

MUSLIM VIEWPOINT(S) ON CURRENT AFFAIRS

impact

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THE CHALLENGE IN MALAYSIA

With the joining of the Parti Islam (formerly Pan Malayan Islamic Party) leader Dato Muhammad Asri in Malaysia's Federal Cabinet as Minister for Land Development and Special Functions, Prime Minister Tun Abdur Razak seems to have almost achieved the national front he has been seeking since the restoration of parliamentary democracy last year. The ruling Alliance, already a coalition of United Malay National Organisation (UMNO), the Malaysian Chinese Association (MCA), the Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC), and the former opposition parties in Perak Sarawak and Penang, is negotiating also for support from the Social Justice Party (Pekemas) and the East Malaysian Sarawak National Party (SNAP). The Alliance-PI coalition would now enjoy a support of 118 in a house of 144.

Since the Kissingerian equation with both China and the Soviet Russia, the threat of international communism in South and South-East Asia is presumed to have receded. In the process of tactical reshaping and the cyclical moult which international politics is presently undergoing cliches of the 'ideological' politics of the post-War II decades are being replaced by development slogans and market slangs. In this honest to goodness commercialisation of international relations, the whole Malay-Indonesian region, so rich in resources and potential, occupies a very important position.

Although the interests of the 'developers' and the developing are not necessarily the same, the developing countries having already suffered a long spell of colonial exploitation badly look forward to economic development. Economic development re-

quires political stability and a systematic and uninterrupted execution of plans and policies, and this should be seen as an additional justification of Tun Abdur Razak's keenness to forge national unity. Tun Abdur Razak sees too much of party politics as jeopardising the success of the Second Plan and unlike President Suharto who has taken the development path by making parties and democracy irrelevant, the Malaysian P.M. has chosen the democratic road of consultation and association. And this should be welcome.

For the Parti Islam, the decision to join the Federal Cabinet in an obviously unimportant position could not have been an easy one. This is shown by the strength of the opposition within the party: as against 194 yes, 90 delegates voted no and another 44 either abstained or stayed away. Those who oppose want the party to make a rigorous and a direct bid for popular support instead of risking its existing popularity through association with "unprincipled" parties.

It is not known how the pros actually argued it out, but the desire to get out of the provincial shell and achieve a better say in the national politics can be seen as likely and plausible grounds. By conceding a State Executive Council seat to the Alliance in its home State, Kelantan, PI members will be able to sit on Executive Councils in Trengganu, Kedah and Perlis. Kelantan is understood also to have been offered \$M100m from the Federal development funds as against \$M50m (£17.5m) earlier expected. On balance, the PI leader Dato Asri sees it as *ijtihad*, an honest effort: even if you fail, you have at least tried.

PI's contribution, if it can make it, should more importantly lie in helping Malaysia out of the racial straight-jacket. One is not really aware of PI's success or otherwise in making Kelantan a model state, but for one thing its treatment of the Chinese and absence of any racial disorders are commendable on their own.

The role and place of the Chinese in the Malaysian society is a matter of immense significance to the future and integrity of the country. In a world given to territorial, ethnic and national divisions, it is natural for the Chinese to feel as a group apart from the Malays.

An insecure minority tries often to over-

reach and go by stealth but this only goes to increase distrust and devalue mutuality. This indeed, has been happening in Malaysia. With the Malays growing distrustful of the Chinese, the Chinese response has been to try to consolidate and expand their area of control. While providing valuable support within the ruling Alliance, the Chinese would now also form the country's main opposition. Additionally, the Chinese interests are promoting a national opposition, the United Pan-Malaysian Chinese Guilds and Associations. UPGCA, while bolstering the MCA's bargaining position within the Alliance, may also in the long term help reshape Malaysia as a bi-national, Sino-Malay State.

The Malay answer to this Chinese "threat" seems to lie in trying to level the gap between the Malays and the Chinese by giving weightage to the *bumiputras* — sons of the soil — particularly in education, business and industry. The desire to create an integrated Malaysian nation can also be seen in making Malay as the national language and in the drawing up of a national ideology: Rukun Negara. In certain areas, there is also discernible a desire, at times rather over-zealous to solve the problem by inviting the non-Malays to accept Islam. But the process of being in Islam is not the same as filling a form and joining a party.

The Malays themselves came to accept Islam through the actual and informal example of the early Muslims. And that is the proven 'Malay way'.

However, supposing, not a single Chinese or Kadazan or any other non-Malay comes to accept Islam, but the duty to do justice and establish justice remains irrespective of a person's present or prospective faith. The Muslims in Malaysia and elsewhere in failing to establish social justice have done injustice not only to themselves but to their non-Muslim compatriots as well. Curiously the argument against the Islamic society seems to be that it would militate against the rights of the non-Muslims. On the other hand, there is hardly a Muslim nation-state which does not today suffer from an explosive or a potentially explosive minority problem. The challenge in Malaysia is no different.

Survey

● PAKISTAN NOTES ● CYPRUS DEADLOCK

Writing an 'unreasonable' Constitution

Despite the otherwise unhappy course of Pakistan's politics, there are two recent developments on the positive side and given normalcy and sagacity much can be done to build upon.

First, the disengagement with India on the Western front is a welcome aspect of the Simla Agreement. The agreement as one member told Pakistan's National Assembly was neither a panacea nor a poison; it was a response of defeat in face of brute force. If misapplied or taken carelessly, it could well produce the effect of a slow poison.

It is difficult to see normalisation in Pakistan's relations with India until at least the Kashmiris have exercised their promised right of self-determination, the PoW's are back and the question of the "freedom of Bangladesh" is sorted out. But the withdrawal does provide an opportunity to mend the fences and start giving thought to drawing up a consistent, logical and principled foreign policy.

Much to Pakistanis' distaste but very much to their own complaisance and ineptitude, India is now a World Power. How do you deal with a Power which also happens to be next door but not with a neighbourly record? You either decide to be a satellite, and seek honour and protection in being a 'courtier-state' or try to live your own life, in independence, a possible adversity but with self-respect and dignity. The choice obviously is Pakistan's. Pakistan's foreign policy has so far swung between paranoia and romanticism. Pakistan's foreign service, manned by some of the country's most bright, intelligent and capable persons, has become a terrible waste simply because it lacked motivation, organisation and direction. The task remains there. Second, the presentation of the draft on the country's permanent constitution on the lines agreed earlier between Mr. Bhutto and the opposition parties ("Parliamentary Democracy, Pakistan style", *Impact*, Vol. 2:11). In face of the country's endemic constitutionlessness, any constitution is better than no constitution but to be viable and prove successful, apart from the capability and honesty of those who work it, the document needs also possess a merit of its own.

The Islamic provisions appear to be more overt than in the previous constitutions. For example, Islam is to be the State religion and the draft incorporates a constitutional definition of 'Muslim' as one who inter-alia believed in Muhammad to be the last messenger and prophet of God. The later is ostensibly directed at those who believed otherwise; "Ahmadiyas" as they call themselves or "Qadiyanis", as others call them. The majority regarded them as apostates, and this would have the effect of barring them from being President or Prime Minister. Yet, the State's Islamic personality to emerge is a negative personality: not much as to what it would do but what it should not do. Even the should-nots occupy the decorative part of the draft and in effect ban or abolish not a single action regarded as abominable or criminal in Islamic law.

On the democratic side, despite the desire of the framers, the document may actually prove to be unworkable. Is it possible to have a workable democracy when it is constitutionally impossible to remove the Prime Minister for at least three terms i.e. fifteen years. A no-confidence motion cannot be initiated during the budget session, and without naming the successor. While the move would need a two-third majority to succeed, the Prime Minister has the power to ask the President to dissolve the National Assembly. To be able to

enjoy one or more terms, instead of creating a constitutional straight-jacket, a Prime Minister should seek longevity through popular support. In this regard Mr. Bhutto has his own experience to draw upon: his inability to continue as Chief Martial Law Administrator.

The provision enabling appointment of cabinet ministers from both within and outside the National Assembly can be seen to open doors to political corruption and irresponsibility. Besides, protection has been accorded to a number of unpopular, repressive and undemocratic laws enacted by the previous regimes and so that legacy too must continue. The provision on East Pakistan is insulting, for both the 'Bangladesh' and the 'East Pakistan' sections of opinion. It says the constitution would be appropriately amended to enable the people of East Pakistan to be represented in the affairs of Pakistan as and when... A victory for those, who have always regarded only West Pakistan as Pakistan!

On sum, it is an 'Islamic undemocratic' constitution and clearly the opposition has been no match either to the drafting skills or the histrionic talents of the ruling party. That is why, this effort to boycott and to backout. Since however, the abrogation of the Constitution is going to be an act of treason hence after, it is in the interest of the ruling party itself, to agree to make it democratic, reasonable and 'unreasonable'.

Politics of Attrition

In Karachi, last week when the open air public meeting rejected President Bhutto's impassioned plea to let him recognise Bangladesh, the President said: "Let both Sheikh Mujib and Bangladesh go to hell. If the people of Pakistan opposed the idea, he would not dream of recognising Bangladesh". A sharp contrast with what he had told on 1 December 1972 a similarly hostile audience in Rawalpindi: "If you do not want recognition then you have to find a new government". ("Pakistan—much ado about recognition", *Impact* Vol. 2:14). The episode brings to mind a pre-trade union story. A worker asked his employer for a rise, otherwise... "Otherwise what?", the employer enquired. "Otherwise, I will continue to work at the present salary".

It only shows the trivial level of politics in the present day Pakistan. The President had earlier argued that "Qaid-e-Azam wanted that our State should have the most cordial relationship with Muslims wherever they might be. The people who now called their territory Bangladesh were also Muslims. It was now for people to decide whether they should have the same good relations with the people of Muslim Bengal as they had with the Muslims all over the world". He also asked the people "to keep in mind the fact that the release of Pakistani PoWs in India was also linked with the recognition of Bangladesh". Although after his return from Simla, the President had categorically denied that the Bangladesh question was at all discussed with India, he now disclosed: "during the Simla talks Mrs. Gandhi had informed him that she was committed to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman that notwithstanding the United Nations resolution and the Geneva Conventions there is no question of the repatriation of Pakistani PoWs unless Pakistan recognised Bangladesh". In the same breath, the President said that "Pakistan could not be cowed down by Indian threats on the question of recognition which was a matter

to be settled by mutual arrangement between Pakistan and Muslim Bengal."

Rhetoric notwithstanding, if that really was Mrs. Gandhi's attitude to the UN and the Geneva Conventions then it was all the more necessary to explain the wisdom behind the "signing away" in Simla and putting *all* faith in bilateralism in respect of problems with India. It would have been logical either to reconstitute Bangladesh without pre-variation or alternately to let the world know of India's contemptuous disregard of her international commitments and obligations. Although tears are shed over the PoW question but Pakistan has done little to inform, not to speak of mobilising the world opinion of the true merits of the issue. In the same speech at Karachi, President Bhutto said that if he had asked the people one year ago "he was sure they would have decided in favour" of recognition. Why then the question was not asked?

Paradoxically, the current "convince-the-people" campaign on recognition is meant for purposes other than recognition itself. If the object was to sense popular feelings, then there was no need to start the campaign; the Intelligence and even the party workers should have done the job better. If the object was to convince the people, then there was no need to proceed beyond Peshawar, and to keep the heat on after having announced, and rightly so, that the proper forum to decide the issue was the National Assembly. Instead reactions were invited by saying that let people dance and shout and cry, but we shall decide after they have tired themselves out. The object could be to show to the Russians and the Indians, who have been mounting pressure, that the public opinion is not yet ready and that time was needed to play the cards. Meanwhile it could also be the polite Chinese advice that added to the complication.

The central reality, however, is power. When power is threatened, then one can say hell not only to Sheikh Mujib and Bangladesh but to anything. And that explains the hellish course of politics in the country. The large-scale arrests and persecution of students and student leaders; the recent assassination of Khawaja Rafiq, Unity Party leader; injecting the language of violence in the political debate and a variety of constraints on democracy, are part of this hellish politics. Where this, after all, is going to lead must be the predominant question in the Pakistani mind.

Cyprus Simmer

The Turkish Cypriot leader, Rauf Denktas, has said that the matters which have been resolved in the five-party talks to settle the problems between the two communities on the island are far fewer than those that remain unsolved. He reiterated some of the issues on which his community would not compromise: the guarantee of the continued presence of the Turkish military contingent on the island, security of property and budgetary provisions which would help in the economic development of the community. He said that the Turkish community would remain faithful to the Cyprus Republic which it formed on principles agreed upon mutually with the Greek Community. He charged Makarios with wanting to undermine these principles.

Meanwhile Makarios has been making plans to counter the opposition to him led by three bishops on the island who are calling for an end to his presidency on the grounds that his temporal power is damaging the Church. Makarios is behind the formation of a new underground organisation, under the name EMAK, which has started operation in the Greek areas of the island by distributing pro-Makarios leaflets.

Survey

● THE NEW BANTUSTAN

Of the Israeli Apartheid

In the previous issue were mentioned aspects of the question of Russian Jews' migration to occupied Palestine. We noted that this migration only began after the June war of 1967 and has been on such a scale as to amount to an influx. On the basis of various evidence, the conclusion was reached that these Russian Jews are meant to people the lands occupied by Israel since 1967, to establish a *de facto* presence in advance of possible *de jure* recognition of this presence. For example, according to the Israeli paper *Maariv* (26 Sept '71) Prime Minister Golda Meir told a group of Soviet immigrants who had been settled on the Golan Heights that "the border (of Israel) is found there where Jews live and not by a line on the map".

Since the June war, and up to last October, the number of new settlements in the occupied territories of the West Bank and the Golan Heights, the Sinai and the Gaza Strip rose to 44. These settlements are strategically placed throughout the occupied territories and include 14 Nahal or para-military settlements.

The latest of these strategically placed new settlements to accommodate new immigrants (many of them Russians) is to be called Rafit and will be built near the town of Rafah, south-west of the Gaza Strip. The city will eventually accommodate 250,000 Jews. It would also provide facilities for a deep water port. Strategically it would be important because it controls the traditional military road from Palestine to Egypt. The decision to approve the building of the town was taken by the Israeli cabinet itself and came after the UN resolution of 8 December calling on Israel "to desist from all policies and practices affecting the physical character or demographic composition of the occupied territories".

