could have the same sensational results as the revelation of the Pentagon Papers on the Vietnam war had in the United States.

Not long ago, Peter Mansfield, a writer on Middle East Affairs, was saying in a House of Commons speech that what was needed to awaken the western public to the true policies and interests of their governments in the Middle East was something comparable to the Pentagon Papers. Alas, he would be denied his wish and only future generations would get an idea of what actually happened and then in any case it would only be of academic interest.

As it is, the whole thing smells of something diabolical. The material on Suez which is already available is enough to make any self-respecting British or French government utterly ashamed of its role in the affair. The extent to which the British government in particular was involved and was prepared to go along with the Israeli designs compelled one British minister in the Eden cabinet, Sir Anthony Nutting, to resign his post. That Macmillan should have insisted that the document should be kept secret for 100 years (instead of the normal 30) obviously shows that there is quite a lot at stake if the document is revealed now.

One of the only remaining possible areas where the document could have a damaging effect is on the role of Egypt and of Nasser. In spite of the West's love-hate relationship with Egypt and Nasser, it just seems possible that Nasser was the darling of the West and his role in or at least his knowledge of the situation before, during and after the so-called 'tri-partite' aggression does not fit him for the role of national hero which rebounded on him as a result of Suez. Nasser consciously hid many facts from the Egyptian people for many years in the aftermath of Suez. It is surprising that up to the beginning of war in 1967, for example, many Egyptians did not know that the Straits of Tiran were opened to Israeli shipping as part of the Suez peace. The Americas and the Soviet's role in the affair might also come in for some reappraisal.

As it is, one just cannot say anything for

certain. Indeed many an onlooker of the Middle East and of diplomacy in general have the uncanny feeling that what appears in the press and in the textbooks represents just the shadowy substance (in so far as shadows can have any substance) of what really goes on. Diplomacy remains one of the most elusive and indeterminate subjects of study. One is often led despite oneself to subscribe to what may be called a conspiratorial view of history which cocksure teachers and writers of textbooks tend to discount either deliberately or because of the absence of documented material.

There are many key areas of recent Middle East history which one is unable to explain properly even with the help of much well-documented material. One such phenomenon is the break-up of the Ottoman Empire and the revolt of the Arabs against the Turks. Small revelations point to the fact that things were not what they seemed. The hero of the Arabs, Lawrence of Arabia, has now been exposed but the Arabs have yet to realise the implications of the fact that the eccentric don was leading them to their doom and was working for the Zionists. And so from individuals, to secret societies and governments, the conspiracy unfolds itself but one can never be sure that the full truth is ever told.

On the specific question of British-Zionist schemes, recent revelations on the Balfour Declaration and the period 1917-22 give "sordid proof" (according to Sir Anthony Nutting) of Britain's crime against Palestine. The State Papers of the period* shows that Britain far from being hoodwinked by the wily Zionists into permitting the creation of a Jewish State by agreeing to a 'national home' for the Jews, was all committed to the creation of such a state and deliberately set out to deceive the Arab majority. From the Papers it is now known that Balfour wrote: "In Palestine we do not propose even to go through the form of consulting the wishes of the present inhabitants of the country. The Four Great Powers (Britain, France, Russia and America) are committed to Zionism. And Zionism . . . is of a profounder import than the desires and prejudices of the 7,000,000 Arabs who now inhabit that ancient land."

Few are the British politicians and men of affairs who have the courage or the sense to see that the revelations of these State Papers are "the most shaming indictments of British foreign policy ever framed" as Nutting has described them. The Suez Papers of the Eden-Macmillan era promises also to be quite shaming. But 100 years is a long time to wait and it might be too late then to learn any lessons

even if there is any inclination so to do. The Palestine Papers have so far not created more than a flutter and there is no discernible rethinking of British policy on the Middle East as a result. So why should Suez be different? For the British apparently there is no beginning of a lesson.

* *Palestine Papers 1917-1922, Seeds of Conflict*, compiled by Doreen Ingrams, John Murray, London 1972.

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Why do young people "tune in" to the Jesus trip? The reasons, of course, are similar to why the members of the dope sub-culture used drugs. Both trips are journeys in the quest for novelty and self-identity. The Jesus Movement provides adolescents with the necessary peers, rituals, creeds and programmes—brothers, speaking in tongues and a source of ideology, the Bible. Approval and affirmation by peers are guaranteed within the movement. The invitation to join the movement plays on the peer group pressure: "Accept Jesus. Don't get left out. Come right on".

THE JESUS COMMUNE

a new turn in
the "unalternative"
revolution

Zia Sardar

It is Sunday night. The chapel is jammed with youth—crowd estimates vary between 1,250 and 1,500. Jeans and hip garb and long hair abound. Approximately four-fifth of the audience is female. Less than one-fifth are over twenty. A 22-year-old lay minister—a former drug user, with flowing robe, long hair and beard—prepares to receive the congregation. A pop group tune their instruments. The congregation joins in informal songs with the group; these mostly revolve around Jesus and his imminent return to earth. The Minister affirms that God desires to heal everything from "warts to cancer". The "flashes" from previous LSD trips can also be cured. One woman testifies that she has been cured of dandruff. "Praise the Lord", says the preacher. Following the singing, testimonies and music groups, a session of Bible reading is held. After this, the Minister, speaking in tongues, gives a sermon, inviting the audience to accept Jesus—"Jesus is alive". Some hundred people come forward to affirm their faith in unison. In the "afterglow" another Bible Study is conducted, after which the Minister invites those who want baptism of the spirit to come forward. A flute player provides an eerie background, he "plays by the Spirit". The Minister moves amongst the

audience, speaking and touching, assisting them to receive the Spirit. 'Smile, Jesus loves you'. Eventually, a cadence of people speaking in babble and singing in tongues intertwines with the tune of the flute. Following the after glow certain individuals remain fixed in apparent hysterical stupor. "Counsellors" help them to "give in" to the Spirit. Some are unable to pull out of their babbling and hysteria.

The Jesus Movement is the new alternative of the "Alternative Culture",* representing an almost violent swing from permissive values and norms to "Christian" morality, from far left to far right, a type of "reaction formation". A great majority in the Jesus Movement have "dropped in" from the old drug sub-culture: the incidence of post-drug use are very high amongst its members. Continuity between the drug and Jesus experiences can be summarised as follows: (a) both are outside the model American life style, both claim to be anti-establishment in their attempts to create alternatives to the American middle-class life style, (b) both are subjective and experimentally oriented, (c) the nature of the religious experience of Jesus Movement is wholly consonant with previously experienced drug highs.

There are, of course, a number of discontinuities. Prime amongst them are attitudes towards drugs, sex and work. A 16-year-old ex-member of the drug sub-culture, after being "born again", i.e. joining the Jesus Movement, related his experiences in these words:

"I am free,| free from the garbage of the world—the kind of stuff that you're a slave to. Jesus said, "Whoever commits sins is a servant of sin". I've quit taking drugs, I have quit getting on the girls—I've changed man!... Don't you understand? I'm free, free, free—all the time and not just for six to eight hours—all the time. I still have problems, but I don't hassle with them, because I'm free".

Leaders of Jesus Movement, being interested in "tuning in" what was left of the followers of the decaying drug sub-culture, adopted the idea of communes as a service-oriented institution. The emphasis of life-style in these communes is on learning to work and live together. There is, however, a rigid separation of male and female quarters, with a strict affirmation of asceticism. Members of the Commune work for local residents and the money earned is handed over to a central treasury. A few deacons are in charge of finance plus the physical and spiritual nature of the house. The leaders deny that there are any rules; emphasis is put on cooperation. The girls do all the cooking, mending, sewing, washing and other household work. Men do outside work. Donations and contributions bridge the gap between the income and expenses of the commune. "The Lord provides!" and "Right on!" are the expressions one hears when matters of finance are raised.

Why do young people "tune in" to the Jesus trip? The reasons, of course, are similar to why

the members of the dope sub-culture used drugs. Both trips are journeys in the quest for novelty and self-identity. The Jesus Movement provides adolescents with the necessary peers, rituals, creeds and programmes—brothers, speaking in tongues and a source of ideology, the Bible. Approval and affirmation by peers are guaranteed within the movement. The invitation to join the movement plays on the peer group pressure: "Accept Jesus. Don't get left out. Come right on". If we accept what Erik Erikson says about the teenage years, that it is a period of identity vs. role-confusion and that the adolescent mind is essentially a mind of *moratorium*, a psycho-sexual stage between childhood and adulthood, it becomes relatively easy to see why so many members of the Jesus Movement are teenage youth—the "Jesus-boppers" or "Jesus-freaks" as some call them.

The teenage mind is also an ideological mind, and the Jesus Movement provides its members with ideology based on personal and internal, for the most part unexplainable, experiences rather than a critical, rational or realistic analysis. Indeed, the ideology is unchallengeable and thereby not available for analysis by the uninitiated.

Politically, the Jesus Movement is a very conservative movement. For example, the *Hollywood Free Paper*, an organ of the movement, routinely attacks the peace movement for Vietnam. *For Real*, another Jesus-oriented paper, which besides the U.S.A., sells in eleven other countries, draws the following conclusion from the Calley War Crimes trial:

"The fact is, too many people are bad. Because people are bad, they must be restrained by force. Because they must be restrained by force, police are necessary. Armies, navies and air forces are necessary. Wars are inevitable. Killing is necessary. That's the real lesson of the William Calley trial".

Pamphlets distributed by the Jesus people are beginning to contain familiar reactionary attacks on one-world government, the ecumenical movements among liberal denominations, and other favourite targets of conservative politicians. The Jesus culture is a basically white movement, with no programme for reaching the non-Whites. In fact, the movement does not believe in attempting to solve the race problem, or improving our decaying cities, or problems of poverty, war and disease—all can be left to God. A new pamphlet says the ecology movement is irrelevant because Jesus is coming soon anyway! As the second coming of Christ is imminent, the only immediacy is that of personal need.

The Jesus trip, like drugs, appears to be used in such a way as to avoid coming to terms with the anxieties related to the identity crises. Rather than developing behaviour oriented towards reality, a Jesus person flies ideational, ideological abstractions to numb his awareness of his newly arisen need and clutches tenaciously to childhood morality with its simplistic black-and-white, right-and-wrong judgements. Clearly, the new turn of the alternative culture movement leads to the same *cul-de-sac* as the earlier ones.

*"The Unalternative Revolution", *Impact* Vol.2:7.

"Before we start I would like to say that I am not an 'alim or a religious leader. I know very little about Islam".—Dato Abdul Rahman bin Ya'kub.

Dato Abdul Rahman, is the Chief Minister of the East Malaysian State of Sarawak and indeed not an 'alim in the traditional sense, yet he is sometimes asked which year did he graduate from Al Azhar? He did not go to the Azhar; he took his degree from the University of Southampton and was called to bar at the Lincoln's Inn. This, however, does not prevent some people from asking his opinion on religious matters. When he was the Federal Minister of Education, one student wrote asking him to suggest a *d'ua* (prayer) to pass the exams.

The whole thing is, of course, part of the Muslim dichotomy: of dividing things between Caesar and Church, and of seeing itself either as a 'secular' or a 'religious' Muslim. Dato Abdul Rahman sees himself as an ordinary Muslim, but we do not seem to be familiar with this type.

Unusually so during these days of unrest and uncertainty among the young, Dato Abdul Rahman was popular among the students when he held the education portfolio at Kuala Lumpur. He feels that he was popular possibly because he did not stay long in the education ministry. But why did he leave? Some suggested he was sent to Sarawak because he was too 'religious' for the education ministry. What sort of priority or preference he had in deciding or accepting to go to Sarawak? Was it more important to wield authority over a State or to be a teacher to the country's young generation?

"My decision to go back to my State was occasioned by the political situation there. Having served in the Federal capital for eight years I had a duty to serve my state as well. There was an urgent need to instil the feeling of Malaysian unity and to bridge the understanding gap between Sarawak and Kuala Lumpur. One even heard such slogans being raised as 'Sarawak for Sarawakians' and this was dangerous. But I saw my duty not just to Sarawak but to Malaysia as a whole and that was to build a strong foundation in Sarawak for a Malaysian consciousness. I feel this is no smaller a role than the one in the education Ministry. I am also confident that the Education Policy which had been laid and is well established is being carried out. At the education ministry my other friends can do much better than I could, but in Sarawak, it would have been difficult for a non-Sarawak politician.

"I continue to take part in the national politics as a member of the Parliament. Some friends told me that if I were to have any chance in the future, I must stay in the Federal cabinet. But to think in such terms is contrary to the Muslim way of thinking. God created us to serve Him. How do you serve God? You serve God by

servicing the mankind. Where ever you are, whether you are a politician, a clerk, a labourer or a farmer, the first thing is your own obligation to serve. There would not be any Prime Minister without a labourer, without a sweeper, without a teacher and so on. One is not big or small that way. It depends on how you acquit yourself of the responsibility entrusted to you.

"The division of society is only functional and superficial because we are created one people. Our duty, therefore, is to treat every one as a member of the human community and to accord him respect, dignity and his place in the society, irrespective of the fact whether he is Chinese, Iban, Dayak, Malay or Melanaus. Whatever may be the colour of one's skin or religion, they all are children of God. We are, therefore, trying to tackle our problems through education. We are working out our way into the national system of education. Myself and my colleagues are also going round, we talk to people, meet teachers and speak to students. These talks and lectures help create nearness and greater understanding. Recently we established a single youth organisation under the Ministry of Youth and Culture. We also believe that to cultivate Malaysian consciousness we have to show by example and not just preach.

"Next to education, we recognise that our greatest enemy is poverty and that is why we decided to travel (to Europe) to see for ourselves, and to discuss how best we can improve our economic situation and the standard of living of our people. We recognise the urgency and the need to bridge the gap between the better off and the less fortunate sections of our society. One should, however, realise that it is a long long struggle. We, therefore, make no false promise. The struggle is continuous and we want the people to participate in this effort. The Qur'an says that man would not have anything except that which he strives for. We must convey this development message to the people. It would be wrong for the people to pass everything on to the government because they have elected it. Our duty is to plan, to find money, to organise things, but in the totality of the development effort everyone must contribute, everyone must participate. Therefore, it would be wrong for us to say don't worry, the government will do everything for you. Our job is to make people realise that they must do their job and it is a hard job."

Are you successful in conveying this message?

"To a very limited extent, yes. Things are better than they were and we are trying to develop and improve communications and the communication media so as to enable people to come nearer to one another"

Where do you place yourself in terms of the development strategy: capitalism or socialism?

It is a question of striking a balance between diversity and mutuality. If we become too doctrinaire and extremist, then there will be trouble. It is human for the Chinese to think of themselves as Chinese, the Malays to think of themselves as Malays, and for each one to have a sense of pride in their culture, in their traditions, besides the object is not to create a monotype".

POLITICS OF THE UNGLAMOUR

Impact interview with Dato Abdul Rahman, Chief Minister, Sarawak



Dato Haji Abdul Rahman bin Ya'kub, P.N.B.S.

"We are very pragmatic. I don't think the difference between the two is really as hard and rigid as is made out in the theory. There are many countries in the West which follow the socialist strategy and similarly many communist countries are trying to apply capitalist strategy of development and organisation. I think it is wrong to be too doctrinaire, particularly when the strategy must change from time to time according to the circumstances, according to the financial resources, according to the social priorities. One only has to think most dispassionately and sincerely as to what is the most suitable strategy in a particular situation.

"As I said, we are very pragmatic. In agriculture, for example, if we went in for total mechanisation we will throw so many people out of employment. So we have to correspond mechanisation with the level of the people's education and see that it does not produce unemployment. I think development is to be looked not from the point of view of material comfort

alone, development should incorporate the material as well as the spiritual.”

Is that part of the strategy, the part dealing with social and spiritual development also pragmatic?

“Social values as far as the standards are concerned are not pragmatic, but the strategy is pragmatic, because it has to correspond with the people’s level and this varies.”

On pragmatic view how do you decide on the question of ownership? Whether it should be state ownership, communal ownership, individual ownership or . . .

“Depends on what we want to achieve in a given situation. For example in our situation if we leave the question of land development to private owners, certainly there is no chance. So here the government must take upon itself the task of development. Now after development you could give the ownership back to the previous owners, but we came across cases in which the developed land was sold. Therefore we decided to give them a share in the ownership of the land. This concept of shared ownership will be extended to the industrial sector as well.”

Dato Abdul Rahman went on to explain the great degree of autonomy that Sarawak enjoys in matters of planning and others. “Sarawak”, he said “is one of the richest states in Malaysia and so we do not have the sort of problems that arise in connection with funds and Federal grants”. Our understanding with Kuala Lumpur is nearly complete, so we do not expect any great difficulty in getting the Federal Government’s approval to our Development Plan. Sarawak, is the first State to set up a planning unit and there is consultation and coordination with Kuala Lumpur.

“Sarawak enjoys more powers than many other states. We have got immigration; education is run by us, development, many others. It is due to the distance but also because of the sincerity of the Federal leaders. When you have sincerity and understanding, you do not think in terms of quotas, allocations and quantum of autonomy etc. Before we joined West Malaysia we expected to be given 16 seats in the Federal legislature because Sarawak had only few hundred thousands population, but we got 24. Tunku Abdul Rahman said Sarawak is so big in area and it would not be fair to base the number of seats strictly on the basis of population”.

The central question in Malaysia is, however, that of the Malaysian personality. That is Malaysian as distinct from Malay, because Malay is synonymous with Muslim. So what pattern of relationship they see between the various ethnic groups, the Chinese, Dayaks, Ibans, Kedazans, Tamils, Malays and others?

“I think we have first to identify ourselves as Malaysians and then with the community one belongs to. Given time we will be able to create and inculcate

through education the feeling of a Malaysian nationhood. We must not, of course, expect that this can be achieved in the next ten, twenty or even fifty years. It would take many more years. I think the most important thing to consider is the Islamic concept of brotherhood, only through following this can we create a true brotherhood of man. Meanwhile there may be problems here and there. Despite the unfortunate riots in 1969, I think we in Malaysia have a good record of tolerance and fellowship. The conflicts and tensions in other countries are more serious. We learnt a lot from those incidents and people now realise that to live together one must make some sacrifice. You cannot, for example, expect the Chinese to give everything to the Malays or vice versa.