It seems this is exactly what Israel is determined to do, despite protestations of willingness to negotiate and flexibility in negotiations with the Arabs. The tightening of Israel's hold over the occupied territories is enough to indicate Israel's attitudes to boundaries and negotiations and to what has been known as the "demographic" question—that is, the role of the Arabs in Israel and the balance of Jews and Arabs in the state.

On this "demographic" question the Israeli Jews—both politicians and general populace—are faced with a conflict between an ideal and certain realities, a conflict between demographic, geographic and economic considerations.

Ideally what is wanted is an exclusively Jewish state with borders that would include all the lands occupied from 1948 (and before) to June 1967. The ideal is therefore racist and expansionist. There

is no place for Arabs and other gentiles in this ideal and the movement of Arabs outside Palestine—whether forced, induced or voluntary—has always helped this ideal.

The reality on the other hand is that a large number (more than a million) of Arabs have remained in their homes in the occupied territories. Their number can be reduced if the 'borders' of Israel are also drastically reduced. But such a 'withdrawal' is unthinkable because of the demand for safe and secure borders and because of economic considerations—like the exploiting of oil in the Sinai and the citrus groves and vegetable produce on the West Bank of the Gaza Strip and the cheap labour of pliable Arabs which is important in certain key areas of Israeli developments and prosperity as for example in the building industry.

How then to achieve the ideal in the face of such realities? This is *The Great Debate* which has been occupying the minds of leading Israeli politicians and which is a key question for the Zionist state as it prepares for General Elections this year. The Prime Minister—Golda Meir, the Finance Minister—Mr Pinhas Sapir, the Foreign Minister—Abba Eban, the War Minister—Yigal Allon, and the Defence Minister—Moshe Dayan are among those who have taken various stands in the debate. There has been no complete unanimity of views and the long continuing discussions on the subject has caused Eban to remark: "I often fear that these drawn out negotiations between Jews leave too little margin for talks with the Arabs." In fact the trend of the debate shows how little margin and how little gain the Arabs stand to get from the talks. A brief look at some of the opinions recently expressed would bear this out.

Golda Meir in an interview (*Maariv*, 8 Sept '72) has said: "(My principle is): Borders with as few Arabs as possible." "I do not want an Arab populated area within Israel's borders." "Under no circumstances will we withdraw from the Golan Heights." "I want major and necessary territorial changes in the West Bank with as little as possible Arab population within the borders of Israel." "Sinai is an unpopulated desert. . . . Apart from those who contend that the (Suez) Canal is Israel's border. . . . we are prepared to withdraw from the Canal even within the framework of a partial settlement. . . . Sharm al Shaykh must be linked with Israel through a territorial continuation." "The Gaza Strip (is part of the) territorial guarantees. . . . which will ensure our interests. This (the Gaza Strip) is a finger inside our heart." "I do not want a Jewish people who shun work. . . . Indeed, the Arabs of the territories do not thank God three times a day that we rule them and the territories but they are in a good situation under our rule."

Certain of Golda Meir's views are shared by other ministers including Eban and Allon (who are referred to as "doves" in the debate!) They hold that Israel's future borders should differ from the old ones and she should not have a sizeable Arab minority. On the other hand, Dayan and others have been called hawks for dismissing "the demographic bogey" by asserting that the Israeli government and the Israeli defence forces have the duty to rule and not to withdraw. Dayan said last month: "It's our country. Not in the sense that it is our property. I have never been brought up on that idea. We can't tell anybody to go away. But it's ours in the sense that we have an obligation to it. And it is our only country."

For the Arabs under occupation, there is in reality not much to choose between the so-called Israeli hawks and the so-called doves. The government policy remains dedicated to changing the physical and the demographic nature of the occupied lands. On 19 July last, for example, the Israeli Minister without portfolio, Israel Galili, told the Knesset while replying to charges that the government has been lethargic in promoting settlement in the occupied territories: "Israel would leave no vacuum in these areas." And as present policy in the Rafah area shows, the establishing of Jewish settlements is accompanied by "thinning out" programmes which include the destruction of Arab homes and the displacement of the Arab population. In the lands occupied since June, more than 17,000 houses are estimated to have been destroyed and the inhabitants forced to move on. A London *Times* correspondent noted (22 Nov. '72):

"Villages have disappeared completely with the land being given to Israeli farmers. Confiscations have taken place on a very large scale, sometimes for straight transfer to new Israeli settlers, sometimes ostensibly for military security reasons which then yield to more Israeli settlements, sometimes for light industry for Israeli and not Palestinian labour. Crops are sprayed to drive off farmers who will not leave, houses are undermined while still occupied."

And of the 'prosperity' of the Palestinians who work for the Jews he wrote:

"Fifty thousand Palestinians work in Israel, but because they are not allowed to live there they either have to commute long distances or sleep rough in back streets out of the way of the police".

The more the facts of the situation emerge, the more inescapable becomes the conclusion of "Israeli apartheid"—with the Jews destined to rule and enjoy the fruits of the land and the Arabs condemned to the life of Bantustans. There is one significant difference: the approbrium with which the civilized world views South African apartheid is yet to touch the Israeli brand.

Survey **● CIVILISING CENTRAL ASIA & AFRICA ● EGYPTIAN STUDENT REVOLT**

Fifty years of an Empire

The highlight of the 50th anniversary celebrations of the founding of the USSR was the marathon speech of Leonid Brezhnev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This was delivered on 21 December at a joint celebration meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation. Brezhnev sought to deal with the internal and international achievements, attitudes and policies of "one of the mightiest powers in the world". Important policy statements on Vietnam, Soviet-USA relations, South Asia, China, and the EEC were made. The foreign policy content of the speech deserves special attention if only for the light it throws on the basis of future dealings with the capitalist West in relation to world-wide socialist imperatives.

It was, however, the question of 'nationalities' within the Soviet Union which received the major part of Brezhnev's attention. The mere fact that so much attention was given to this question goes to underline the assumption that not all is well in the relationship between the Russians and the other national groups which go to make up the Soviet Union. These nationalities include for example the Ukrainians, the Latvians, Lithuanians, Armenians many of whom share the history and background of the Russian people, and on the other hand the peoples of Central Asia like the Turkmen, the Kazakhs, the Uzbeks, the Tadzhiks and others whose history and culture are fundamentally different from that of the Russian people.

The major claim of Brezhnev was that the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union who had been backward and oppressed under the Tsars have been able to achieve unprecedented social, economic and cultural progress and that the Bolshevik party has 'reached' the aim of a united and multinational Socialist State. Part of the claim is no doubt proved. "Look at the Central Asia and Kazakhstan of today," said Brezhnev proudly, "and you will see not only the first class cotton fields of Uzbekistan and Turkmenia, the upturned virgin land of the Kazakhs, the blossoming gardens and new stock-farms of Kirghizia and Tajikistan . . . Major centres of metallurgy, mining, first-class hydro-installation have grown up. Central Asia and Kazakhstan have become a booming area of oil and gas, chemicals and advanced engineering . . ."

Economic and industrial progress however does not seem to have brought about "the cohesion, unity and all-round rapprochement" of the different nationalities. Brezhnev as much as admitted that the fighters for socialism in the USSR still consider the nationalities question as "the most important thing" or barrier in the realisation of "revolution and socialism". In making this remark he observed that nationalist feelings and prejudices are "a phenomenon of exceptional vitality" in the Soviet Union and that "these prejudices continue to survive even in conditions where the objective prerequisites for any kind of antagonisms among the nationalities have long ceased to exist".

He did not offer any detailed reason why this should be so but some of his other statements may have unwittingly provided some explanations. In emphasizing that Lenin had showed the way to approach the complex problem of nationalities he stated that "Lenin always demanded a clear-cut and principled position on the nationalities question and made no allowances and permitted no indulgences here. He always conducted a merciless struggle against any manifestation of nationalism". This in fact meant that non-Russian cultures were to be attacked and destroyed in the hope of achieving a pan-Soviet culture with Russian being the dominant element. Brezhnev himself spoke of the "increasing importance of the Russian language" . . . for all the nations and ethnic

groups of the Soviet Union. He also stated that the Russian Federation which is the largest of the Soviets continues to play the fundamental role in the advancement of Soviet society as a whole. A number of Russians have been sent to the various other republics in what looks very much like a colonial enterprise. Brezhnev again: "There are millions of Russians, hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians, Uzbeks, Belorussians living (in Kazakhstan) side by side with the Kazakhs. Kazakh culture is developing and enriching itself by increasingly absorbing all that is best in Russian, Ukrainian and other cultures. What is it — bad or good? We Communists reply with certainty: it is good, very good!"

Among the non-Russian peoples of Central Asia there are certainly an important element—notably among the younger intelligentsia—who are fervently communist and are important and necessary to the success of the Russian cultural offensive. But Brezhnev's and his party members' problems lie with the great number of people who are not "politically immature" and who do not take kindly to the attack on their literary heritage, their history and the purity of their language apart from overbearing Russian administrative domination. There appear to be still a few of them who are conscious of the past and continuing fierce attacks by the authorities on their "traditions" which are stigmatised as the worst obstacle to the unity of the Soviet peoples.

It appears that the persistence of these "traditions" is being expressed in some political form of such a serious nature for Brezhnev to speak of the threat of "national separateness" and the necessity to eradicate this in the interests of communist construction and the ideals and ideology of the communists". How this is to be done in practical terms is not spelled out. But Brezhnev appeared to be holding out some prospect of greater autonomy and individual self-expression for the nationalities and ethnic groups. But considering Soviet rhetoric one cannot say for certain. The optimism of any potential dissident may find itself rudely shattered as the socialist ship of the Soviets moves according to Brezhnev "irresistibly further and further forward towards the shining horizons of communism".

The Portuguese Mission

Hit increasingly hard by the liberation movement and by criticism from Rhodesia and South Africa, Portugal is apparently making every effort to maintain its hold on its African territories. Coupled with air and counter-insurgency operations on the ground against the guerillas, especially in Mozambique at the moment, Portugal is making attempts to win over the Africans by offering participation in new constitutional arrangements.

As from 1 January 1973, a new Constitution for Overseas Territories has come into force. People in the territories would be directly represented in the Portuguese National Assembly—a policy which is in imitation of France. In addition, the territories would have their own legislative assemblies with extensive law-making powers. General elections for these assemblies would be held before March this year and registration of voters has already begun. Fears are being expressed in colonial circles that the elections could lead to a black majority in Angola especially but these fears are blunted when it is remembered that Lisbon retain powers of veto over any of the assemblies.

The fighting meanwhile is going on with Portuguese forces claiming several casualties among the guerillas and the capture of Soviet and Chinese arms. In a New Year message, the Portuguese president, Admiral Americo Thomaz while speaking of Portugal's duty to honour its splendid past of 500 years on the African continent civilizing the people and spreading Christianity condemned the countries which provide hideouts

for the terrorists and dismissed the United Nations as a communist dominated body. There was no option but to go on fighting "to control southern Africa's mineral resources and the Cape sea route, along which most of Western Europe's oil is carried . . ."

No War, No Democracy, No Studies

Given the uncertain and unstable situation in Egypt, it seems natural to take the latest rash of university student protests as another nail in the coffin of the administration's no war and no democracy policy. The situation might well seem to be more threatening when the authorities themselves admit that "the investigation (into the unrest) has so far shown that there were professional and labour people, including some men of letters who had contacted student circles to make them act along the lines of a single plan." For the moment though it does not seem that there would be any groundswell of opinion and action against the present regime sufficient to cause major upsets.

Even if there is any truth in the government charge of outside instigation, it would be unwise for it to dismiss the frustrations and the grievances of the students. Almost anyone who has been a student in Egypt would testify to the specially irksome atmosphere of the land. Hopes for improvement have been dashed. The liberalisation of the censorship laws and the reduction in the activity of the secret service which Sadat had tried to bring about have been slowly reversed. Above everything is the lack of credibility in the government's intentions and policies both on the national and international level.

There is a lot of advice which is now being handed to the students especially about the duty to show responsibility "out of concern for domestic unity during these fateful circumstances". There is one particular piece of advice, given by the "professional trade unions" in Egypt which is worth noting:

"The future", they explained, "belongs to the youth and the youth have the right to think about the future in a free and responsible way. What we want is a responsible freedom, freedom within the framework of the law and the higher interests of the homeland. While we denounce any crime against freedom, we also denounce any crime committed in the name of the freedom."

These are remarks which both students and authorities might do well to heed.

*all
facts
to
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If, despite all the present differences and past conflicts, the nations of Western Europe have been able to unite for their common strength as a counterpoise to other nations growing in power (like the USA, China, Japan and the Soviet Union), then other peoples—and one can mention the Muslims in particular—who have a common ideology, who are not supposed to be beset by nationalistic conflicts and for whom unity is a sacred duty should find the task of unification and unity that much easier and that much more urgent. Moreover, what the European community demonstrates is that unity is not achieved at the stroke of a pen but must be carefully prepared and fostered.

The European Connections

A. H. Majid

“One of the great moments in history” has taken place with the majority of people in Britain not knowing what has happened. They might be forgiven, in the face of tons of printed matter and years of speech-making, for not appreciating the full implications of Britain’s entry into Europe. For most people commerce (which is what the European Economic Community is all about on the face of it) is an intensely boring subject except when it concerns the rising prices of foodstuffs and the amount the pound in their pockets can buy. It is on this score that there is general uncertainty and a feeling of apprehension that the “benefits” of Britain’s entry would not seep down to the broad base of British citizenry. The worsening of Europe’s depressed areas such as southern Italy, since the inception of the EEC lends support to these fears.

The EEC of course is much more than tariffs and trade. It affects and is going to affect in increasing degrees the way of life of the peoples within it, their industries, their various institutions and their social structures. Economic aims are merely the means towards an end and the ultimate end is a political one. For Britain, the choice between not joining Europe was a choice (as Mr. Heath has put it) of drifting farther away year by year from the centre of world affairs, putting up with the second best and muddling through its difficulties as best as it could and between associating itself with genuine achievement and success and moving ahead in prosperity and influence.