It is a question of striking a balance between diversity and mutuality. If we become too doctrinaire, and extremist, then there will be trouble. It is human for the Chinese to think of themselves as Chinese, the Malays Chinese, the Malays to think of themselves as Malays, and for each one to have a sense of pride in their culture, in their traditions; besides the object is not to create a monotype”.

If one could understand your way of thinking you regard Islam as a sort of natural solution to the problem, the problem of the racial conflict in Malaysia?

“It is not just that, Islam is the ideology and a certain solution for all the problems of the human society”.

So isn’t it there an anomalous situation? While your Constitution lays down Islam to be the State religion, the State to all intents and purpose is a nation state, is a secular state.

“It is not quite secular, it is a nation state in the modern sense, but this is the international situation today. My views may not be shared by others, but the object is to identify a community, a national community. However it is our belief that the mankind is one. So there is no real conflict between the nation state and the Islamic ideology. Achieving Islamic standards is of course, a continuous and life-long striving”.

What does it mean in practical terms? How far the two, nation state and Islam as the State religion go together?

“Malaysia is a nation state in the international sense, in the sense that this is the identity or personality of the state. As for Islam being the State religion it enables the government to allocate funds for Islamic causes. For example, we can fund a university or a college which teaches Islam. The proceeding of the Parliament commence and end with recitation from the Qur’an. Personally I look at it like this: it took 23 years for our *Rasool*, may the blessings of God be upon him, to receive the complete code of life from God. That came from God Himself.” So do you want to go back and to start afresh? “What I mean is that there has to be a graduality in our work. There is no short

cut to anything. If you want to serve God, you have to keep on striving”.

You said that you regard Islam as the ideology, but the ideology in Malysia is Rukun Negara. How do you reconcile the two? Rukun Negara, as one understands, is belief in God; loyalty to the King, country, law and constitution; and good moral conduct. Do you think these provide an adequate basis for national integration? Isn’t it so vague and so transient? You ask people to uphold the Constitution, but the Constitution is amendable, the politicians are working and agitating to amend the Constitution. The law again is alterable. And you are the law-maker, you are the legislature. It could be argued that even the god of Rukun Negara is not the One God. In effect it is a non-diety.

“Naturally any effort at defining these things cannot satisfy each and every section of thinking, but it is a sincere and an enabling measure. To me national integration does not mean that the Chinese must be hundred per cent like the Malays. National integration means the feeling of having a common cause. During confrontation with Indonesia, there were Chinese who died along with the Malays defending their country. National integration does not mean that everybody should agree with everybody else. That is not possible, even in a homogeneous society.”

How do you rate Rukun Negara in terms of its quality, its appeal to the national genius. For example, why should a person accept Rukun Negara in preference to say, socialism?

“Let him be a socialist, if he wants to. Islam is the State religion, it cannot be otherwise. Whether or not people believe or would not believe is a practical question. It would depend upon the individual himself. God has said clearly that there is no compulsion in religion. You can’t force religion on people”.

These are two different situations. When God says there is no compulsion in religion the religion He gives is logical, is plausible and is practical. Though it has all the qualities, yet one is not compelled. Now if we are trying to give a national ideology which in a way replaces all other ideologies, then it should be equally logical and plausible.

Rukun Negara, on the contrary, looks rather vague; it does not peg the human mind on to something definite, cogent and definable; it does not create any social discipline. It does not provide any point of reference. Would you agree?

“It can’t because, you see, it is created by us, by human beings. Unless you are going to write a text book on national ideology you can only spell out the general outlines, for example the belief in God. It is true that a constitution can be changed, but it should be changed in accordance with the Constitution itself.”

Continued on Page 13

Pakistan Letter

Discussing the failure of Islam

Ahmad Lasi

The electoral set-back to the Islamic platform in the 1970 elections and the subsequent break-up of Pakistan have created doubts in the minds of the country's intellectuals as to the role and value of Islam in maintaining national solidarity. Some feel that, a society can perhaps be built and sustained on something other than Islam. People could also hold together on the basis of economic mutuality which is already there. It is argued that there are Muslim countries which are not Islamic, they are secular, and they not only survive they are quite stable and viable. Why not Pakistan?

Such doubts have been openly expressed. Besides there are strong political groups which are committed to secularism. There is a group of journalists well entrenched in both the official and the private media who would forsake no opportunity to devalue Islam as a socio-political system and recommend the Bangladesh blueprint—Nationalism, Socialism and Secularism—for copying by Pakistan.

To discuss the role of Islam and the related aspects of national integration in Pakistan, a panel discussion was held recently in Karachi, to which were invited the country's four prominent intellectuals: Kemal A. Faruki, a constitutional lawyer and a writer on Pakistan Affairs; Khalid Ishaque, also a prominent lawyer and a former Advocate General of West Pakistan; Dr. Manzooruddin Ahmad, Head of the Department of Political Science, University of Karachi and Dr. Anwar Siddiqui, Chief Instructor, National Institute of Public Administration, Karachi.

Kemal Faruki opened by saying that the fundamental question is whether the basis of the unity of Pakistan is Islam or something else. He said he did not understand what this "something else" was. The protagonists of this elusive "something else", he said, should be coherent as well as consistent. To start with they deny a role to Islam but within next five minutes one finds the word "Muslim" cropping up in their discourse.

Faruki referred to the efforts in the Ottoman State to substitute Islam with that "something else". The first Ottoman State was set up in 1326 and from 1500

onwards, it was predominantly based on the Islamic polity. The definition in the Ottoman State was between Muslim and non-Muslim. It worked well because it was realistic: you cannot classify a non-Muslim as a Muslim or vice-versa. Islam does not divide people into castes, races, or classes, it leaves them free to decide on their label. The Ottomans had no doubt that the integrity of the State depended on their ability to hold the Muslims together. In the 19th century, in seeking support against the Russian threat, they got themselves hopelessly in debt to the Swiss and various other Jewish banking houses, and thus became heavily dependent upon the Western diplomatic and financial aid. The new Western friends told them that it was very difficult to help because the Ottoman image in the West was that of fanatical Muslims. So they should be liberal and progressive. From then on one can discover an emphasis on the Ottoman instead of the Muslim identity, and a relative devaluation of Islam in other spheres of life. While this did not improve the loyalty of the non-Muslims because the revolt of the Bulgarians, Rumanians and Serbs continued, but the bonds between the Albanian, Kurd, Arab, Turkish and Bosnian Muslims got progressively weakened. The more the Ottomans tried to solve their difficulties by becoming more "secular", the more they came to face secessionism in the provinces. Secularisation culminated in the Arab revolt of 1916.

Faruki said this is exactly what is happening in Pakistan. In order to look more acceptable to the World Bank, to the Aid Consortiums, and to the "civilised" community, Pakistan's Islamic basis was played down and so we got our provincial problems. The break-away of East Pakistan is historically almost an exact parallel to the Arab exit from the Ottoman State in 1916. The moral of the story, Faruki concluded is that if we thought that they would like us more if we became less overtly Muslim, we were deceiving ourselves.

Khalid M. Ishaque put his fingers on "secular philosophy of prosperity" as being the most important factor in the emergence of regionalism in Pakistan. Most politicians pandered the electorate by promising that if only they came to power, everybody would become rich and affluent. While expectations so raised could not be matched with the resources available, the craze for affluence knew no limits. Our development ideology laid a great stress upon prosperity but, few realised that prosperity can be meaningful only when it is shared with others and there cannot be individual prosperity amidst a sea of poverty. A great part in the East Pakistan tragedy was played by the commonly held feeling of exploitation by the West Pakistani businessmen. In Sind too the best lands in the Guddu Barrage have been given to a privileged few mostly from outside Sind, but the

poor agriculturalist could not benefit from the 600,000 acres brought under irrigation in his province. Pakistan, thus, has become secular in a very evil sense. Everyone is building a fortune for himself quite unmindful of the consequence to the country and to his own personal or family interest.

Khalid Ishaque said had we looked at Islam, we would have found that there is more emphasis upon the obligations of a believer than upon his rights. The right that the Qur'an speaks of, is that of the needy or the deprived. So far as believers are concerned, it is their obligation to put their lives and resources entirely at the service of God, and seek any recompense from none but Him. We did not see Islam in this light and consequently we had an explosion of selfishness and opportunism. West Pakistan was broken into four provinces because there was injustice under one Unit. But even two years since after we do not find a more prosperous and a just society because one set of unjust people have been replaced by another. "We have to go back to the fundamental bases of our loyalty and our personality. All the time you speak of a modern secular state but when there is war, you start talking about *Shahadat*, sacrifice, jihad etc. because the community's loyalties emanate from Islam and nothing but Islam would move or mobilise them."

Dr. Manzooruddin focussed on the role of education, democracy and federalism in building a political system which can be sustained in the years to come and ensure cohesion and unity.

Education, Dr. Manzooruddin said, would be as an instrument of political socialisation. Through education, we can cultivate a national political culture and a general increase in the level of literacy will create a definite harmony among the people. The education should be ideologically oriented, and here we must cultivate a kind of mass commitment to the broad principles of Islam which are liberal.

Dr. Manzooruddin said, democracy, has the inherent quality of creating a general consensus and a consequent integration. He said that all along, our political system had been colonial and viceregal in character; military rule sapped the will of the people to live together. If we now want to reinforce the weakened togetherness then there is no way other than through democracy. This coupled with federalism will promote a rational synthesis between regionalism and nationalism.

Dr. Anwar Siddiqui agreed that Islam was not implemented in Pakistan, so if the country disintegrated it was none of Islam's fault or failing. But in our romantic zeal we made Islam synonymous with a strong centralized government. If someone articulated the legitimate demands of a province or a region in terms of language or economic interests, he should not be taken as being against Islam or Pakistan.

Books

Antique Islam

The Religion of Islam, by Rev. F. A. Klein, Curzon Press, London. 241 pages. £3.00

This is the photographic reproduction of an old book first published in 1906. In his biographical note, the editor recalls that the author went, in the latter part of the last century, to Palestine, then to Egypt where he studied Islamic law and religion, and then back to Germany where he wrote this book.

It has five chapters dealing with sources, dogmas, dissensions among Muslims on the question of politics (Imamate), and a resumé of Muslim law books (on cult, on contracts of all kinds, and on penalties).

There is nothing particularly remarkable, yet it is rather cumbersome and does not offer easy reading. Practically every line has Arabic citations, which does show the author's knowledge of Arabic without helping the curious reader.

On p. 3, he affirms that the Soora (or chapter of the Quran (has a Hebrew origin. Arabic and Hebrew being of the same semetic family of languages, no member of the family requires to borrow from another member. Of course the author does not seem to be aware of the deep mystical significance of the terms employed for the division of the parts of the Quran, *Manzil*, *Soora* and *Aaya*. *Manzil* in Arabic means a station where the traveller alights for passing the night; *Soora* means a walled room, and *Aaya* means a bed. The Believer travels on the path leading to God, by means of His own direction and indications. The journey is limitless, yet it is a journey, requiring *stations*, *rooms* and *beds*. The Quran has seven manzils. As the time is divided into seven days which recur and repeat, the number seven implies eternity, for this eternal and endless journey towards the Lord.

On the same page, Klein asserts that naming the Sooras with some catch words, like Cow, Family of Imran etc., "is no doubt in imitation of the custom of the Jews". No doubt the naming of the Parts (*juz*), like *Aliflaammeem*, *Sayaqool* etc. resemble names of the parts of the Pentateuch, which take the first word of the Book for its name, but names of the Quranic Sooras are not the first words of the chapters. *Soora*, here has been confused with *juz*.

On page 11, note, there is a misleading and baseless statement: Zaid ibn Thaabit "in putting together the portions of the Quran, he in general followed the original from which he copied, but occasionally added verses to a longer Chapter, or

portion, without regard to sense and connection". (Italics mine). Zaid did nothing of this sort, he preserved the form inherited from the Prophet. If the author was unable to understand the sense or sequence of some portion, it does not mean that it is really so.

On p. 12 "mistake" is said to be the translation of the Arabic word *hanan*. The original had *lahn* (not *han*) which means bad spelling based on a colloquial form.

P. 13, the name Mu'aadh (ibn Jabal) is mis-spelt as Ma'az a vocalised Arabic transcription in brackets shows that it is not a misprint.

P. 15, the Arabic word *Aamanoo* lacks the final *alif* of plural.

P. 70, there is a baseless assertion that the Quran speaks of the death of Christ before his ascension to heaven.

P. 95 the Arabic word 'Ainee is wrong, it should be 'Ainun. Similarly on p. 97, *wal-ladhaani* has no sense in the context; some *lapsus calami*.

A revised edition, (revised by a Muslim, preferably) would have been more useful than a mere photographic reproduction. The book, however, reflects on the Western understanding of Islam, early this century.

A. M. Nuruddin

Islam, resilience and continuity

Saviours of Islamic Spirit Vol. 1 by Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi rendered into English by Mohiuddin Ahmad, *Academy of Islamic Research and Publications*, Lucknow, 419 pages. Rs. 25.00

The author, Abul Hasan Ali al-Nadwi, a well-known Muslim scholar of India, published this important book in 1955 in Urdu entitled "*Ta'rikh Da'wat wa 'Azimat*" While the Arabic translation of the book underwent three editions, its English translation could come out only in 1971. It is therefore, all the more welcome.

The book seeks to present an account of the efforts made during the first seven centuries of the Islamic history by focussing on the life and work of some of the most outstanding individuals who stood up against the onslaught of alien and corrupting philosophies and ideologies and launched a counter-movement towards the *tajdeed* (renovation) of the Muslim society. The present volume includes: the Caliph 'Umr b. 'Abd al-Aziz (d.101/719), Hasan al-Basri (d. 110/728), Ahmad b. Hanbal (d. 241/855), Abu'l-Hasan al-Ash'ari (d. 324/935), al-Ghazali (d. 505/1111), 'Abd al-Qadir Jilani (d. 561/1165), Ibn al-Jawzi (d. 597/1200), Salah al-Din Ayyubi (d/589/1193), Shaikh al-Islam 'Izz al-Din (d. 660/1261) and Jalal al-Din Rumi (d. 672/1273).

The author has promised to discuss the achievements of Imam Ibn Taymiya in the second volume and the attainments of

Indian luminaries in the third and fourth volumes.

The study should remove the misconceived notion among a number of Muslims and others that the attempts for the renovation and regeneration of the Islamic faith lacked in coherence and continuity. Mawlana Nadwi shows that there is no gap at all in the intellectual history of Islam; it is only the presentation of this history that needs to be attended to. Mawlana Nadwi, on his part has tried to portray the 'medieval' Muslim society with objectivity and precision. In this he recounts the failings, falterings, deviations and corruptions on the one side and the true merit of the work of these scholars, jurists, philosophers and soldiers on the other who have played a crucial role in revitalising the intellectual, cultural and academic life of the Muslims.

In trying to obtain a true perspective of the situation, the author has drawn extensively from the contemporary records and sources. This adds greatly to the value of this great work. However, reference to the original sources at some places seemed insufficient and sometimes a single source has been too heavily relied upon. It might be argued that more names could be added to the ten presented in this resumé. At least one name—among scores—deserves special mention: the 14th Abbasid Caliph al-Muhtadi bi'llah (255/869 to 256/870). When he came to power he found the condition of the Abbasid court and society worse than that which Umar II had found the Umayyads only half a century earlier. The situation now was more unfavourable to initiate any reform—the bureaucracy was hostile, Turkish ascendancy was unyielding and the public morality was on the decline. Despite all these, and stubborn oppositions Muhtadi acted in the same manner as Umar II. Singing girls and musicians were expelled and games of pleasure and luxury banned. Justice was dispensed daily and in an open court; wine and gambling prohibited and the expenses of the 'royal court' drastically cut. To initiate economic and political reforms al-Muhtadi requested the famous scholar al-Khassaf to compile a study which he did and named "*Kitab al-Kharaj*". The forces and interests affected by these reforms conspired against him and within one year he was secretly murdered.

The translator has added a bibliography, glossary and an index. A little more precise explanation of some religious and technical terms seem necessary. 'Din' for example, has been translated merely as "religion". Similarly *masah*, *li'an*, *nabidh*, *sunni*—to cite only a few—are inadequately described and elucidated. The method of transliteration is not consistent and at some places incorrect. It would also have been useful to put the Christian dates alongside the Hijrah.

M. Jilani

Briefing

World Politics by Thomas N. Franck and Edward Weisband, *OUP*, £2.70 (Paper 90p).

In 1954, the US intervened in Guatemala to restore the *status quo* and by sending the expatriate troops from Nicaragua and the explanation "forwarded" was that "the domination or control of the political institutions of any American State by the international Communist movement (constituted) a threat to the sovereignty and political independence of the American States" and endangered "the peace of America". About the same arguments were advanced in justification of the abortive 'Bay of Pigs' invasion of Cuba in 1962. When Russia intervened in Hungary in 1956, and in Czechoslovakia in 1968, the language of the argument was identical. Brezhnev's doctrine of limited sovereignty appears to be a copy of the US statements in 1965 in regard to the Dominican Republic. No coincidence, because the language of imperialism has always been the same.

The authors present a study of the verbal "strategy among the super-powers", that is not on the merits of the issue involved but as to how it is made out in verbs and words. The cases examined relate to three American and one Russian intervention:

Guatemala, 1954; Cuba 1961; Dominican Republic, 1965; and Czechoslovakia, 1968.

The authors see the super-powers, Russia and the U.S.A., moving from the present "two-ghetto" world model to a system where the ghetto-states themselves may be permitted a "greater expression of national individuality" within the limits prescribed by the respective ghetto Chief. In the existing "two-ghetto" system, the world is divided between the super-powers and each ghetto Chief enjoys the freedom to act within its preserve. Cuba and Czechoslovakia were instances where the one tried to probe into the other Powers' ghetto, but prudently withdrew.