British politicians and statesmen have always prided themselves on putting national self-interest first and on being ruled by pragmatic rather than by doctrinal considerations. Britain’s empire was

not an end in itself. It gave way to the commonwealth. Now that it is no longer able to maintain control over this bizarre creation, Britain has turned to Europe in which it has had close, sometimes turbulent but never total involvement in order to pursue the role of greatness. It is a bold and courageous step and a realistic and positive one in many respects. But the path of greatness in the enlarged community is not necessarily assured. The archbishop of Canterbury has drawn attention to a few truths which could tarnish the dream. One is that of corruption to which centralised power is always liable leading to the break-up of any synthesis. The other is particular to Europe itself:

“For several centuries”, he wrote, “the European countries have been without unity in faith or in politics. Wars of religion, wars of nationalism and the conflicts between old faith and new science have helped to create the present European scene. If the ideology of progress has been popular in modern Europe, the events of the present century should have been enough to shatter it.”

If, despite all the present differences and past conflicts, the nations of Western Europe have been able to unite for their common strength as a counterpoise to other nations growing in power (like the USA, China, Japan and the Soviet Union), then other peoples—and one can mention the Muslims in particular—who have a common ideology, who are not supposed to be beset by nationalistic conflicts and for whom unity is a sacred duty should find the task of unification and unity that much easier and that much more urgent. Moreover, what the European community demonstrates is that unity is not achieved at the stroke of a pen but must be carefully prepared and fostered. The reason why for example the entry of Britain into Europe was not with a bang but with a whimper is partly because the preparations and the relationships had been made and fostered gradually but with thoroughness, and also because no attempt has been made to achieve everything in one fell swoop. So far, progress has been made from customs and agricultural union to economic and social union. Already the member states have become so politically and economically interdependent as to render almost inconceivable the secession of any member on the grounds of power politics. But there still remains a great deal to be attempted and to be done in the light of the political nature of the venture, which it was from the start. These include the building up of the still undeveloped European Constitution and the formulation of a common foreign policy, a defence policy and even the basic principles of a cultural policy. In the economic sphere high on the agenda for the future is the reform of the international monetary system. In the political sphere advocates of the European idea have already been speaking of a federally structured Europe with multi-national

parties and direct elections. While the benefits for Britain’s industrialists and bankers are easy to see, there is no denying that the enlarged community would create many casualties and difficulties for many others. For a start, the socialist movement in western Europe where it was born might find itself outmanoeuvred by the ganging together of large conglomerates and under governments serving capitalistic ends. This would be the great paradox since socialism is supposed to find its most fertile soil in highly industrialised capitalist society. That the socialists would be foundering for a new role and making all sorts of weird compromises on the way should not necessarily cause one to dismiss some of the social aims which they espouse especially with the growth of more remote government and the possible ignoring or stifling of the democratic process.

In fact the preservation of the individual, his liberty and his well-being would be, in the enlarged community, one of the objectives most difficult to achieve because of the growth in centralised bureaucracy and the future pattern of such things as industrial relations. Happily cognisance has been taken of grave disparity in regional development in the various countries of the EEC. But the record has not been good so far. Too many areas lay depressed. Too many people live in sub-human conditions. Too many people, particularly European migrant workers, have to work like slaves in order to ensure prosperity for the EEC and for financial institutions like those of the ubiquitous Rothschilds. If the social and economic needs of the individuals are not adequately seen to, there could indeed be greater conflict between capital and labour.

All in all, Britain enters into Europe with a characteristic John Bull cocksureness, vaunting the role which British parliamentary experience and traditions would have on European democracy, the advantages and opportunities for British science, the bringing into the Community of a more extensive network of international connections and relationships than any other single member and many other things including the excellence of British pop.

For the rest of the world, however, the focus should not be on what Britain or Ireland or Denmark can contribute to the enlarged community. The focus rather should be on the impact of this community not only on those within it but those in the far flung corners of the globe would be affected by its defence policy, its trade policy and its foreign relations. Countries in Africa (those who have signed the Yaounde and Arusha Association agreements), Asia and Latin America are already feeling the effects of these policies but it is up to them ultimately to decide whether they would remain helpless within the European vortex. The signs are ominous.

Now that Bangladesh is there . . . was he sorry, was he unhappy, was he angry?

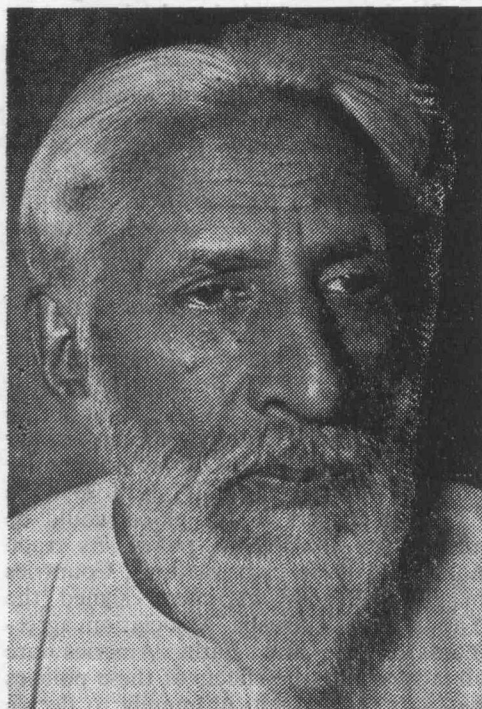
Don't you think, in Pakistan, you are rather obsessed with India and Indian designs?

Leaving aside the inquest, don't you think the sensible way out is to recognise Bangladesh and seek reconciliation?

Yet nothing has happened to absolve you of your obligations. You won't be happy if the area becomes another Vietnam?

The Bangladesh debate

**Muhammad Zafar Ahmad Ansari,
member, National Assembly,
Pakistan speaking to IMPACT**



M. Z. A. Ansari

Speaking to Maulana Zafar Ahmad Ansari, an independent member of Pakistan's National Assembly and speaking at a time when Bangladesh was celebrating the first anniversary of its 16 December victory, one could not but be conscious of his "uncompromising" position on Bangladesh. Zafar Ahmad Ansari belongs to that class of selfless politicians which is rather rare in the contemporary Muslim society. Pakistan to him has meant a cause and a means to creating a noble and a good society and if you believe in a cause you pay the cost, and do not ask for any material return.

Maulana Ansari was the Assistant Secretary of the All India Muslim League and Secretary of its Parliamentary Board and Committee of Action and later, Secretary of the Islamic Studies Board of Pakistan's first Constituent Assembly. This much of "Muslim League service" was enough for him to opt for a post-independence reward either in politics, diplomacy, business, industry or any other walk of life. Ansari, instead chose to be the unknown soldier and this is why his contribution to the making of pre- and post-independence history is profound and of a far-reaching nature. That this remains unrecorded is a different matter but who can say that but for the grass-root support of the *ulema* and the *mashaikh* the feudal-ridden Muslim League could have triumphed in face of joint opposition from the Hindus and the British? One knows that despite the very strong and articulate lobby of the pro-Indian "Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind", the vast majority of the sub-continent's religious leadership rallied round Jinnah, but how was this made possible remains unknown. The accord of the *ulema*, after Pakistan, on the fundamental principles of an Islamic Constitution, and the adoption of the Objectives Resolution by Pakistan's first Constituent Assembly are matters of truly epoch-making significance. The Resolution says for the first time in modern constitutional language that sovereignty over the entire Universe belongs to Allah alone and the authority of the people is a trust to be exercised within the limits prescribed by Him. Although incorporated as a preamble in all Pakistan's constitutions and meant to be no more than worn as an amulet, its fateful significance became evident when the Supreme Court of Pakistan in Malik Ghulam Jilani case ruled the Objectives Resolution to be the fundamental Law of Pakistan and accordingly found Yahya Khan's Martial Law as ultra-vires of this law and a usurpation of power. Yahya Khan had already quit the scene but the Supreme Court's judgement saved Pakistan from continuing under another spell of Martial Law.

The ruling majority, in Pakistan's present half-Assembly is committed to "Islamic" socialism and a part of the opposition too claims to be secular and socialist. Is it not then strange that the Interim Constitution promulgated 21 April 1972 includes the Islamic provision of the preceding constitutions and does not mention socialism, "Islamic" or otherwise. The story can perhaps be told later but nothing is there without a cause. Ayub Khan at one stage wanted to replace the existing Urdu and Bengali scripts with the Latin alphabets but he dropped it quietly. Now one could only speculate on the course of history had Pakistan been "latinised" but Ansari believes in silent and patient and honest work—work which is its own reward. Almost, all this silent work remains unrecorded.

On Bangladesh, Maulana Ansari has taken the position that if Pakistan recognises Bangladesh, the best he can do is to resign his membership of the National Assembly so I asked him how did he feel, now that Bangladesh is there, at least in *de facto* existence? Was he sorry, was he unhappy, was he angry?

"How do you feel when a part of your own body is forcibly sawed-off? How do you feel when your own brother is kidnapped and held in hostage? Naturally one is sorry, one is unhappy, and one is also angry. Sorry for the situation in which more than 75 million Muslims in East Pakistan find themselves caught in, unhappy that in this supposedly enlightened and civilised age countries can get away with unashamed aggression, and angry because we, as Pakistanis, as Muslims, have failed

to rise to the challenge of freedom. If the Pakistanis, I mean both the East and West Pakistanis, had cared to think, they could have frustrated the designs of the forces which were working to split and eventually destroy them. One can be angry only with one-self.

"We should have seen the obvious that Pakistan was achieved against the wishes of India's Hindu leadership, the British government and above all the nationalistic and secular trends of international politics, and it was not to be left to itself.

"Leaving aside the international aspects which of course were no less crucial, let us refresh ourselves about India's attitude because it is India where all these interests meet and coalesce. Although Pakistan came into being as a result of agreement between the British government, the All India Muslim League and the Indian National Congress, Congress' attitude to this agreement is reflected in the All India Congress Committee resolution whereby it *accepted* the partition plan. While the Muslim League Council hoped that the two dominion governments will be able to conclude agreements and treaties which will promote and establish friendly relations between the two, the Indian National Congress spoke of the geography and the mountains and the seas that have fashioned India as she is, and expressed trust that 'no human agency can change this shape . . . (and) that when the passions have subsided India's problems will be viewed in their proper perspective and the false doctrine of two nations will be discredited and discarded by all'. This was India's fundamental position in 1947 and one does not know if this has since been modified; the Indian National Congress which passed this resolution remains to this day India's ruling Party."

But don't you think in Pakistan you are rather obsessed with India and Indian designs? Why don't you accept this as a fact of life and shape your politics accordingly? However, isn't it more important to look into the internal factors, factors which are always within a nation's own competence?

"I don't think one is really obsessed. In fact, the tendency is otherwise, to ignore, to under-value. What one needs is balance and realism, but not to ignore realities. As for internal factors, these indeed are crucial to any situation. I know, the day it became evident that Pakistan had to be conceded, the All India Muslim League and the future bureaucracy of Pakistan was systematically infiltrated by those who eventually hoped either to reduce Pakistan to the status of a non-entity or even liquidate it altogether. The same elements in the bureaucracy later became an important tool of outside agencies and interests. What came to happen 25 years later is only a progression of plans seeded in the formative part of our history. I have used the word progression and not culmination. If we are not any wiser, one cannot say what is yet to follow. Quaid-e-Azam had warned that the moment we started thinking in terms of Pathans, Punjabis, Sindhis, Baluchis or Bengalis, 'then Pakistan is bound to disintegrate'. 'It is bound to disintegrate', he emphasised.

"We thought that now that Pakistan has come into being none would be able to undo it. The creation of Pakistan, however, was an event of such a great significance that it could not have gone unchallenged. It was the victory of Islamic ideals over the barriers of colour, race, nationality, geography and all other divisive and regimentative factors. It is really unfortunate that our post-independence leadership either could not rise or was not allowed to rise to the occasion and do the needful towards stabilising the identity of Pakistan.

"Then came the long period of self-righteous dictatorships which aggravated the sense of political deprivation in East Pakistan where the secularists, communists and Hindus were already active. Then there were certain powerful elements in West Pakistan also whose personal or parochial interests did not suit the unity of Pakistan. Long before Bangladesh became feasible, official studies were prepared to establish the viability of West Pakistan as a country separate from its eastern wing. The very fact that such a study was prepared speaks for itself."

"I am not pessimistic. As much as I know the people of East Pakistan, they cannot be subdued, they cannot be subjugated. They are sure to reassert, sooner than many would expect."

Who do you think in West Pakistan was or were responsible for bringing about this separation?

"I think we have to be a little bit patient but I don't think history will be able to digest such an unparalleled and heinous crime."

Leaving aside the inquest on the past, don't you think the sensible way out is to recognise Bangladesh and seek reconciliation. After all they do not cease to be Muslim, they do not cease to be your brothers. On the other hand, you said in the National Assembly that the day Bangladesh is recognised you would resign your membership of the parliament. Why are you so sentimental about it? Why do you refuse to accept the reality?

"Haven't I said earlier that the reality is aggression, naked and blatant aggression. The whole world knows it, the United Nations, the International Commission of Jurists, everybody accepts the fact of Indian aggression. Could one visualise Bangladesh without this central fact? Only the blind can refuse to see the reality. There is nothing sentimental about it. Who said the East Pakistanis have ceased to be Muslims? On the contrary, one is concerned for the very reason that they are Muslims and it is our obligation not to leave them under Indian domination."

Now that 90 UN member-States have recognised Bangladesh . . . ?

"Even if the whole world comes to do that, how does it alter the basic reality. Others might well afford to take an unconcerned view, but how can I, I who find more than half of his nation held hostage pretend as if nothing has happened. If you lose something that you own, and are unable to recover it, you don't forsake your claim. But East Pakistan was more than that. It was part of our being, our personality. That India and others are naturally keen to obtain legitimacy but to ask the aggressed to acquiesce and say that it was all legitimate is, I think, too fantastic a demand on the human conscience. If we agree to condone and tolerate forced separation of one part of our country then we invite similar 'liberations' as well in Western Pakistan."

Again there seems to be an over-emphasis of the fact of aggression, and outside interference, but how could have these been possible if the people of East Pakistan, at least the majority did not want to secede?

"To say that East Pakistanis wanted to get out of Pakistan is an insinuation, a travesty of truth. Even today thousands are rotting in East Pakistan prisons for the very crime of being Pakistanis. The actual figures must be far more but it is Indian papers who report that by last October, more than 60,000 persons had been put into prison. If the people really wanted separation and were happy over the 'freedom', then why did the authorities put so many in prison?"