Amin by Judith Listowel, *Irish University Press*, £2.25.

On January 25, 1971, Major-General Idi Amin Dada announced on the Uganda Radio that "the men of the Ugandan Armed Forces have placed this country in my hands by entrusting me with its government". He said he was "not a politician but a professional soldier", but "matters now prevailing in Uganda forced me, however, to accept the task... on the understanding that mine will be a caretaker administration". "Given a stable security situation", he promised, "free and fair elections will soon be held". Judith Listowel's story shows that the overthrow of Obote was not planned by Amin. He had quarrelled no doubt with Obote, before the latter's departure for the Commonwealth Conference in Singapore but when approached by the NCO's at Jinga barracks, he was reluctant. He eventually agreed to take over because otherwise, "he would have been shot". He was, therefore, speaking the truth when he said on the radio that "the Ugandan Armed Forces have placed this country in my hands".

Who gave the revolutionary idea to the Armed Forces? Miss Judith's story does not tell. It is said that the NCO's resented Obote's socialism, its corruption and its hypocrisies, but that was in no way exceptional or exclusive to the Ugandan situation. It is narrated, however, that the officers were provoked to act in self-defence because of the fortunate disclosure of Obote's plan to arrest and kill Amin and his supporters. A day earlier, on 24 January 1971, Obote rang from Singapore and told his confidante, Lt.-Col. David Oyile-Ojok to arrest and finish off Idi Amin and his henchmen. By a fateful coincidence, the call was put through not by the duty operator but by Sergeant-Major Mussa, a fellow-Kakwa tribesman, who not only connected the call but took the unusual step of

listening in. From then on the revolution was on course, although it seems clear enough Amin was not quite prepared to accept the story.

However, once in saddle, this former "grass hut" peasant boy, with a good record in the King's African Rifles, and a later Commando trainee in Israel, seems now to have astounded all those who helped bring him to power. For nine years, Uganda's light heavyweight boxer, General Amin has set his own style in punch and pugnacity in the contemporary African politics.

Napoleon to Nasser by Raymond Flower, *Tom Stacey*, £3.50.

Egypt's last 154 years are marked by two epoch-making events: the invasion by Napoleon in 1798 and the inauguration of the Nasser era in July 1952. Raymond Flower provides a chatty history of these fateful years which began with Napoleon and culminated in Gamal Abdel Nasser. What is needed, however, is an analytical and detached study of interactions between the diverse European ambitions and diffuse Egyptian aspirations. As it is, the rise of Muhammad Ali, the building of the Suez Canal, the revolt of Arabi Pasha and the British occupation, all these look no different than many subsequent events: the building of the Aswan dam, the revolt of the Muslim Brethren, and the visitations of the Israelis and the Russians. Where would Nasser be placed it is rather early to pronounce, and it is not the book's subject matter. Flower, tells an interesting story: The "Ramses" car usually described as "Made in Egypt" was only assembled in Egypt from components actually "made in Europe". Not a disclosure, it tells more on the modern Egyptian personality than its technological under-development.

The author's own *post-facto* evaluation on Nasser is uncomplimentary: A debilitated economy, humiliated army, reduced national territories, government by decree, and above all "the enemy at the door". Opinion within Egypt itself remains a paradox, and it is there in the person of the Egyptian agricultural student who if he had a chance would "personally" have shot Nasser but when he heard of Gamal's death, he cried.

The Affair of Gabrielle Russier by Malvis Gallant and Raymond Jean, *Gollancz*, £2.25.

The importance of an "affair" lies no more in its being an "affair", neither in its underlying causes nor the social lessons that it carries; the importance lies in its value as a social porn. Gabrielle's story is tragic but not usual. A 32-year French school teacher, she committed suicide because of the social stigma of having been awarded a suspended sentence for seducing her own pupil, Christian Rossi, technically a minor but big and mature beyond his 16 years. Miss Russier, a failed wife, an unloving mother to her twin children and a divorcee, could not understand it all. The French literature abounds in themes glorifying passionate affairs between young boys and older women and the society is known to extoll it. Besides no one in the West anymore frowns on relation outside marriage, in fact on sexual relation of any kind. The pity of it all is that both Miss Russier and the boy Christian Rossi in spite of their being active leftist were able to draw no sympathy from Rossi's Marxist parents. It is Rossi's Communist parents who exploited the bourgeois legal system and got her charged with *détournement d'un mineur*—inciting a minor to leave home. Miss Russier wrote in agony: "I have fallen into the hole, into emptiness... help me... I have been crushed".

How can you help thousands and millions of other Gabrielle's who must suffer the agony of loving and not marrying or marrying and not loving? The ever modern social engineers who really pushed the Gabrielles and Christians into a bottomless hole, should know better.

Challenging Years, by Karl Winnacker, *Sidgwick & Jackson*, £4.00.

Story of a German research Chemist, Prof. Karl Winnacker, who rose from dyestuffs laboratory to divisional directorship of the famous I.G. Farbenindustrie, dismissed by the Allied Forces at the age of 42 to total obscurity with a couple of post-war years as a market gardener, then rose once again to the top of the third-largest chemical company in the world, Hoechst.

Soviet Orientalist Work on Iran

● Some 20 research staff are presently engaged in studying Iranian history and economy at the Iranian Department of the Russian Oriental Institute. One of the important works being published is on Russo-Iranian relations in the 16th and 17th centuries by P. Bushev. Other studies in hand: Emergence of Capitalism in Iran by Nina Kutznetsova; Iran's relations with West Europe during late 19th and early 20th century by Ludmilla; Historical Science in Iran during the struggle for Constitution; and Problems in Iranian Education and Training by Yelena Toroshenko. A large team is engaged on preparing "Papers on Modern Iranian History". A guide book, "Iran" has already been prepared and another book "Modern Iranian History" of the past 50 years is being published.

● The social Development Centre at Quba is to publish a 10-page bulletin on the historical ruins in Medina district.

The India We Left by Humphrey Trevelyan *Macmillan*, £3.95. (Memories of the raj: mid 18th century by the author's great grand uncle, Sir Charles Edward Trevelyan, who served as Governor of Madras plus Humphrey's own from 1927-1947 as political officer under the last viceroy).

Israel and the Prophecies of the Holy Qur'an by

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SIRAJ PUBLICATIONS

17 Broadstairs Rd., Leckwith, Cardiff CF1 8DE, Wales, U.K.

Mission with Mountbatten by Alan Campbell Johnson, *Robert Hale*, £3.50. (Reissue of an earlier edition, provides glimpses of the British mind and attitude towards the Indian subcontinent particularly the Muslim demand for Pakistan and self-determination).

Pakistan Cut to Size by D. R. Mankekar, *Indian Book Co.*, Rs.24.50 (Mankekar, former editor of *The Times of India* and *The Indian Express* covered India's 14-day "liberation War" in East Pakistan as a war correspondent and claims to give a graphic account of the "first-hand experiences of the ground, sea and air battles fought by our gallant heroes").

Communism in Indian Politics by Bhabhani Sen Gupta, *Columbia University Press*, £7.25 (Paper £2.35).

Rural Politics and Social Change in the Middle East, Edited by Richard Antoun and Iliya Harik, *Indiana*, £6.20 (Essays on modernisation and politics of social change in the developing M.E.).

The Russian Revolution of February 1917 by Marc Ferro, translated by J. L. Richards, *Routledge and Kegan Paul*, £4.95 (Published originally in French, it is a useful history of the Petersburg revolution when the Tsar abdicated and Lenin and Trotsky were sent in by the Germans in a sealed train).

Racism in U.S. Imperialism by Rubin Weston, *University of South Carolina Press*, cloth \$6.95, Paper \$2.25 (Setting forth the racial influences and assumptions in the American foreign policy during 1893-1946).

Europe Our Europe by David Spanier, *Secker & Warburg*, £1.95.

Europe in the Twentieth Century by George Lichtheim, *Weidenfeld & Nicolson*, £4.50.

Diplomacy and Persuasion: How Britain Joined the Common Market by Uwe Kitzinger, *Thames & Hudson*, £2.75.

Eurologo: The Language for Europe by Leslie Jones, *Oriel Press*, £1.00.

A Guide to the Sources of British Military History, Edited by Robin Higham, *Routledge*, £9.50.

A Critical Dictionary of Psycho-analysis by Charles Rycroft, *Penguin*, 35p.

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Letters

The New Missionaries

I read your article on "The New Missionaries" (*Impact*, Vol. 2:13) and wondered if you approved of what was said about Christian Aid?
ARIFFIN SUHAIMI

The University, Reading

Muslim Indians and Indian Pluralism

I was shocked to read the misleading and self-contradictory article "Muslim Indians and Indian Pluralism" (*Impact*, Vol. 2:12) by Dr. M. N. Siddiqui. Since you do not mention in the foot-note or elsewhere whether you agree or not with the views expressed by the writer, the reader is left to draw his own conclusions. I think you have shown favour to the writer at the cost of *Impact*.