It happens in all revolutionary situations. Shaikh Mujib has said that while millions had died in the Russian revolution nothing like that happened in Bangladesh.

"No 'Bangladesh' was not a revolution. In Russia, the Bolsheviks did not claim that the people wanted a revolution. They said there was an ideology, a revolutionary ideology and they had to enforce it because it was in the interest of the proletariat. They never said that they were following the wishes of the people. It was the Party's dictatorship. But here, the very claim that people wanted to secede is in question. For that matter, I think even Shaikh Mujib has to prove that he honestly was a secessionist. We have demanded the proceedings of his trial during Yahya Khan's reign to be made public."

"Mujib may be an exceptional case but many rather most ministers and top Bangladeshis are

post-facto secessionists. Anyway if the people really wanted to get out of Pakistan then it would not have been necessary to kill, uproot and imprison hundreds and thousands and that too without avail. I mean if there were few thousands or even a million or so of diehard 'collaborators', then their suppression should have brought peace and established the authority of the regime. Has this been possible? All through the independence struggle during the British rule over the sub-continent, at no one stage of turmoil did the number of political prisoners exceed 30,000. Even if we take the official figure, Bangladesh alone holds at least 43,000 'collaborators'. By itself this is not a small figure. But that was not enough. It has been found necessary also to ban all the pro-Pakistan political parties—the Muslim Leagues, P.D.P., Jamaat-e-Islami, Nizam-e-Islam, and also disenfranchise the collaborators. This speaks for itself. If the pro-Pakistan opinion is so insignificant then why not lift the ban? Such a small minority can do nothing. But it shows it's all fragile and spurious."

No government can allow such parties to function who do not owe loyalty to the country.

"So you yourself admit that. The point I want to make is that matters like making or unmaking of a country cannot be decided on the basis of transient political moods of some people at a given period of history. Moments come in the life of countries when there are turmoils and if you hold a referendum in a province, people may say that we want to separate. For example, during the language riots in Madras in India if some people were to say so and the world press started a crusade on their behalf, a referendum could well have cut off the South from India, but there it is a different logic."

"Moreover, there is one thing very unique about Pakistan. At no stage did we say that people living in Punjab, in Frontier, in Baluchistan, in Sind or Bengal or Assam, or their majority favours separation. The right of self-determination was claimed for the Muslims as a whole and that is why Pakistan came into being exclusively on the basis of Muslim votes. The Hindu votes in all these provinces were cast against Pakistan."

From a practical angle, you cannot keep Pakistan necessarily united on the basis of votes that originally created it.

"If the Hindu votes were not reckoned in the making of Pakistan, how can these be allowed to be effective in destroying Pakistan. Even for argument's sake, a country created through a referendum can be split only through another referendum."

Never-the-less, there is a *de facto* authority and you seem to dispute it?

"Yes I do, because it is a puppet government. Our country was invaded by foreign army and they have set up a government for their convenience. How can we consider such a government to be legal. Suppose, if the people were really determined to go out of Pakistan and the world Powers and India too believed that to be so, then they need not have interfered. Pakistan could not have kept the area for long, by force. But because they knew that it was not so, therefore came the interference, the invasion and the disintegration. They knew that the fight was not for separation but for the quantum of autonomy and that's why they intervened and precipitated the whole thing."

Yes, to start with, the fight was for autonomy and then came the military clamp down, atrocities etc., and the whole thing escalated from autonomy to freedom.

"No this is not the whole truth. The revolt was also engineered through armed infiltrators trained in and sent by India. It is not a secret."

But they were Bengalis, Bangladeshis.

"There are subversive elements in every country and in East Pakistan there are Hindus who did not and have not accepted Pakistan. In India this very subversion compels the central government to impose presidential rule on one province or the other every now and then. Why could we not be left to deal with our internal problem as India has been dealing with hers?"

Yet nothing has happened to absolve you of

your obligations to the people there. You won't be happy if the area becomes another Vietnam?

"How can you be happy over the sufferings of your own brothers? But I am afraid there is not much that one is left with to do, at least for the time being. One does not have any control over the situation there or over the schemes and designs of those Powers which may either want to or do not mind it becoming another Vietnam. But it is precisely our obligation to the people of East Pakistan that prevents us from giving a legal and moral sanction to their subjugation. If we cannot liberate them now we cannot foreclose the possibilities of their eventual liberation".

Is it not being negative?

"No, it is not. It is the determination not to surrender, not to accept defeat. If you surrender and be a defeatist then you cannot look forward to an ultimate victory".

Do you look forward to an ultimate victory, a reunion?

"I am not pessimistic. As much as I know the people of East Pakistan, they cannot be subdued, they cannot be subjugated. They are sure to reassert, sooner than many would expect".

Being dispassionate and taking into account the geography and the experiences of the past quarter century won't it be realistic to accept to have two natural and viable Muslim States? After all as President Bhutto himself has said, the Lahore Resolution of 1940 did actually envisage a Pakistan consisting of two independent States.

"You raise an important question. It shows how reckless and careless we are about our own history, our own entity. I have been intending myself to write* about it and to set the record straight in the light of history and historical records. The plural 'states' in Lahore Resolution, as Qaid-e-Azam, himself clarified was a typographical error, and if there was a doubt left, the resolution adopted by Muslim League Legislator's Convention in 1946 should remove it. But may I also quote Mr. Z. A. Bhutto:

"Our starting point is 1940. First Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in 1966 and then Maulana Bashani contended that the Lahore Resolution envisaged two separate Muslim States, one in the East Wing and the other in the West Wing. This is not an honest interpretation of the Resolution. No such meaning was seriously given to the Resolution at the time of Pakistan's foundation in 1947." ("The Great Tragedy", *People's Party Publication*, Karachi, 2nd Edition, 1971, P.1).

*Maulana Ansari's article on Lahore Resolution will be published in a later issue of *Impact*.

CHANGING ADDRESS

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OTHER CURRENCIES EQUIVALENT TABLE

Below is given approximate £1 equivalent in some important currencies as an aid to rough computation. Subscribers are, however, requested to make remittance for the net amount in £ Sterling. Cheques etc. in local currencies should add one US\$ to make an allowance for collection charges.

Belgium/Franks	114	Sweden/Kroner	12.46
France/francs	13.30	Switzerland/Franks	10.04
Holla d/Guilders	8.27	U.S.A./Dollars	2.60
Italy/Lira	1530	West Germany/D.M.	8.34
Norway/Kroner	17.8	Denmark/Kroner	18.18
		Spain/Peseta	170

In dealing with the Islamic concept of moral education, I want to speak briefly about Islam itself and go on to deal with the mainsprings of Muslim behaviour and then address myself to some of the questions which seem to be pre-occupying the attention of those concerned with moral education in schools today.

Islam is a complete doctrine and way of life governing all aspects of man's existence—his eating habits, the way he dresses, how he acquires and disposes of his wealth, his attitude towards himself and his family and society at large. It governs collectively man's social, economic and political life. Islam gives man a system of beliefs and prepares him for action according to that belief in a manner that is suitable for all men at all times and at all places. All his actions—whether it be ritual prayer, trading in the market place, sexual relations with his wife, or his art forms—are all part of worship, part of his *Islam* which means submission to the will of God, Who is Wise, all-Powerful, all-Knowing, Forgiving, Beneficent and Compassionate. In fact a Muslim's every action begins with "In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful". The completeness of Islam and the definite world outlook which it gives to man is stated in the verse of the Qur'an, the last to be revealed:

This day have I (God) perfected for you your religion and completed My favours on you and chosen for you Islam as the religion. (Al Ma'ida, 5:4)

It follows from the above that Islam is not a religion in the sense in which the West has now come to understand the term, i.e., in the sense of a bundle of rituals or vague principles which play, only a small part in a person's individual life and is not supposed to trespass into such fields as politics, law and economic behaviour. The relegation of religion into a small compartment of man's life is part of the intellectual and technological development of the West, part of the belief in man's inevitable progress and self-sufficiency and the consequent falling away from the belief in and dependence on God. God in the West has become very much of a part-time God and is becoming even more so as man stresses his allegedly anthropomorphic being. The demand for moral education today, in so far as it is put forward as an alternative to religious education can be seen as a bid, perhaps a desperate bid, of a society which has rejected Divine principles, revelation and tradition as part of the belief in the self-sufficiency and the autonomy of man. The point that one wants to make here is that the division of life into the religious and the secular is foreign to Islam and this would be fundamental in understanding the Islamic concept of morality. There is no rendering unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and rendering unto God the things that are God's. The Qur'an says:

"Whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth belongs to God and whether you make known what is in your minds or hide it, God will bring you to account for it." (Al Baqara 2:284).

Islam has rightly been called the religion of certainty and equilibrium. It does away, therefore, with the dualism and the dichotomy between the religious and the secular. It gives man one set of standards and not two or more and this makes for consistency and clear-cut behaviour especially when it comes to defining moral obligation, making moral judgement and discharging moral responsibility. It does away with agonizing uncertainty and the shifting bases of thought and behaviour which is almost implicit in any system which man strives to devise on his own. It provides genuinely 'objective' criteria.

How you may ask does a Muslim (i.e. one who submits to the Will of God) determine what the Will of God is and how he should follow it? Towards the end of his mission, Muhammad, the last of the prophets or messengers sent by God to guide mankind, said to his followers:

"O people, bear in mind what I am saying, for I might not see you again. I have left you two things. If you hold fast to them, never will you go astray after me. They are: God's Book (the Qur'an) and His Prophet's Sunnah (example)".

MORALITY AND EDUCATION*

"... there are many drawbacks in the present system of education as a whole, the main one being that it perpetuates the division of life into the religious and the secular. For a Muslim to be satisfied with moral education, the whole education, system has to be looked into..."

A. W. HAMID

The Qur'an, Muslims believe, is the word of God. It was revealed to Muhammad, the unlettered prophet, over a period of more than twenty years. It has been preserved intact and is the most valuable source connecting Muslims with the nature of Reality and Truth. The unity and sense of equilibrium which is so necessary to consistent moral behaviour and which is observable in Muslim society and civilisation through the ages have been due largely to the influence of the Qur'an which has the unique power to appeal to the emotions and to the intellect at the same time. To those sceptical of revelation as such and of the Qur'anic revelation in particular, the Qur'an itself has many answers showing that sceptics are not exclusively a 'modern' phenomena.

Directly relevant to our purposes, the Qur'an presents itself as being a "Discernment" or *Furqan*, a Criterion between truth and error. God has said in the Qur'an:

"Truth has come and falsehood has vanished. Falsehood by its nature is bound to vanish." (Bani Isra'il, 17:81).

And also:

"And now we have sent thee (O Muhammad) on a clear road of our commandment, so follow it and follow not the whims of those who know not... This is a clear indication for mankind and a guidance and a mercy for a folk whose faith is sure. Or do those who commit ill deeds suppose that we shall make them as those who believe and do good works, the same in life and death? Bad is their judgement! And God has created the heavens and the earth with truth, that every soul may be repaid what it has earned. And they will not be wronged. Hast thou seen him who maketh his desire his god... Then who will lead him after God? Will ye not then heed?" (Al Jathiyah, 45:18-23).

This is the sort of standpoint which inspired the great German poet-philosopher, Goethe, in his *East-West Divan* when he wrote humourously yet bluntly:

"Fools, that each in his own case
Worships his own special opinion!
If Islam means—to God submit—
We live and die all in Islam's dominion."

The Qur'an emphasised that God did not create man in *jest* or play or without direction but has shown him the way and it is up to man whether he decides to be guided or not, to be grateful or ungrateful. Islam emphasizes belief in One God. Guidance stems from belief. Detailed guidance is given to man. A good example of a Qur'anic verse which gives a bird's-eye view of Islam's concerns is:

"It is not righteousness that you turn your

faces to the East and the West. But righteous is he who believes in God and the Last Day and the Angels and the Scripture and the Prophets and gives his wealth, for the love of God, to kinsfolk and to orphans and the needy and the wayfarer and to those who ask, and to set slaves free; and observes proper worship and pays the purifying tax (Zakat). And those who keep their treaty when they make one and the patient in tribulation and adversity and times of stress. Such are they who are sincere. Such are the God-fearing." (Al Baqara, 2:177).

As if to emphasize that all these statements, admonitions and injunctions are not abstract principles but meant to be effected in people's lives, to guide them on the right path, it is pointed out that the character of the prophet Muhammad was the Quran and God says in the Qur'an:

"Verily you have in the messenger of God a noble example." (Al Ahzab, 33:21).

The life of Muhammad, minutely recorded as it is, does provide Muslims with a living and a practical guide to their lives. It is surprising to find, even among the most educated in the West, some of the worst caricatures of the Prophet of Islam, caricatures in which sensuousness and violence are major ingredients. The preoccupation with the alleged sensuousness of the Prophet tells more of his detractors than of the Prophet himself. As for violence, only quite recently I was asking a young Muslim boy in a week-end school I visited what he thought of Muhammad. He replied that Muhammad was concerned to convert people to Islam and if he did not succeed in doing so he killed them. On being asked he said this was told to him by his history teacher at school. These are the type of unending calumnies that have become almost ingrained in the mind of the West and does great disservice to the religion which proclaims unequivocally:

"There is no compulsion in religion" (Al Baqara, 2:256)

and to the man, the Prophet, who said, "I was sent to complete the virtues of character."

The Qur'an and the Sunnah, then, provide the basis of Muslim conduct and life. They equip man with immutable and fundamental values about right and wrong, good and bad, fair and unfair and so on. In Islam, if something is good or bad, it is not relative or situational, it is so in all circumstances. Islamic morality is not something relative and of an empirical nature. This is because the nature of man, in which God has created him, has not changed and is not likely to change because of such things as the changing modes of production in society as Marx would have us believe. As the Qur'an declares:

"So set thy purpose for religion as a man by nature upright, the nature (framed) by God in which He has created man. There is no altering (the laws and the nature) of God's creation." (Ar Rum, 30, 30).

The spirit of empiricism and the empirical method is positively encouraged by Islam in the physical sciences. But empiricism does not and cannot govern morality and moral behaviour. For example, the best way of finding out the superiority of married life over other forms of sexual associations is certainly not to experiment with homosexuality, sexual *laissez-faire* or permissiveness. One would be so ravaged by the time one realizes the best solution that the benefits of that solution cannot be enjoyed, not to speak of the destructive impact on human society as a result of such conduct.

The fact that a definite pattern of moral behaviour is laid down does not mean by any means that Islam expects an unthinking and blind acceptance of its principles. This would be against the very concept of man in Islam where man is endowed with intellect and reason and has choice. It is significant that in the Qur'an those who turn away from faith and guidance are described as *hum laa ya'qilun*—those who do not use their minds or their intellects. The Qur'an itself does not adopt a didactic, unreasonable approach. Over and over again people are told to do this or that because it is good or it is better for them or something should not be done because

* "Symposium on Moral Education," Kesteven College of Education, Peterborough, 5 December 1972.

its harm exceeds its benefits. This for example is the case with alcoholic drinks and gambling.

You may ask, well surely there are situations and developments where the Qur'an and Sunnah are not explicit or do not provide ready-made guidance. Indeed this is so and Islam provides for the exercise of freedom and discretion in certain matters indicating that man is not a kind of robot or cog in the wheel of the predetermined or the object of surmounting by a priestly class. In fact there is no priestly class in Islam—another indication of man's individual freedom and his responsibility.

The freedom and responsibility of man is not to be interpreted as licence but are to be applied in certain circumstances and in a particular manner. In the absence of specific guidance in the Qur'an and the Sunnah there is room for "exercising, oneself" and from one's own judgement, ie: for *ijtihad*.

It has been called the principle of movement in Islamic law and shows that Islamic law and judgement is not something static. The view has always been that whatever is not prohibited is allowed and this has accounted for the unity and variety in Muslim civilization and the existence of the universal and the particular from community to community. But I think that as far as moral standards and the bases for moral judgements are concerned there is more unity and if anything little or no diversity. It is unthinkable for Muslims anywhere to decide by a democratic vote for or against whether homosexuality should be legalized or not, whether capital punishment should be abolished or not whether legislation should be introduced to curb racial discrimination or not or in broad terms whether morality should be separated from religion which are some of the issues which have been taxing the attention of educators and legislators in Britain.

I hope that what has been said so far would give some idea of the fact that the premises of morality and of moral education and of moral judgement in Islam is quite different from the type of thing which is being advocated in the demand for moral education today. It would be obvious by now I hope that the basic purpose of the new *Lifeline* material recently issued by the Schools Council Project on Moral Education and published by Longmans is quite contrary to the purpose and method of Islam when it says that the material was "designed to help adolescent boys and girls to find their own solutions to questions about behaviour and interpersonal relations". I suggest that this sort of attitude could only lead to moral anarchy as it is an indication of a disastrous lack of appreciation of what civilization is about, a lack of confidence on the part of teachers and an expression of 'permissive' morality however elegantly it may be presented as part of existentialist or humanist thinking.

The method of imparting moral education is something to which I would return later. I want now to deal with a few questions which seem to occupy the attention of those in the field of moral education. I hope in treating them the view, which is held to be the Islamic view, would become clear, namely, that morality is not unrelated to the happiness and welfare of people, whether as individuals or as a body politic. Nothing is condemned as immoral which does not harm people and only that which helps to promote their welfare both in the material and spiritual senses is commended as being moral.

Race relations is potentially one of the most explosive issues in the world today and yet we see that the attitude to race is frequently determined by such trivial concerns as whether we like the smell of curry or not or the sexual attractiveness of people belong to other racial groups. A recent study has shown that teaching designed to reduce racial prejudice among people aged 15 to 20 was followed by an increase in prejudice and only one teaching technique produced a significant shift in the direction of tolerance—this concerned the use of photographs of attractive coloured girls. No amount of moral education based on "situational" ethics it seems is capable of defusing the racial prejudices which are fostered in some societies.

People would be spared much agony if they accept the saying of the Prophet, peace be upon him in his Farewell message:

"People descend from Adam, and Adam was made out of dust. There is no superiority for an Arab over a non-Arab, neither for a white man over a black man, except the superiority gained through piety and righteousness."

Arnold Toynbee has recorded the effect of these principles on social harmony. In his *Civilization on Trial* (O.U.P. 1948) he wrote:

"Two conspicuous sources of danger—one psychological and the other material—in the present relations of this cosmopolitan proletariat which is the dominant element in our modern western society, are race consciousness and alcohol; and in the struggle with each of these evils the Islamic spirit has a service to render which might prove, if it were accepted, to be of high moral and social value. The extinction of race consciousness between Muslims; one of the outstanding moral achievements of Islam, and in the contemporary world there is, as it happens, a crying need for the propagation of this Islamic virtue."

In the face of this testimony it seems shortsighted and arrogant even to proclaim that man "does not need to fall back on the 'tuetlage' of God" and should not "rely on 'given' values being dispensed to him from a transcendent source."

If we turn to the question of punishment, immediately some minds would turn aghast and conjure up notions of Victorian severity and brutality. But a society where there is a constant swing from severity to one of softness even of hero-worship of some criminals is clearly in a state of crisis which cannot be resolved by the pontifications of the mass media and the feelings of guilt common to many liberals. The trouble is that once a society and the individuals do not know to whom or to what responsibility is due, then to talk of 'obedience' and such concepts as 'obligation' and 'punishment' is in some respects a fruitless exercise. In Islam we know clearly where obedience is due and no matter who breaks the law, whether the ruler or the ruler's daughter, the penalties are enforced. And Islam gets to the root of the problem. It does not, as has rightly been said, ask a man to drink and not to drive, but tells him not to drink and drive. When we are asked to put up with half-measures and quasi-solutions we are bound to have the problem of discipline not only in schools but also in society at large. Things cannot be left to the whims of a domineering head-teacher or a quixotic judge. Clearly for example discipline in schools would improve tremendously if a dictum of the Prophet is followed to the effect that one must respect the young so that the young would respect the elder in turn. Artificial rules like those dealing with uniforms should not be enforced in such a way as to create a contempt for justiciable laws and legitimate social sanctions.

So far as sexual morality is concerned*, Islam aims at having a healthy attitude towards sex as something not to feel guilty or ashamed of. In Islam the sexual urge is to be satisfied only within the marriage bond.

Islam therefore encourages people to marry shows them the best way to preserve and enjoy married life, makes provision for them to terminate the contract of an unsuccessful marriage, lessens the chances or the factors which tempt or even drive them to look for sexual satisfaction outside marriage and severely punishes those who seek gratification in non-marital avenues.

All these are meant for the preservation of the individual's and society's well-being. In a secular society it would be very difficult to enforce this view of sex. A man tempted by the chance of enjoying the company of a consenting beautiful lady that is not his wife, may think of and acknowledge all the harm to society of his individual act and yet say, "But I am not society. What matters to me is that here and now I can have a good time, just as a husband may have with his wife. Why therefore bother myself with the repercussions of my act if it were to be uni-

versalised?" A Muslim on the other hand tries to obey the Islamic injunctions knowing what effect it would have on society but mainly and essentially because of his belief in the knowledge, wisdom, and reward of the Authority which issued them. What people therefore need is not advice on how to behave sexually, but a belief which lends meaning to their lives and thus drives the sexual desire back to its proper place in their hearts.

Aisha, the wife of the Prophet, is reported as saying that the Prophet did not start by telling the Arabs not to drink wine and not to commit fornication. He started by telling them about God and the Hereafter until they had firm belief in these. It is only then that he told them not to drink or commit adultery and they obeyed him. "Had he started by telling them not to drink wine or not to commit adultery, they would have said, 'We will never abandon them.'"

It should have become clear by now that in Islam moral education cannot be separated from religious education. The attempt to do so in British schools, on the plea that there are differing religions or sects or that religion is just a matter of personal opinion or that religion is badly taught, is certainly an undesirable one so far as Muslims are concerned. Muslims should not like to be subjected to a totalitarian secularist or existentialist view just as they would not like their children to be subjected to a religious view of the Godhead or of the world which is fundamentally different from their own. The principle of non compulsion and of autonomy in religious education and practices is one which is best suited to a plural multi-religious society. In this set-up everyone, including the humanist, should be satisfied and we would not have such problems as a Jewish pupil being given food to eat that is not kosher or a Muslim girl being compelled to wear a mini-skirt as part of a school's uniform. It follows that Muslims would be the best persons to impart religious moral education to Muslims and the same would apply to Catholics, Buddhists and others.

However because of the Muslim's total view of Education, it would readily be seen that the teaching of such subjects as history, sociology, physical education and even science subjects affect a person's world-view and therefore his moral judgement and behaviour. With this in mind it is necessary to point out that there are many drawbacks in the present system of education as a whole, the main one being that it perpetuates the division of life into the religious and the secular. For a Muslim to be satisfied with moral education, the whole education system has to be looked into. This is something which even the Muslim countries have not got around to appreciating and it may sound far-fetched for us to consider it here. Therefore, even the present system of autonomous religious education has limited advantages but one which Muslims would like to use fully, realizing that it is a useful but not a sufficient means for the imparting of moral education. One thing, however, which must be said is that the demand for an eclectic system of morals and moral behaviour derived from what is common to all religions, is not a satisfactory one even if it were possible to formulate such a system.

In imparting moral education, the role of the parents is primary and vital and in a sense this is the only safeguard which many people in the Muslim community in Britain have. But whether it be parents at home or teachers at school, moral education is to be inculcated through a sense of responsibility, not by asserting a sham authority. As against the growing view that morals cannot be taught but only caught, there should be the emphasis on both precept and practice; morals can be taught as well as caught. The teaching part is done by admonition (*maw'iza*) and we have a beautiful example of this in the Qur'an when Luqman the wise advises his son. It is this advice which is worth looking up both for the spirit in which it is given and its content. It is advice which would illuminate much of our discussion on moral education. It shows the nature of Authority, of the family bond, Of good companionship; it shows the need not only to enjoin the good, but to forbid the evil, and among the things to avoid crassness: and self-righteousness in one's own conduct.

* The views on this subject are taken from 'Marriage and Morals', by J. S. Idris in *The Muslim*, London, April 1970.

Nota Bene 'SCRIBE'

Revolution like love is a many splendored thing; various things to various people. No wonder, therefore, that while the traditionally progressive and revolutionary societies are going through what Marcuse terms counter-revolution, the Third World is either already undergoing or rearing to go in for a revolutionary experience. Somehow, the lag between the developed and the developing countries exists in respect not only of industrial development but extended equally to the domain of ideas and ideology. What was fashionable in the developing West yesterday is likely to be the vogue today in the developing countries.

Talking about revolution reminds one of an early revolutionary story. One fine morning, someone somewhere in Africa woke up to hear that the preceding midnight there had come a revolution in the country. Who is she or what is it like? Is it animate or an inanimate object? Down there in the bush no one was sure. The witch doctor said he had a hunch it had something to do with America because only their magic was superior to the native witchcraft. But why worry, he counselled, things were going to undergo a beautiful change; there won't any more be the drudgeries of the olden days.

So the African waited with hope and with expectation. Weeks and then months passed by, but nothing came in the way of the poor man to make him either to feel or see the revolution. And then one day came a shapely Peace Corps volunteer. The African exclaimed: If this is revolution, then revolution is good. He went on to propose to her to be his seventh wife, but she politely declined, may be because he did not occupy any sensitive position in the society. The African told himself resignedly that revolution is no doubt beautiful but it is also cruel.

Perhaps, the bedu had a more convincing experience. Out in the metropolis to see with his own eager eyes the revolution being celebrated, he ended up by having his small purse emptied. In the liberation square he met a kind hearted man from the revolution who moved by his centuries old deprivation and class consciousness mercifully offered to transfer the ownership of the capital's tramways in return for whatever he had in his pocket. Back in the desert he would not speak to anyone about his impressions of the revolution. Whatever he thought, whatever he felt? But they pressed on and on until he burst out: "Revolution? There is no revolution, but an excuse to pick the fellaheen's pockets". These however, are reactionary stories; only show how certain individuals happened to react to certain situations.

The latest in the world of ideologies is "Mujibbad" or Mujibism. Since its emer-

gence less than a year ago, students of political phenomenology have been anxious to know something about this newest in ideology. Their prayers, it seems, have now been answered.

The other day in Dacca, Khondaker Mohammed Elias, "a noted writer of the country presented a copy of his 'Mujibbad' to Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman". The book is "dedicated to the people of Bangladesh, India and Soviet Union" and 700 pages are devoted to explaining "the philosophical background and scientific foundations of Mujibbad, its main principles and problems in its realisation".

Sheikh Mujib undoubtedly is the most fortunate of the present-day statesmen. Ayub Khan and his bureaucrats wrote for him the famous Six Points, and Sheikh Mujib in all his simplicity and humility consented to be its author. Then General Yahya and his advisers foisted on him the charge of waging war against Pakistan and while he contested the charge honestly and vociferously before the military tribunal, when he reached Dacca he politely accepted that this indeed was true. He even went a step further and told the Awami League Council that he had been planning for Bangladesh independence since the day Pakistan came into being. Since Mrs. Gandhi had gone to so much pains to obtain for him the fatherhood of Bangladesh, should he have refused?

He would have failed in his duty to the people if he did not also give them an ideology. Man does not live by rice alone, a commodity which is anyway scarce in the country. While the fools were quarelling over the possible contents of the ideology, one follower suggested the name; "Mujibbad". Being a "man of the people", Mujib had no right to refuse lending his name. With the name having been settled, the only problem which remained was laying down the contents of Mujibbad. Despite *ad hoc* theorising and explanations, opposition in Bangladesh were trying to make much political capital out of the non-meaning of Mujibbad. One can thus join Sheikh Mujib in "congratulating" the author for "what he said was a monumental work".

Native reactions to Britain joining the European Economic Community on the midnight of 31st December 1972—1st January 1973 are naturally mixed and in whether one is pro or anti there is not much enthusiasm either way. Despite fanfare, pamphleteering and copious documentation, how the relationship evolves and proceeds to take shape is much too early to forecast. But for one thing it has made redundant one old English saying: There is fog in the channel and the Continent is cut off. Poor continentals. But if there is any more fog, the Island would be cut off.

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Human Rights in Bangladesh

Bengal needs hope, not
vengeance

Iqbal Idris & Mahbul Islam *

Dr. A. M. Malik, the former Governor of East Pakistan and four of his cabinet ministers have recently been sentenced to life imprisonment by special tribunals in Dacca. As the trial drama goes on, many more ministers, politicians, intellectuals, journalists, trade union workers, and common people are expected to be similarly sentenced. In fact the official figure is 43,000 and all are charged with having "waged war on Bangladesh" by "collaborating" with the Pakistan "occupation army". This collaborators baiting has now gone on since more than a year and by all accounts and by any standard, the Bangladesh situation is unprecedented in the history of human rights denial.