Dr. Siddiqui assumes that the Hindu elite is prepared to concede freedom to the non-Hindus in areas as are not commonly shared viz. religion, culture and language. But one is really intrigued as to what prevented them from doing so. Is it only the Muslim withdrawal from common politics that prevents them? It is arguable whether in face of the never-ending waves of killing, persecution and deprivation, the Muslim response could have been otherwise. However, Dr. Siddique's reading of the elite Hindu mind seems to overlook the realities of India's contemporary and recent history. Leave aside the Muslim experience, why not have a look at situation of those whom Mr. Gandhi euphemistically named *Harijans*, the children of god. Even a quarter century after independence, "the children of god" stay untouchable. And they are the majority community in what is claimed to be the world's biggest democracy.

There is nothing new in Dr. Siddiqui's recipe, and I do not know what the "Jamaat-e-Islami Hind" hope to achieve during 1972-76 as envisaged under clause 4 of their policy and programme quoted by the author.

A. F. KHAN

London W.8

The Pushtunistan Question

Having brought about the dismemberment of Pakistan, Russia now aims at creating a new State of "Pushtunistan" in the West of the Subcontinent. The object ostensibly is to have a new satellite State which would help the Russians reach the warm waters of the Indian Ocean without taking a long detour through the Cape or even Suez if it ever happens to be re-opened.

The Afghan foreign minister raised the "question" during the recent session of the U.N. General Assembly. The Afghan leadership seems oblivious of the implications of an ethnic re-carving of the region. Their own 17 million population consists of 12 million non-Pushtuns. Would she like the various non-Pushtun chunks going over to Iran or to the Central Asian republics presently under Russian and Chinese subjugation?

Of all the multinational States that need re-carving, surely the Russian Empire itself needed to be rationalised where 55 per cent Russians are ruthlessly exploiting 45 per cent non-Russians: their culture, their wealth and their resources.

SYED JA'AFAR HUSSAINI

London N.4

ZAKAT PAYMENT GUIDE

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NEWSMEDIA BOOK SERVICE

Politics of the unglamour from page 9

In Malaysia, the Muslims happen to be in a numerical majority, do you see this as imposing upon them any special responsibility vis a vis the non-Muslims?

"Muslims whether in a minority or a majority have a duty towards God and this obligates them to serve mankind".

It is our duty as Muslims to go and tell others. This is a life-long and continuous striving and we look to it like that. Our children and their children and their children's children would continue in this effort . . . The progress? It is not startling, but I am one of those who don't believe in the glamorous way of tackling problems. I for example would prefer to earn £10 tomorrow and retain it than earn £100 today and lose it. We go to two or three people, try to convey to them the message of Islam and let them understand, rather than to organise big shows with everybody clapping and thinking that this is a great success. Islamic work is not measured in terms of time. We have got to think of many, many, more years to come. What is not considered successful today, would be successful tomorrow. It is natural to look for success in the sense of achieving it today instead of tomorrow, but I don't look at success that way. I look to it as my duty to God. Success or failure in the immediate sense is immaterial.

"The problems indeed are many, to find money, to find the right type of people who are able to convey, to invite and not to detract. PERKIM is conducting courses at Masjid Negara to prepare Islamic workers. There is, of course, room for improvement, for example if the Malays want to convey Islam to the Chinese then they must study the Chinese language. But not many have done that. For example the Chinese farmers, the old ones, had very little contact with Muslims. People should be able to sit down and talk to them at their level, in their language".

Are you trying to make sure that there is no situation of compulsion for a person to become a Muslim? There are no over-zealous people who would rather force or buy a person's soul than convince him or leave him free?

"No, I am very pleased to say that that does not happen in Malaysia. It has not happened. Whether it will happen in future, I cannot say, but so far it hasn't. Tunku Abdur Rahman was one of those who tried his very best to propagate Islam, but he made no promise whatsoever in order to lure people into Islam. If you try to buy a person's soul, then that is not the way of Islam. It is the duty of every individual Muslim to integrate Islam in his whole life. It cannot be that one moment you say Islam is very good and the next moment your behaviour contradicts it. People should have the opportunity of identifying Islam with our normal behaviour. That is the natural way."

PEOPLE

Francis James, Australian journalist imprisoned by China for spying deported. **Gen. G. J. Bewoor**, India's new Army Chief. **Vice-Admiral S. N. Kohli**, India's New Navy Chief, from March. **Dr. M. A. Sattar**, New Secretary Bangladesh's Planning Ministry. **Yasir Arafat** elected PLO Executive Committee Chairman. **Yacov Tsur**, 66, strong favourite to succeed Israeli President **Shazar**. **Fakhruddin Ali Ahmad** India's Agriculture Minister removed due for shunting. **Dr. H. K. Mahtab** ex-C.M., Orissa, resigned from Orissa Congress Party. Four years RI to **Prof. Yusuf Ali** and life sentence to **A. K. M. Mosharrif Hussain**, Minister in **Dr. A. M. Malik's** cabinet under Bangladesh Collaborator Order. **Dr. Zhores Medvedev**, Russian geneticist declared insane in 1970 arrived to work at Britain's National Institute for Medical Research. **Order of Lenin** to **Nazar Makhtarimovich Matchanov**. **Rabita** Secretary-General **Shaikh Saleh Gazzaz** and **Shaikh Ahmad Algazzawi** presented King Abdul Aziz University Medal of Distinction. **Ibrahim Al-Angary**, Saudi Arabian Information Minister appointed member of the National Security Council. **Shaikh Khaled Mohamed Al-Qusabi** appointed Deputy Governor, Saudi Arabian Monetary Agency.

VISITS

Mrs. Meir to Paris, Vatican & Geneva; Washington later. **Afghan Defence Minister, Gen. Khan Muhammad** to Moscow. **Pakistan Army Chief Gen. Tikka Khan** on goodwill mission to China. **T. K. Ghose** West Bengal Trade Minister to Bangladesh. **Brazil FM Barboza** to Israel, early Feb. **al-Ahram** Editor **Haykal** to Peking. **Polish Premier Jaroszewicz** to India. Chinese acrobats and scientists to USA; Acrobats also to Sudan, Ethiopia and other African States. **West German Technology Minister Dr. Ehmke** to Indonesia. **President Franjeh** to Saudi Arabia in March. **Indian President Giri** to Malaysia from 5 March. **President Kaunda** to India. **Australian Premier Whitlam** to Indonesia, 20-23 Feb. **Princess Beatrix** of Netherlands to Ivory Coast. **President Pompidou** to Djibouti and Ethiopia. **CPSU Secretary Brezhnev** to W. Germany, this year. **Moroccan FM Binhima** to Tunis, 8-11 Jan. **French Communist Youth** delegation to Syria. **Iranian FM Khalatbari** to Pakistan. **Shah of Iran** to Pakistan. **Zaire President Mobutu** to China and India.

Dr. Kamal Hussain Bangladesh Law Minister to London. **Turkish FM Bayulcen** to Pakistan. **Moroccan FM Ahmad Binhima** to USSR, end January. **Syrian FM Khaddam** to Tunis.

FOR HAJJ

Maulana Kausar Niazi, Pakistan Minister of Information. **Dr. A. Halim Mahmood** Egyptian Minister of Auqaf, **Shaikh Al-Tayeb** advisor to Chad President. **Yusef ben Khedda** former President of Algeria. **Tun Tuanku Puja**, Sarawak governor. **India's deputy Minister of Defence, Shafi Qureshi**. **Kuwait Defence Minister Sa'ad al-Saleh**.

DIPLOMATS

N. N. Desai, Indian diplomat, expelled from Uganda. **Jean Louis Taffin** new French Ambassador in Thailand. **Prof. Usep Ranuwid Wijaj** new Indonesian Ambassador to North Vietnam. **Dr. Stephen Fitzgerald**, Australia's first Ambassador to China.

DIED

Sawgatul Alam Sagir, member Bangladesh's first CA, shot dead by miscreants on 3 Jan. **Sir John Woodhead**, 91, former ICS, Chairman Palestine Partition Committee of 1938 etc. on 8 January. **Mahmud Abd al-Qadir**, President Syrian Federation of Peasants on 14 Jan.

Hafeez Hoshiarpuri, 61, Urdu poet and Radio Pakistan executive, on 10 January, in Karachi. ● **Amanullah Khan**, Charge d'affairs, Nairobi.

Helping the prisoner discover himself

A correspondent from the Ohio Penitentiary, Columbus, Ohio, USA, writes about the "Muslim Programme" on the rehabilitation of the American prison inmates, which they are working upon and have found successful. The writer is connected with "Darul Islam Movement", which is headquartered in New York.

The first step in rehabilitation is to introduce the individual to his Creator and to restore to him a consciousness of his self, and the dignity of his person as the best creation.

The second step is to develop a realistic view of the environment in which he lives and has lived. He is taught how to recognise the negative aspects of the environment and how to avoid them.

Third, the individual is required to apply his new knowledge to all aspects of his life. He is expected to re-approach all his past pursuits from the point of view of their merit from the Islamic angle and developmental perspective.

The individual is introduced to a totally new social environment, given correct rules of conduct, and then provided with opportunities for further personal development.

He learns first how to deal with the prison environment as a member of the Muslim community. He must avoid all situations involving drugs, gambling, blackmarket, homosexuality, friction with prison staff, violence, and political agitation. He learns to keep aloof from the negative aspects of his situation and to approach problems realistically and patiently. In so doing he discovers new dimension in personal behaviour and social interaction.

A vigorous educational program is conducted on a regular basis. Muslim prisoners study basic academic skills, economics, comparative government and sociology, Arabic language, and Islamic law and history, and the entire religious tradition, history, mores, values and orientations of Sunni (Orthodox) Islam.

All education is conducted on a personalized base and according to the needs of the individual.

The approach being positive, total and creative, it has proved successful and is so far unmatched by any other program.

Programs are currently underway to acquire, staff and operate a statewide network of re-socialization (halfway house) dwellings to insure continuity of personal development outside the prison and assist the individual in resisting the negative influences of the outside world, the bigger environment.

The new social environment created within the prison is thus extended to the outside world, and a stable foundation is provided for individual participation in college and work furlough programs, parole and other forms of release and community reintegration. (More information on the Programme can be had from Ya Sin Abdullah, 10609, Superior Avenue, Ohio 44106, U.S.A.).

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The Munich Dream Fulfilled, but . . .

Impact Report

"By the Grace of Allah, we are glad to inform you that a fourteen year old dream has come true—the Islamic Centre of Bavaria has been completed", Fazal Yazdani has written to inform the Heads of Missions of Muslim countries in Germany. But that is not all, the Centre is still faced with the problem of paying off DM 500,000 to the contractors and the architect account of the outstanding bills.

Funds are also needed to furnish the 18-room students hostel, auditorium and library and the Imam's residence, as well as for running the Centre. Besides, it is not possible to appoint an Imam for the same reasons. Mr. Yazdani has appealed to the Muslim diplomats to visit the Centre, acquaint themselves with its running problems and join "hands to serve the cause of Islam".

Work on the Munich Mosque and the Centre was started as far back as 1967 but later had to be stopped and remained held up for three years. The governments which had earlier promised to donate were either slow or unwilling

to fulfil their promise. The then Pakistan ambassador, Abdur Rahman Khan who laid the foundation stone had promised £5,000 on behalf of his country. To this day the promise remains unfulfilled.

At one stage the contractors wanted to sue and get the building attached, some church leaders offered to help, but the project was eventually salvaged by Col. Qadafi who paid off the DM300,000 debt and donated another one million Mark. The Centre was formally opened shortly before the 1972 Olympic and for the first time in Germany, 3,000 Muslims were able to offer Eid prayers under one roof.

European Islamic Centres' Conference Agenda

Impact Report

The date for the European Islamic Cultural Centres Conference scheduled to be held earlier in Rome on 28 December 1972 is yet to be announced. The date suggested earlier, 28 January (Impact, 2:0) was not found suitable. Meanwhile the Islamic Secretariat has issued a six point agenda for the consideration of the invitees:-

1. Propagating Islam through all possible media.
2. Helping the Islamic Community to retain their Faith and secure it from other ideologies in the surrounding environment.

(a) Organising Islamic classes for children, specially during the school holidays.

(b) Lectures encouraging the youths to know more about their religion.

3. Welfare of the Islamic Community

(a) Unifying the different groups on one platform and widening their outlook from the narrow nationalistic point of view to the universal brotherhood of Islam.

4. Observing criticisms and attacks on Islam and offering an appropriate explanation or rejoinder.
5. Promoting of cordial relationship with other communities.
6. Any other point raised by the participants.

MUSLIM TEACHERS MEETING

FOSIS - the Federation of Students Islamic Societies in the U.K. and Eire - invites all Muslim teachers in British schools for a meeting at the Muslim Students Centre (38 Mapesbury Road, London NW2 4JD; Tel: 01-452 9340) on Saturday 17 February at 2.30 p.m. to discuss common problems in teaching, their role and opportunities in the community and the nature of platform particularly with reference to religious education of the Muslim children in Britain.

Appeal for brotherhood and 'Bihari' relief

In an appeal released on the occasion of the Eid al Adha, "The International Muslim Association, London" (18, Middleton Ave., Greenford, Middlesex, U.K.) which aims at fostering "the feeling of brotherhood between all the Muslims," and alleviate sufferings in the Muslim World invited Muslims in Britain to join the association and support it in sending relief to the beleaguered 'Biharis' in Bangladesh.

Bangladeshis in Britain demand dual citizenship law

Dr. A. F. A. Sayeed, UK Community Relation Committee member on visit to India and Bangladesh presented a memo to the BD government on the difficulties faced by the returning Bangladeshis at Dacca airport and in remittance to Bangladesh. The memo also requests enactment of a dual nationality law "to enhance the morale and stability among the Bengalis in the UK". (Impact news).

Pakistani Regulations Being Finalised

● Mr. Mahmud Ali, Pakistan Minister for Overseas Pakistanis on return from his recent four-week visit to Britain told a press conference in Islamabad that the government was trying to remove the difficulties found by the Pakistanis abroad. Regulations on dual nationality are also being finalised. He said the Pakistanis in Britain had remitted home about £6 million during the past ten months (Impact news).

Bangladesh Fund Closed

● The Bangladesh Fund, a Trust created at the time of Bangladesh struggle, has been declared closed, and the balance of £378,871 paid to the Bangladesh Finance Ministry. An audit report showed a collection of £412,083 and an expenditure of £33,212. (Impact news)

Bangladesh Debate

● A recent public meeting called by the Khilafat-e-Rashida Movement expressed concern over the present situation—in Pakistan and made a plea to re-build the political and social structure of the country on the lines of Khilafat-e-Rashida. (Impact news)

● Rashid Akhtar Qureshi, Convenor United Pakistan Front, UK, issued a statement urging President Bhutto not to recognise Bangladesh. He said this would be a negation of Pakistan ideology and a setback to the emerging movement in East Pakistan against the Indian domination. (Impact news).

PAKISTAN EXHIBITION

Pakistan students in Nottingham in collaboration with Pakistan Embassy's Information Division organised a Pakistan stall at a recent International Carnival held at the University Adult Education Centre. The exhibits ranging from dress to jewellery, handicrafts and view cards invited keen interest from the visitors. (Impact news).

34,000 Bulgarian Turks emigrate to Turkey

The Turkish Minister of Rural Affairs, Necmi Sonmex announced that in 1972, 10,632 Bulgarian Turks immigrated to Turkey. An agreement signed with Bulgaria in 1968 stipulated the reunion of separated families and since then Turkey has received 34,000, Turks from Bulgaria. The Turkish Foreign Minister told the Parliament recently that although some reports were exaggerated, there had been considerable pressure on Turks in Bulgaria. (Impact news).

Yugoslavia's Turkish Editor sacked

Dzelal Tun, the Deputy Chief Editor of Yugoslavia's Turkish language newspaper *Birlik* was dismissed by papers editorial collective for not displaying sufficient political maturity. (Impact news).

New Polish Muslim Magazine

A new Muslim publication, *Muslim Review*, the first in the Polish language has been launched by Mahmud Taha, Zbigniew Zuk, ul Perea 13/19m. 128, Warsaw, Poland.

Arson in Bonn's Libyan Embassy

The Libyan Ambassador in Germany has protested against insufficient protective measures when the German authorities failed to apprehend a man who set fire to a flat occupied by the Libyan First Secretary, in the Embassy building in Bonn and escaped. (Impact News).

Islam in B.Ed Degree Course

From Ashraf Ali

The Borough Road College of Education (Isleworth, Middlesex) near Hounslow is proposing to widen the scope of its Religious Studies course to include 48 lectures on Islam to be given by Muslim lecturers. The new dimension to the course is in response to the growing interest in the study of Islam in Britain and to the specific needs of Muslim students in the plural society that is Britain.

The new course which was worked out by H. W. Marratt, Principal Lecturer at the College in Religious Studies, and the Islamic Cultural Centre, London, would become operational in the next academic session and would be available to students applying for the B.Ed Degree course.

It is hoped that suitably qualified Muslim students who intend to go into the teaching profession would take advantage of the course. The college prospectus and details of admission procedure may be obtained either from the College or the Islamic Cultural Centre, London.

Borough Road College of Education is a national information centre for the study of world religious and philosophies and according to its prospectus its "early tradition of high standards of education combined with broad intellectual freedom and religious tolerance is maintained today".

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AFGHANISTAN. Diplomatic relations to be established with GDR and Consulate in Dacca. ● Pakistan donated £11,000 for drought relief.

● PM, Musa Shafiq said the process of change would be brought about through education; a Supreme Council of Education being formed.