The London "Society for Human Rights", on the request of Dr. Malik's wife had arranged for Dr. Malik's defence and engaged Sir Dingle Foot, Q.C. as his senior defence counsel. Sir Dingle Foot arrived at Dacca airport on 17th November 1972, but was refused permission to enter and had to get out by the next available flight. Here it is interesting to recall that when Shaikh Mujibur Rahman himself was being tried in the "Agartala conspiracy case" by Ayub Khan's regime, he was defended by Mr. Tom Williams, a British Q.C.

It is obvious that the intention was to deny Dr. Malik the opportunity of being defended by Sir Dingle Foot and more importantly prevent the legality of the regime's actions being challenged. A fair and impartial trial would have shown the significance and strength of the Federalist opinion in Bangladesh and that a vast number of the intelligentsia thoroughly disapproved the undemocratic and oppressive policies adopted by the authorities. However, this refusal was only one action in the series of totalitarian actions taken by the Bangladesh government against those who differed with them.

The Bangladesh "Collaborators Order" has been promulgated retrospectively, in order simply to punish people for acts which did not constitute any offence at the time they were committed. The plain object is to persecute all those who lawfully and for *bona fide* reasons co-operated with the government of the day in preserving the federal structure of their country. The law also lays down a minimum punishment of three years imprisonment which is unprecedented in any penal system, at least in the civilised world. The government have so amended the existing Evidence Act and the Criminal Procedure Code as to prevent any acquittal at all of their political opponents.

The "Bangladesh Collaborators Order" stands condemned on all grounds—constitutional, conventional, legal, moral and humanitarian. It is in direct and flagrant violation of the Declaration of Human Rights and the Charter of the United Nations Organisation.

Articles 11 (1) and (2) of the Human Rights Charter provide that:

(1) *Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved*

guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.

(2) *No one should be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.*

The issues involved are plain and simple. Prior to 16 December 1971, there were two opposing sides in East Pakistan: the federalists and the secessionists. The course of events after the armed intervention by India, led to the victory of the latter. With the surrender of Pakistan Army the hostilities ended. Once the hostilities cease, the victors have no right to kill, persecute or even harass persons who earlier held a different or an opposite view.

In this respect the opinion expressed by the secretariat of the International Commission of Jurists, Geneva, in its study *Events in East Pakistan*, is very relevant. The tragedy of East Pakistan, it correctly holds was the result of "a brutal civil war, in which each side was convinced that the cause they were fighting for was just. The Pakistan Army, the Biharis, the Muslim League, and the members of Jamaat-e-Islami were fighting for the unity of an Islamic Pakistan. The Bengalis (meaning those who stood for secession) were fighting for the right to run their own country". (P.31)

It follows, therefore, that those patriotic East Pakistanis who co-operated with the government of Pakistan with a view to preventing secession were guilty of no crime and cannot be held to be guilty. The Awami League of Shaikh Mujibur Rahman had contested the 1970 general elections on the basis of a Six-point programme which called for increased autonomy but under one federation. Furthermore, it has been publicly asserted that until the end of December 1971, Shaikh Mujibur Rahman himself had been "solemnly and unequivocally affirming loyalty to the integrity of Pakistan (vide *Impact*, London, Vol. 2:13).

The "Collaborator's Order" is simply an excuse to herd into prison a large number of *Bengali* intellectuals, educationists, scholars, politicians, doctors, journalists, religious leaders and trade unionists, in fact all the active elements of the society. The intention is to destroy the spirit of the people and bring about a cultural and political elimination of Muslim Bengal. Prominent persons like Dr. Syed Sajjad Hussain, Vice-Chancellor of Dacca University; Dr. Abdul Basit, one of the leading dermatologists of the subcontinent and a professor of medicine at Dacca Medical College; Dr. Deen Muhammed, one of the foremost linguists and literary critics, and a Reader of the University of Dacca, Dr. Mohar Ali, a historian; Dr. Hasan Zaman, the most celebrated political scientist at the University of Dacca; Dr. Mustafizur Rahman, another Reader at the University of Dacca; Dr. Zillur Rahman, Dean of the Faculty of Law, Rajshahi University; Dr. Moqbul Husain, Head of the Department of Commerce, Rajshahi University; and scores of other academics are languishing in Bangladesh prisons.

Among the most prominent *Bengali* politicians who are suffering incarceration in the over-crowded gaols of Bangladesh, mention may be made of Messrs Fazlul Quader Chowdhary, a former Speaker of the Pakistan National Assembly; Khan A. Sabur Khan a former Leader of the House in the National Assembly; Hashemuddin Ahmad, Abbas Ali Khan, Jasimuddin, Nowajish Ahmad, Maulana A. K. M. Yousaf, Maulana M. Ishaq, Obaidullah Majumdar, Akhtaruddin, A. S. M. Solaiman and Abul Quasem, all former Ministers; Faikuzzaman, A. T. M. Matin, Abdul Matin, Shah Azizur Rahman, Major Afsaruddin, A. B. M. Nurul Islam, Faizul Haque and Khawja Khairuddin, all former members of the Pakistan National Assembly; Shaheed Ali, Shafiqur Rahman, Abdul Jalil, Fazlul Haque Choudhary, Abdus Salam, and Molla Afsaruddin—all leading lawyers and advocates of the High Court and

religious leaders including Maulana Abdul Latif Fultali, Maulana Abdul Hai, Maulana Abu Zafar (Peer Sahib of Sarsina), Maulana Muslehuddin and Maulana Mohammad Masum.

The oppressive measures also include the muzzling of the independent Press. All newspapers and journals not conforming to the Awami League's diktat have been banned and their editorial staff imprisoned. The Bengali dailies—*Sangram*, *Paigham*, *Dainik Pakistan* and weeklies *Haq Katha*, *Spokesman*, *Mukhapatra*, and *Jahane-Nau* have been banned. Renowned editors like Professor Akhtar Faruq, Syed Irfanul Bari and Mr. Foizur Rahman have been imprisoned without trial.

This reign of terror has evoked protests from all the sane elements in the society including some prominent supporters of the Awami League. Mr. Ataur Rahman Khan, a former Awami League Chief Minister of East Pakistan, has come out strongly on the point. He said: "Some people sincerely and genuinely believed that by taking part in the elections they would help restoration of normalcy and if somebody had *bona fide* intentions what is the harm? . . . These people did not know that they were violating any law. In fact, such a law was not there, and now you give it a retrospective effect. I reminded the judge that he too had been doing his work during the period which is called occupation period". (*Impact*, London, Vol. 2:8).

Mr. Abul Mansur Ahmad, a former Vice President of the Awami League and a former minister in the Awami League cabinet of Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, has published a long article in the Bengali daily *Ittefaq*, (8 September 1972), the official organ of the Awami League. He notes with regret that "within nine months after taking over the charge of the administration, the present government has abandoned almost all those principles of the Awami League which had made it a popular party . . . To put people into prison, without trial, to dissolve the High Court and replace it by a new bench, to take away the habeas corpus and writ powers from the High Court and all other courts, to declare opposition political parties illegal, to transform political acts into criminal offences and to give retrospective effect to such offences, to take away the fundamental voting rights from persons convicted for political offences, to arbitrarily amend the Evidence Act and the Criminal Procedure Code with a view to punishing people who cannot otherwise be punished, to introduce provision for minimum punishment, and to suspend the fundamental rights, and the right to strike by the labour are some of the heinous doings of the present government. These actions are unparalleled in the history of the civilised world. Even dictators did not commit such atrocious deeds.

As for those who had opposed Bangladesh independence, Mr. Abdul Mansur wrote: "Opposition to independence until it was achieved was a matter of difference in political opinion. It cannot be construed as being anti-state. Until the achievement of India's independence a large number of people and several parties were opposed to independence. They even supported the British government. Many Hindus and Muslims and several parties opposed the creation of Pakistan until the day before the birth of Pakistan. After India's independence and the establishment of Pakistan nobody was convicted for his previous role. The independence of Bengal and the solidarity of Pakistan was a question of political controversy until the day before the achievement of independence of Bangladesh."

The *Times*, London (19 November 1972), rightly observed that in the existing situation, the collaborator's trials were needless and might lead to more troubles. It said: "Hope is what most Bengalis need, not the empty satisfaction of vengeance".

Should not the conscience of the world community now take note of this appalling and unparalleled denial of justice and human rights? And what could be better than the moral voice of the world to appeal to Shaikh Mujib to withdraw the Collaborator's Order, free all political prisoners and restore their basic human rights.

* Chairman and Secretary respectively, Publicity Committee, "Society for Defence of Human Rights", 55, Balfour Road, London N. 5

Books

Linguistics and Colonialism

Languages Identification Guide

by R. S. Gilyarevsky & V. S. Grivnin, 1970

The Modern Persian Language

by Yu. A. Rubinchik, 1971

USSR Academy of Sciences, *Nauka Publishing House*, Moscow

The ever increasing amount of books, magazines, and newspapers published in all languages of the world require that libraries, bibliographers, newsmen, editors and booksellers should be able to identify the language of a printed work without being familiar with this language. The guide has been prepared to meet this requirement.

The guide, while concise (pp.344), covers more than two hundred languages in which nearly all of the world's printed matter is published, including those ancient languages which played an important role in the development of national cultures and the lettering of which became basic to some modern alphabets.

The identification is based on the fact that nearly each language has in writing some graphic characteristics distinguishing it from all other or kindred languages. Some alphabets are used only in one language, while others in several languages each of which may, however contain special letters, diacritic signs or auxiliary words not to be found in any other language. In each case, a sample is given to represent the most characteristic peculiarities of its printed form.

Besides the purposes of identification, the guide is informative in several other ways. Scanning through the pages one finds that out of 64 languages now in use in Russia, 24 had until 1927 Arabic script. These languages include Adighe, Karardian, Chechen, Ingush, Avar, Dargwa, Lesghin and Lak belonging to various sub-groups of Caucasian languages which are spoken in the Autonomous Regions of Adygei and Karachay-Cherkessk and in the Republics of Kabardino-Balkarian, Chechen-Ingush, Dagestan, Azerbaijan; Turkmen, Azerbaijani, Tatar, Bashkar, Kumyk, Kara-Kalpak, Nogai, Kazakh, Kirghiz, Karachai, Balkar, Uzbek and Uigur language belonging to Turkic group of languages spoken in the Republics of Turkmen, Azerbaijan, Tatar, Bashkir, Kara-kalpak, Dagestan, Kazakh, Kirghiz, Uzbek, Kabardino-Balkarian and in Karachay-Cherkessk, Western Siberia, the Barabinsk Steppe, Astrakhan, Ryzan, Kuibyshev, Gorky and Orenburg regions; Kurdish and Tajik belonging to Indo-Iranian languages. These two are spoken widely in the Armenian Georgian, Azerbarjanian and Tajik Republics. The last of these 24 languages, Dungan, belongs to the Sino-Tibetan languages and is widespread in Kirghiz, Kazakh and Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic.

These 24 languages are spoken by 22.8 million people. By 1927-28 the script of these languages was changed from Arabic to Latin. This change did not last very long and from 1937 onwards all of them had "adopted" the Russian script.

Adoption of the Latin Script for Turkic languages in Russia in 1927 made a great impact in Turkey. Turkish linguists supported the adoption of Latin script in place of Arabic script for Turkish language. One of the reasons put forward was that this change would help keep closer ties between Turkic people of Russia (now about 19.8m according to the guide) and Turkey (20m). Turkey adopted the Latin script in 1928.

It is interesting to note that from amongst languages representing distinct cultural groups, only languages using the Arabic script finally abandoned this script. Languages using non-Russian script remained unaffected by revolutionary changes. For example, Lettish, Lithuanian, Finnish and Estonian still use the same latin script as before.

Similarly Armenian, Georgian and Yiddish are in use without being affected at all in their Armenian, Mkhedruli and Yiddish scripts respectively.

The case of two languages, Kurdish and Uigur is most interesting. While the Kurds living in USSR (about 50,000 of them, according to the guide, live in the Armenian, Georgian and Azerbaijanian Republics and partially in Central Asia) use Russian script, those living in Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan, use the Arabic alphabet. Kurds living in Turkey and Syria use latinized Turkic alphabet and those living in Iraq use Latin-Kurdish alphabet.

Uigur provides another interesting example. It is spoken by more than 4 million Kazakhs, Kirghizes, Tatars and Uzbeks now divided between Russia and China. In USSR, the process of latinization of Uigur started in 1928 and was later abandoned in favour of Russian script. While Uigurs in USSR now use Russian script, Uigurs living in adjoining Chinese territories (Sinkiang) still use Arabic script. But this is in the process of being eliminated.

Not content with political subjugation and splitting the Uigurs between Russia and China, the Chinese are also working on a project to replace Arabic with the Latin script thereby cutting them off from their past heritage as well.

The chapter on the 'languages of the Nations of Africa' is also interesting. Two of the great languages of Africa have in recent times changed their script from Arabic to Latin. Before the arrival of missionaries and colonisation in the 19th century Swahili was written in Arabic script. Swahili belongs to Bantu languages and is spoken by 40 million people living in Tanzania, Zanzibar and other adjacent parts of Congo, Madagascar, along the Somali Coast and in South Arabia. After colonisation, the script was changed to Latin. Hausa is another great language of Africa which has abandoned the Arabic in favour of Latin script after colonisation. Hausa belongs to the Hamitic languages and is spoken by 15 million people living in Northern Nigeria and adjacent areas. Besides, it is a lingua franca for most of the Western Sudan.

● Since the establishment of the 'Languages of Asia and Africa' series in 1959, more than seventy language monographs have been published by the USSR Academy of Sciences. The series is intended for a broad circle of linguists, historians, research workers and as reference work for teaching in oriental, philological and historical departments of the Universities. It therefore meets the growing interest of Russia, as a world power, to understand and communicate with the people of these areas. Since 1965 some of these monographs have also appeared in English. The present book was first published in Russia in 1961 and include monographs on Turkish, Pushto, Farsi-Kabuli, Sanskrit, Hindi, Swahili, Hausa, Bahasa Indonesia, Punjabi, Baloochi, Assamese, Egyptian, Kurdish, Zulu, Modern Arabic, (and all its dialectical varieties), Yuruba, Dravidian languages, Gujrati, Bengali, Sindhi, Berber languages etc.