AFRICAN LIBERATION. Johannesburg Radio commenting on the first meeting in Accra of the "enlarged terrorist organisation", the OAU Liberation Committee" said "terror strategists" were disunited and despondent of operations on Rhodesian/Mozambique borders. "Ironically, the failure of the Black Africa in the terror wars in Southern Africa has opened the gates for a development which can in the long run destroy Black African nationalism". It said Islam was advancing steadily in Africa and the "Muslim Brothers" were building up in Chad and Sudan. "The march of Islam has all the characteristics of a new imperialism bent on subjugating the people of Black Africa just as in the 7th century Arab forces crossed into Africa from Asia Minor and in the name of the Prophet Mohammad subjugated the Black People of Egypt and eventually the whole of North Africa... The pretext is a desire to help but the ultimate objective is Arab control of Africa through the enslavement of the Black Africans." Earlier the conference was opened by Ghana's head of State who appealed "to bury divisive tendencies and bend on all our energies, all our fronts and all our prayers towards prosecution of armed revolution for the liberation of our Continent". ● The Committee recognised two more liberation movements: the Seychelles People's Unity Party and the Liberation Movement for Sao Tome and Principe. ● Adhan Awaleh, Sec-Gen. Front for the Liberation of the Somali Coast (French Afar-Isia territory) told the Committee that the French were holding 20,000 in prison. ● The resistance movement for the liberation of Spanish Sahara, Ar-Rija laz-Zurk, cabled Pope about the persecution of Muslims under the cover of the Madrid Church and Catholic Bishops.

ALGERIA. The budget statement for 1973 claimed economy to be in the best of condition.

ARAB FEDERATION. Egypt and Libya to establish a development agency and a common foreign trade policy.

BAHRAIN. Constituent Council agreed on Islam as state religion and Arabic as official language. No amendments permitted for five years.

BANGLADESH. Industrial Policy announced. Incentives and safeguards to foreign capital; non-nationalisation of private investments upto £0-13m for 10 years. ● Sh. Mujib said Pakistani forces left nothing and had looted £1,500m of national wealth, but if production does not increase they cannot for ever depend on foreign aid. ● FM said they will not allow Bangladesh to become Vietnam or a cold war base.

● Agreements: Cultural Co-operation and on Electricity Co-ordination with India; Trade protocol with Bulgaria.

CYPRUS. Several students hurt demonstrating for *Enosis*. ● Vice Presidential elections on 18 February.

EGYPT. A Committee to investigate recent student troubles and recommend on the bases of university life that will preserve the future of students within the framework of the values and traditions of the Egyptian society. ● President Sadat said the student troubles proved the existence of a bigger Leftist subversive plan set for the mid January. ● He said the student question occurred "when London radio, hostile newspapers and people eager to fish in troubled water propagated it". He denied that Ethiopian, Sudanese and Lebanese quarters were involved in the Coptic-Muslim feud; the feud was planned in the US and Canada. ● President Sadat said that unlike Col. Qadafi he was very happy with the progress on Egyptian-Libyan unity. He noted attitude in Britain undergoing a great improvement.

HUNGARY. The price supervision authority of community Szolnok proposed Fines levied on industrial co-operatives which made illegal profits. Recently some 500 cases were discovered.

INDIA. Assam Chief Minister said the final date for introducing Assamese as a compulsory language in all non-Assamese schools is yet to be fixed. Agitation against Assamese language continued in Cachar district where 700 persons were arrested. ● India denied that her troops had destroyed property before withdrawing from W. Pakistan. ● Official sources denied knowledge of Pres. Bhutto's invitation to Mrs. Gandhi. ● India said no vessel of her Navy is under Soviet command in Bangladesh. ● A Soviet Naval Squadron visited Bombay, 14-19 Jan. ● Defence scientists developed an electronic device to locate enemy guns at a distance of 30km with an accuracy of 50 to 100m. ● FM Mr. Singh said the Indian ocean should be the means of uniting the world and the exploitation of its resources called for a fair balance between the essential interests of the states involved and a stable international legal order.

● Canada is to give £0.65m aid for the second satellite communication ground station at Dehradun. ● Trade with Sudan to go up by 40%.

INDONESIA. Adam Malik said Indonesia would have no objection to establish diplomatic relations with Israel if the latter was willing to implement the November 1967 UN Resolution. The Foreign Ministry later issued a statement reaffirming Indonesia's support for the Arab cause. ● Adam Malik agreed with the Djakarta Governor that those with many children were parasites. ● Many Leftist students in Europe who earlier opposed Suharto are trying to return home.

IRAN. British Overseas Trade Board to subsidise a top level Iranian/British investment conference in Iran next autumn. Excellent opportunities reported in certain sectors and negotiation advised on the ratio of Iranian staff. ● Agreement signed with USSR on another dam

on the Aras border river at Khoda Afarin.

ISLAMIC SECRETARIAT. With the signing by Libya (16th State) the IC Charter became effective as from 7 January (3 Dhu al Hijjah).

ISRAEL. Belgium set up a study group for aircraft factory in Israel. France reported already agreed to supply Mirage "spare parts" through Belgium; thus let Israel assemble its own Mirages. ● Tungsten, copper and felpar deposits discovered in Sinai. ● Over 100 Russian Jews who migrated to Israel are waiting in Vienna for permission to return to Russia. ● Mali, Niger and Congo (Brazzaville) broke diplomatic relations with Israel.

JORDAN. Cairo set free the 4 Palestinians who assassinated Wasfi Tell. ● King Hussain commuted death sentences against 3 leaders of last November's abortive coup; sentences against 105 others also commuted; and 150 convicts pardoned.

● A secret Israeli document published by *Haaretz* claimed Husain to be soft on war but rigid on Jerusalem. ● Restrictions and custom duties lifted on meat import. ● Large quantities of sausages confiscated as being unfit for human consumption.

KASHMIR. India decided to lift ban on the Kashmir Plebiscite Front after the Front gave undertaking to dissolve itself.

KENYA. 418 non-citizen Asians asked to close business by June 1. **KUWAIT.** Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Algeria, Libya Abu Dhabi, Bahrain, Syria and Egypt formed Arab Shipping Company for transporting oil. ● NA asked the Government to use the oil weapon "against the Zionist enemy".

LIBYA. Men barred from working in Ladies' hair dressing saloons. ● Christmas Day was declared holiday for the Christian employees.

MALAYSIA. Tun Abdul Razak said the present foreign policy is to make friends irrespective of ideology.

MAURITIUS. Prime Minister opened a monument to Lenin and said his teaching is of international significance.

MOROCCO. The Union demands release of its leaders, non-interference within University and solution to scholarship, residence and staff problems. ● A committee set up to develop programme for Arab-Islamic orientation of educational system.

● Chinese Ambassador handed over a collection of musical instruments to the Minister of Awqaf and Islamic Affairs. ● 11 Air Force officers executed for attempted assassination of the King last August. ● West Germany to grant DM 40m loan for Wadi Massa dam.

MOZAMBIQUE. A Frelimo group attacked Namanco village and killed one soldier. ● Railway Line between Laurenco Marques and Ressano-Garcia in S. Africa will be electrified before 1975, when the first phase of the Cabora Bassa hydro-electric dam becomes operational. ● First television service begins in 1973.

NIGERIA. Dr. Olawale Iboris, a foreign affairs commentator describing disillusionment with Israel said only a few Afro-Israeli enter-

prises had unqualified successes for the African partners; it was also difficult to obtain gains in agricultural projects. Now the Arabs have come forward with financial aid.

PAKISTAN. Several hundred 'Bangladesh' officers may face a treason trial if Bangladesh went ahead with trying Pakistan army officers. ● India said 4 Pakistani PoWs shot dead and 10 injured when "trying to escape" on 11 Jan. ● The Foreign Office regretted India linking the PoWs with Bangladesh recognition.

He said invitation to Mrs. Gandhi was inherent in the President's letter of congratulation on troops' withdrawal. ● Rumanian President visiting Pakistan emphasised the equality of rights of all states regardless of size and of political and economic system. ● Wali Khan declared any unilateral constitution could not represent the aspirations of the provinces. ● JUI leader, Mufti Mahmud denied supporting a 2/3 majority Clause for removing the Prime Minister. He rejected a single party constitution. ● Pres. Bhutto acknowledged flight of capital "to some extent" which meant the capitalists lack of confidence in the country. He re-affirmed mixed economy would be given a fair trial, but the basis would be scientific socialism. ● Law Minister Pirzada denied they had prepared any list of political opponents to be assassinated. ● Baluchistan government issued arrest warrants in respect of Muslim League Leaders, Mr. Zahri and Jam Saheb of Lasbella. ● UAE Pres. Nahayyan promised maximum economic assistance.

PHILIPPINES. Official sources said Muslim leaders, in response to President Marcos unity appeal, are obtaining the surrender of their followers. The Army Chief has ordered ample protection to the surrendering insurgents. ● Shaikh al-Faham, the Azhar rector accused Manila of falsifying facts regarding the Muslim situation in S. Philippines and urged Muslim countries to aid the Mindanao Muslims.

SAUDI ARABIA. Rabita organised international Islamic Seminar in Mecca on January 4. ● Hostel for the visiting Muslim youth delegates opened in Mecca. ● An International Youth Seminar held in Riyadh recommended support to Islamic student organisations, called Islamising education and steps to counter propaganda against Islam. **USSR.** Radio Peace and Progress said the Soviet Union's Asian collective security plan is winning more support; at one time Peking itself had suggested such a system for Asia. The French Marxist-Leninist newspaper *L'Humanite* commenting on the Russian common market of Eastern Europe said, deeds differ completely from the objectives of developing a world socialist community. For instance, Poland spent a lot in building the pipeline with the USSR but she had to purchase Soviet oil more expensively than Italy or Japan. While member countries finance projects in Russia the profits are drawn by USSR. The term "collective" seems very funny.