The present monographs contain chapters on historical aspects of Persian, its phonetics, writing and its vocabulary and morphology.

Persian language belongs to the Iranian group of Indo-European languages, which include a considerable number of genetically related languages spread over the vast territory of Iran,

Afghanistan, Tadjikistan, some parts of Pakistan, India, China, Turkey, Iraq and Syria. Iranian languages are generally divided into two groups: Western and Eastern. The Western group consists of Persian, Tadjik, Mazandarani, Baloochi and Bakhtiari and Qumzari etc. The eastern group consists of Pushtu (Afghan), Yagnobi, Munjani and Pamiri etc. This division, however, is not exact in the geographical sense. For example, the Baloochi and Tadjik languages which belong to the Western group are used in the East. Tadjik in Tadjikistan and Baloochi in Pakistan, South-East Iran, Afghanistan and Turkmenistan.

Persian is a very old language. Besides being the state language of Iran, it is the second state language of Afghanistan, known as Farsi, along with Pushtu. In different historical periods the language also spread in some regions of Central Asia and India.

Arabic became the State, literary and written language in Iran, during the Caliphate (7th-10th centuries A.D.). Modern Persian starts from the 9th century and continues upto the present day. By the beginning of the 9th century in Central Asia and Khorasan a literary language called Dari (or Darbari, meaning 'court') or Farsi became the common language for the Persians and Tadjiks. The modern Persian and Tadjik languages are further developments of Dari, which are the two branches of an originally single language.

During the 10th-15th century a very rich literature was written in Farsi, created by such people as Rudaki (10th C.) in Bukhara, Firdaws (10th-11th C.) in Tus (Khorasan), Sa'adi (11th C.) Hafiz (14th C.) in Shiraz, and Jami (15th C.) in Herat. Farsi was also used by the great scholar Abu Ali Ibn Sina, and by prominent historians like Baihaqi, Rashid ad-Din and others. The significance of Farsi as a written language of the Middle and Near East was very great. Until the Socialist Revolution in 1917, Farsi was the written literary language of the Tadjiks, although it differed greatly from the Tadjik conversational language in vocabulary and grammar. (In 1928 the script of Tadjik was first changed from Arabic to Latin. Later in 1940 the script was changed to Russian).

During the early 20th Century, specially during the period (1906-1911), a struggle for the 'democratisation' of the language became prominent. This is the period when the British and Russians were trying to establish control over Iran and during this anarchy the Persian language cast off much of its Arabic style.

Dr. G. U. Siddiqui

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Briefing

The May Thirteenth Incident and Democracy in Malaysia by Goh Cheng Teik, OUP, £1.00

In the 1969 elections to the (West) Malaysian State and Federal Legislatures, non-Malay parties emerged as a potent factor in the Malaysian polity. The Opposition, although clothed in an ideological language was essentially racial and so when the Chinese brought out a victory procession it produced the now notorious riots of 13 May. Whether it was Malay hyper-sensitivity or Chinese over-reaction or both the incidents have brought to question some fundamental premises underlying Malaysian nationalism.

For one thing the problems are accentuated by the wholesale transplantation of the European nation-state concept, and Goh Cheng Teik's essay is given to discussing this dilemma. The Malays cannot be told in so many words that if they really believed in secular democracy they should also be ready to accept the non-Malay Malaysians as a Prime Minister and in other key Federal and State positions. Teik, himself a Chinese who teaches at the University of Malaya, is not sure if the non-Malays would be patient and "refrain from contesting for power at polls through essentially communal political organisations". However, if they do so, eventual political power may only be one generation away.

The Rescue of Emin Pasha by Roger Jones, Allison & Busby, £5.00

Emin Pasha a German botanist and physician "converted" to Islam and the Khedive appointed him to be the governor of Egypt's southernmost province. When Khartum fell to the Mahdi, Emin was cut off from "the world" and H.M. Stanley led an expedition (1887-89) to rescue Emin. Stanley who had discovered Livingstone and opened up Congo for the Belgians was engaged by a British "humanitarian" Committee but commissioned actually by three parties: British businessmen and the International British East Africa Company, King Leopold of Belgium, and the Khedive. The Khedive who funded 50% of the expedition cost wished his men to be rescued, Leopold wanted to secure the Lower Nile and the British aimed at Equatoria. Stanley led an expedition of eight white officers and 800 Zanzibaris, Arabs, Sudanese and Somalese and of these only 230 could finally return to Zanzibar. The rest died or were simply abandoned en route. Emin was not willing to be rescued and was forced to return.

An interesting chapter from the European scramble for Africa.

India's Economic Relations with the USSR and Eastern Europe 1953-1969 by Asha L. Datar, Cambridge U.P., \$13.16.

Analysing the Indo-Soviet relations since the Korean War, the late Miss Datar showed how New Delhi has benefitted from her economic and trade relations with Russia. Indirectly this also compelled the Western nations to compete for India's favours. Paradoxically or understandably this was not definitely so in case of aid and trade with Eastern Europe, a market manipulated no less by Moscow. Here the Indians paid for, and that's how the aid lever balanced itself.

Indo-Pakistan Relations (1960-1965) by Dinesh Chandra Jha, Bharati Bhavan, Patna, India Rs. 30.

Examines partition, the Kashmir problem, canal water and border dispute, friction over minorities etc. from an Indian viewpoint. Jha holds that the difference between India and Pakistan are not of any fundamental nature and arise from a failure in communications.

Counter-Revolution and Revolt by Herbert Marcuse, Allen Lane The Penguin Press, £2.00.

When Herbert Marcuse, the New Left philosopher and an old associate of the America's intellectual intelligence, tells us that the finest hours of the Revolution (that never was) are over, he is to be taken seriously. In fact the counter-revolution, negation of the negation, is already on. Western Capitalism has shown the singular capacity to ever reorganise "itself to meet the threat of a revolution" and it is not without significance that in no Western Capitalist country has a "revolution" ever occurred. Marcuse pleads optimism and says the truly socialist revolution is yet to come. When and if it comes, it would involve a true liberation of both man and nature. Nothing could be nearer truth but meanwhile revolution like colonialism stays on the export list.

The World and Nigeria by Suzanne Cronje, Sidgwick and Jackson, £5.95.

Mrs. Cronje exposes the British stand at the time of the Biafran war that Britain was doing all to end the civil war, that it were the Russians who were doing all the gun-running for the Federal authorities, and that they, the Britishers had only a 15% share of the market. The Nigerian trade statistics, however, show that by the end of the war Britain was supplying 97% of the Federal arms imports. Whether the Russians intended or not to oust Britain from West Africa, for Britain it was also the £300 million stake in the Nigerian oil industry. Gowen know this and was able to twist Harold Wilson's tail.

Jewish Reactions to German Anti-Semitism 1870-1914 by Ismar Shorsch, Columbia U.P., £4.70.

Emancipation was first granted to the Prussian Jewry in 1812 and extended later to whole of the German Jewry. Yet emancipation was not the end of the problem and the German Jews now had the task of balancing their role between being Germans in one part and Jews in another part of their entity. "Central-Veren" founded in 1893 held that the Jews were only a religious community. Though C.V. denounced Herzl's "Jewish State", it did not take up an open position against Zionism. With the growth of German nationalism, C.V. felt more impelled to emphasise upon the German-ness of the German Jews. German Zionists on the other hand had come to hold that religion and nationality in a modern state had nothing to do with citizenship. The differences between C.V. and the German Zionists though at times bitter and acute, did not preclude cooperation against anti-semitism.

● *International Relations* is a new quarterly magazine of the Bulgarian Foreign Policy Institute.

The Quran:

A new translation, third in the Czech language, has been published in Prague. The translation is by Dr. Ivan Henryeck (?) who has taken 20 years to prepare this translation and has included a chapter on the life of the Prophet and the principles of Islam. The earlier translations appeared 60 and 38 years ago. □ Translations of the Qur'an have also been completed in the Amharic (common in Ethiopia) and Korean languages. Sh. Abu Bakar Goumi, Chief Justice of Northern Nigeria has undertaken a translation of the Quran in the Hausa language. □ Egypt's Supreme Council of Islamic Affairs to make record discs of Quranic commentary in French and English. □ *Tafhim ul Qur'an*, six volumes, Abul A'la Maudoodi's encyclopaedic translation and commentary of the Qur'an in Urdu being rendered into English by Altaf Gauhar, Information Secretary under Ayub Khan and presently editor, *Dawn*, Karachi. Gauhar, sacked by Yahya Khan and imprisoned by President Bhutto introduced himself to *Tafhim* while in prison.

The Unholy War

David Waines £1.75

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

What Happened in History

Gordon Childe 35p/\$1.50

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

Indian Secularism

Sharif Al Mujahid £2.25

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

East Pakistan: A Case-study in Muslim Politics

D. N. Banerjee £2.20

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

Saviors of Islamic Spirit

Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi £2.00

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

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Tunku Abdur Rahman speaks of Muslim apathy and lethargy

From Jamal Sardar

"I served myself as a young man. My people and my country as a middle age man. Now as an old man, I wish to serve Islam". Tunku Abdur Rahman Putra, former Prime Minister of Malaysia and now Secretary-General of the Islamic Secretariat, was addressing a recent London reception given by the UK Islamic Mission. He said that Muslims everywhere are very slow in getting hold of their objectives and have developed a habit of leaving things for tomorrow. The idea of London Mosque, he said, took seed in 1920 when he was a student in London. He showed concern that practical steps could not be taken up to now. The problem of finance is a non-problem, "when you start building a mosque the money should flow in".

Tunku Abdur Rahman expressed concern over the emergence of divisive nationalism in the contemporary Arab society. "When one thinks of Arabs, one thinks of them as Arabs; when one thinks of Pakistanis or Malays or Turks one thinks of them as Muslims". He said the Malays based their national identity on Islam. "When you change your religion you cease to be Malay".

Tunku Abdur Rahman outlined the *raison d'être* of the Islamic Secretariat. He envisaged a role comparable to that of the UN or the Commonwealth but said things were slow and the task big; the Secretariat received a grant of only \$2,600,000. Even that is "not paid on the nail". "Why do something today if you can leave it for to-morrow?"

Resisting Communist Chauvinism

IMPACT REPORT

If half the century of communism has largely curbed open worship, it has quite evidently failed to uproot traditional values and the mode of life they foster. In Soviet Central Asia, according to recent reports in the world press, "Islamic influence is still very strong".

Hendrick Smith, special correspondent of the *New York Times*, reporting from Tashkent on 22 November 1972 related the following three incidents as indication of the hold Islamic "customs" have on the people of Soviet Central Asia. "When the Director of Tashkent's large pedagogical institute died a couple of years ago, officials proposed to accord him the honour of burial in the Communist cemetery reserved for outstanding figures. His family refused, insisting on burial in the Uzbek cemetery with a Muslim Mullah chanting prayers. At a restaurant in Bokhara the other evening a young man with a flair for modern fashion collapsed into a chair, impatiently ordered a beef dinner plus four fried eggs and hungrily devoured it all. He explained that during the day his family was observing the month-long Muslim fast of Ramadan.

Three teenage boys on a park bench near the magnificent blue domed Islamic monuments of Samarkand, in telling a foreigner that they were Muslims, evinced none of the common Soviet hesitancy to acknowledge religious affiliation. The visitor asked which holiday was most important for local people, expecting the boys to cite the approaching anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. But first one and then another said that this year the most

important holiday fell on November 8, Eid-ul-Fitr, the great Islamic feast marking the end of Ramadan."

Lt. Colonel Jean Proutslos, writing in the December 1972 issue of *Revue de Defence Nationale*, says that Muslim intellectuals are claiming political leadership in the Uzbek Turkistan, Tadzhik, Kazakhstan and Kirghis republics of Central Asia. His study, largely based on Russian documents, reads, in parts: "Islam, with its language and culture, constitutes the mainstay of a new type of nationalism spreading (in the Muslim areas) in Central Asia. Muslim nationalism can thus become a major element in the political situation of the Central Asian Republics, and, in the next ten to twenty years, may jeopardise the link now existing between the Slav and Muslim communities. Repression of national tendencies is no longer possible. It will only provoke anti-Russian chauvinism and render co-existence among the two communities even more difficult".

These observations are borne out by unusually frequent articles denouncing 'religious superstition' in *Pravda* and other Russian periodicals and demands of Sharaf R. Rashidov, the Communist leader of Uzbekistan, amongst others, for greater efforts to 'overcome religious survival'.

Pakistan Students in North America enter a new and active decade

Impact Report

With the beginning of 1973, Pakistan Students Association of America (PSAA, P.O. Box 2401, Kansas City, Mo. 64142, USA) completes two decades of its existence. The past two years of 'insincere, corrupt and selfishly expedient' politicking back home forced a change in the role of the Association from being a talking club to a strong and dynamic platform of the Pakistani cause in America. Staging demonstrations on the streets of Washington D.C., New York and Chicago; holding public meetings in major cities of US and Canada to voice patriotic Pakistani opinion; publishing materials to expose foreign designs and internal subversion in Pakistan; interpreting the country's true ideological ethos, all these are amongst the spheres of the Association's activities.

The Association also work towards uniting the Pakistani students studying in North America and to disseminate current affairs information from Pakistan amongst them. The PSAA publish *Pakistan Student* a journal which attempts to promote 'dialogue aimed at creating consciousness among the Pakistanis of their duties and obligations towards Pakistan. The Association also issues a periodical newsletter on important happenings as published in Pakistani newspapers.

On the cultural side, PSAA arranges every summer 8-10 weeks education tours to Pakistan for American students. Amongst its sub-committees there is one on Rural Reforms to study the existing state of Pakistani rural economy, availability of public utilities, educational facilities and health services. The sub-committee on Scientific Programmes has the mandate to study problems related to engineering, medicine and other sciences and to offer practical alternative and solutions.

As the work of the Association has now increased many folds, the PSAA has decentralized itself into nine different regions and it is for the regional representatives to plan and execute the activities in their respective areas.

Al-Khalil Appeal Outrage

In response to an appeal by the Mayor of al-Khalil, Hebron, Shaikh al-Ja'bari, Islamic Literary Circle, Nuneaton, have launched an appeal against conversion of Ibrahim Mosque into a synagogue. Protest cards are being sent to the UN Secretary General and other world leaders. The Circle has appealed to the World Community to raise their voice of protest against this sacrilege and violation of human rights. A printed post card can be obtained from the ILC, 102 Golf Drive, Nuneaton, Warwicks, U.K.

● The Central Committee of the U.K. Islamic Mission also condemned the Israeli outrage and has asked its branches to suitably register protest against the shameful action of the Israeli authorities and acquaint Muslims and other men of understanding of the danger it poses to peace and civilisation. (Impact News)

Dr. Qureshi asks Muslims to forge unity

Dr. Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi former Vice-Chancellor of Karachi University, told a London public meeting, organised by U.M.O., that Muslims residing in Britain should unite themselves to preserve their Islamic heritage. If they cannot unite then they should re-examine their faith, as the Holy Qur'an and the Hadith clearly stipulate that the Muslim *ummah* is one body. Muslims should try to convince the host community that they are truly dedicated to uphold the principles of Islam and win their confidence, he said. Talking of the permissive society, Dr. Qureshi recalled his student days in England and expressed the opinion that the English society then was on better moral foundation than it is today. The Muslims should clearly bear in mind that they will have to make a concerted effort to preserve and improve the moral quality of their personality. (Impact News)

LIBYA TO ASSIST YUGOSLAV MUSLIMS

Subsequent to the visit of Sh. Tahir Zawi, the Mufti of Libya, Libyan authorities are studying the possibility of assisting Muslims in Yugoslavia in establishing Mosques and Islamic Institutes. ● Morocco opened two new offices in France to look after the interests of 250,000 Moroccans in the country. (Impact News)

● **Seoul Mosque Fund:** First contribution of \$40,000 towards the mosque fund has come from King Hasan II of Morocco.

Pakistan Ambassador commends Quranic Study

Mian Mumtaz Daultana Pakistan's Ambassador to Britain, addressing the Annual General Meeting of the Chesham Place Prayer Committee, said that it was the duty of every Pakistani to study Islam and commended the work of the Qur'anic Study Circle, which meets every Friday at 7 p.m. at the Pakistan Student Hostel.

MUSLIM STUDENT ACTIVITIES

AEIF Conference: Association of Islamic Students in France held their Annual Conference between 28 December and 1 January. Assam al-Attar, Director of Aachen Mosque, was the chief guest.

FOSIS Winter Gathering: the Ninth Annual Winter Gathering of the FOSIS was held on 22-24 December at the Hayes Conference Centre, Swanwick, Derbyshire. Approximately 230 participants heard Prof. I. H. Qurashi, Assam al-Attar, Maulana Ansari and W. A. Wagialla on various aspects of Islamic spectrum.

The Students Islamic Society of Dundee University will hold a meeting on 13 January to discuss 'Pakistan—the Tragedy and its Message'. Another meeting on 27 January will discuss 'The Problems of a Muslim Student'.

The Islamic Society, University of Leeds will hold a meeting on 21 January to discuss the construction of an Islamic Centre in Leeds. Prof. I. H. Qureshi will be the chief guest.

Education, Parents and Law

IMPACT REPORT

British educational system has a complex structure; to steer your children successfully through their schooling is not at all an easy task. The relationship between the education system and the law is also very sophisticated. For example, compulsory school age is from five to 16. However, the obligation to attend school does not operate simply: reaching five doesn't give your children automatic legal right to enter school, nor can they leave as soon as they reach 16. Choosing a school itself is no easy task! How does one decide between secondary modern, comprehensive and grammar school? Changing a school can be even more difficult (it is interesting to note that the strongest reason one can give for changing a school is a religious one.) *WHERE on Parents and Law* (Advisory Centre for Education (ACE), 32 Trumpington Street, Cambridge), therefore, will be welcomed by many mums and dads. The booklet outlines legal rights and responsibilities of parents with children attending school.

The information contained in *WHERE on Parents and Law* is divided

into six parts: the first covers the legal obligations of the parents to cause the child to receive education; the second some of the financial obligations of local authorities towards pupils at school and beyond; the third part looks at the situations when parents have to turn to the law for redress while the fourth part examines the laws schools make for themselves; next there is some advice on actions when things go wrong between school and home; and finally there is advice when parents can attend education committee meetings and on appealing against legal changes to the school a child attends. Although the information contained within these sections is not exhaustive, it does give answers to some of the most common queries: 'Must I send my child to school?' How can I select an alternative school for my child? Are my children entitled to a maintenance grant? *WHERE on Parents and Law* marks out neat boundaries the law prescribes for education. To know them is to know one's rights. 'To know one's rights' as Dr. L. F. W. White says in his introduction, 'is more than half way to getting them accepted'.

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COLOUR VERSUS EMPLOYMENT

Impact Report

Despite the Race Relations Act, job discrimination against coloured people is widespread, say International Personnel, an employment agency which specialise in finding jobs for immigrants.

In its second Annual Report the agency declares: "Many firms on the clearing house lists do not know that most "International Personnel" applicants are black and at first seem quite enthusiastic to see those mentioned over the telephone. As soon as they know that an applicant is African, Caribbean or Asian their initial enthusiasm cools and often becomes hostile and results in a total refusal to see applicants".

Many firms have developed subtle ways of discrimination. The report cites, as an example, that a Nigerian accountant, aged 30, qualified in Britain is offered only £16 a week; his English counterpart earns £60 a week.

Powell questions the right of the Pakistani and Bengladeshi voters

IMPACT REPORT

A campaign has been launched in Wolverhampton South-West, constituency of Mr. Enoch Powell to seek disqualification of Pakistani and Bangladeshi voters in Britain. The case is based on Pakistan's withdrawal from the Commonwealth and on "the unequivocal reply of the Foreign Secretary on November 22 that all Pakistani citizens in this country are aliens." Mr. R. N. Pollard, Mr. Powell's agent, said that in order to have all Pakistanis and Bangladeshis struck off Wolverhampton's electoral register, he will not hesitate even to take the issue to court. The Home Office, however, maintains that as long as the Nationality Act of 1948 is not amended, Pakistanis stay to be British subjects. Same is the case with Bangladeshis whom the British government still regards as "Pakistanis". Mr. Powell has written to ask the Bangladesh High Commissioner whether he agreed with this view.

The Educated Afro- American

'The Black College Freshmen: Characteristics and Recent Trends', a research report just published by the American Council on Education (ACE), claims that the enrolment of 'American Blacks' at college and universities has increased 33% in five years—five times as much as for non-blacks—making them 6.3% of total American college students. The number of blacks actually matriculating has also risen from 15 to 23% in the same period. They also show progress in their recognition for scholastic honours. They are much less militant than non-blacks and almost half (46.5%) describe themselves as 'liberals'. (*Impact News*).

PEOPLE

King Hussain married Alyah Tuqan, divorced Princess Muna (Tony Gardiner). Tunku Abdur Rahman, 69, resigned from Malaysian Parliament, due to responsibilities in the Islamic Secretariat. Syrian Communist leader, Khalid Bakdash, 60, awarded "Order of the October Revolution" for services to the Communist Movement in M.E. Mahmud al Ayyabi new Syrian P.M. Six months prison £70 fine on M. R. Shami, editor *Zindagi*; weekly, Pakistan, for contempt of court Qaid Ahmad, member Algerian Revolution Council relieved from Party responsibility, health grounds. Abdul Aziz Najjar new Chairman Libyan Supreme Court. Gen. Amir Machmoud, Indonesian Home Minister for haj. Honorary Soviet D.Sc. to Amilear Cabral, Secretary General African Independence Party, Guinea. Robert Strauss leading member *Dallas Jewish Welfare Federation* elected Chairman, *US Democratic Party*. Dr. Moss Cass believed to be Australia's first Jewish Cabinet Minister. Prof. Raymond Carr, Warden, St. Anthony's College, Oxford, British Chairman "Friend of Negev University" group. Gen. S. H. F. J. Manekshaw promoted Field Marshal, to head India's Defence Forces. Air Marshal O. P. Mehra India's new airforce Chief from 15 January. Datok M. Asri, CM, Kelantan now Malaysia's Federal Minister for Land Development. Faqueer Shahabuddin appointed Bangladesh Attorney General. Mujibur Rahman East Pakistan Information Minister sentenced to life imprisonment. Mr. Altaf Gauhar replaced Mazhar Ali Khan, Editor *Dawn*, Karachi. Life sentence to A. K. M. Yousuf, Jamaat Islami leader and Cabinet Minister under Dr. A. M. Malik. Prof. Husain Nasr named Chancellor, Ayamehr University, Iran. Christopher Gweelard first coloured magistrate in Rhodesia. Major General E. O. Ekpo, Nigerian Chief of Staff, to attend course at the Imperial Defence College, London. Simon Kapwepwe, former leader, outlawed United Progressive Party, Zambia, released. New Cabinet in North Yemen headed by Quadi Abdullah Al-Hajari.

VISITS

Pres. Nyerere to Sudan. Prince Sultan, Saudi Defence Minister to Kuwait. Somali Vice President Ismail Abokor to Russia. Pres. Ceausescu to Pakistan. British MP Harold Soref to Rhodesia. Dr. Hassan Abdulla Al Turabi, Sudan opposition and Islamic Charter Front leader to Saudi Arabia. Michael Aladaye, Dahomey F.M. to Peking. Chad President Tombalbaye to Cairo, in February. Shaykh Zayid bin Sultan Al-Nahayyan, President United Arab Emirates to Pakistan. Dom Mintoff, Maltese Prime Minister to Libya.

DIPLOMATS

M. A. Alavi, Pakistan's new Foreign Secretary. Manuchehr Benham Iranian Ambassador to UAA and Sh. Hashir b. Maktum UAA Ambassador to Iran. Azem Zifcari new Yugoslav Ambassador in Laos. M. Khir Johari New Malaysian Ambassador in Washington. Sir James Bottomley new British Ambassador to South Africa.

DIED

C. Rajagopalachari, 94, first Indian Governor-General after freedom on 25 Dec. Prof. Syed Ihtisham Husain, Indian Urdu scholar. Ronald Ngala, Kenya Minister of Power on 25 December. Harry S. Truman, former US President on 26 December. Lester Pearson, former Canadian PM. Ahmed Emin Yalman, 84, veteran Turkish *Donmeh* (Jews who converted to Islam) journalist on 19 December. Andreiy Tupolov USSR academician, designer of TU ets and superions. Rene Meyer, 77 France's first Jewish P.M. Khawja Muhammad Rafiq, Pakistan Istiqlal Party leader shot dead while leading procession against recognition of Bangladesh.

in the news

Dr. S. M. Rajah appointed visiting lecturer in the School of Medical and Surgical Sciences at Bradford University. Mr. A. Razaque appointed senior visiting Fellow at Civil Engineering Dept., Unive sity College, Swansea. M. A. Salahy, new President, Muslim Students Society. Dr. Jamal Chisthi appointed Consultant anaesthetist to Bolton and District Hospital, Lancs. Khalid M. Ishaque senior advocate of Pakistan visited London.

Eid Greetings from
impact

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

ARAB AFFAIRS. Arab Chiefs of Staff recommended allocating 2% of their National incomes for establishing a joint armament industry and thereby overtake Israel in Arms production in 5 years. The current annual Israeli military production is valued at \$427m compared to about \$100m by Arabs. ● A Beirut theoretical conference on "USSR and Arab National Liberation Movements" thanked the Soviet people for their support of the Arab struggle.

BAHRAIN. The Amir inaugurated a 42-member Constituent Assembly and asked it to provide for a democratic constitution.

BANGLADESH. New Constitution inaugurated on 16 December 1972, the Constituent Assembly dissolved, and the President and P.M. took fresh oaths of office. ● Afghan P.M. said they would establish diplomatic relations with Bangladesh at an appropriate time. ● Maulana Bhashani said although the coming elections are going to be a farce, he will not take the responsibility of frustrating them. He, however, feared that the situation might so deteriorate that the government may have to stop the elections. He charged some Ministers with having deposited millions of Rupees looted from Banks and government treasuries during the liberation struggle in foreign, particularly Indian banks; one particular Minister recently purchased property worth about Tk. 2.2m but paid stamp duty for about Tk. 22,000. ● Sh. Mujib said his problem was whether to recognise Pakistan or Sind, Baluchistan and Pakhtunistan. ● Industries Minister, Nazrul Islam said the joint Indo-Bangladesh Command under Gen. Aurora had been under the direct control of his government at that time. The agreement provided for the Indian generals to owe allegiance to Bangladesh government and then conduct the war. It was agreed that Indian troops would not intervene in the Liberation war until India recognised Bangladesh. Mrs. Gandhi had decided to recognise Bangladesh on 4 December 1971 and in doing so foresaw that Pakistan would immediately be at war with India and that China might intervene. They had decided on December because snow fall would prevent China from coming to Pakistan's aid. He was very much annoyed when Pakistan attacked India on 3 December i.e. before Indian recognition, but Mrs. Gandhi assured she would honour the Pact though the recognition plan for December 4 was delayed a little. ● UN Secretary-General is to appeal for 1m tons of food grains to prevent famine in Bangladesh during the second half of 1973. ● 'Lal Bahini' volunteer corps responsible for implementing Mujibbadi banned. ● Shahjehan Siraj, chairman Awami League's Labour Front defected to National Socialist League. ● Sheikh Mujib told the Egyptian *Al-Gumhouria* that he had refused an arms aid offer by Israel and also ignored Israeli offer to recognise Bangladesh. ● An Egyptian Trade delegation visited Bangladesh.

CHAD. Sudanese Interior Minister Baqir Ahmad said Sudan would give neither overt nor covert support to the so-called Chad revolutionaries whom she regarded as hostile gangs against both Sudan and fraternal Chad. ● Libya sanctioned a 23,000m CFA Francs loan for development projects and agreed to hand over all members of the Chad National Liberation Front in Libya.

CYPRUS. Rouf Denktas said despite repeated talks nothing has been achieved and the basic problems remain unresolved.

DUBAI. Dubai announced withdrawal from the Arab Oil Exporting Countries Organisation.

EGYPT. Statues are to be set up in public squares in Cairo. Education Minister sought the co-operation of teachers, parents, Pupil's Union and feminine organisations towards implementing President Sadat's directive on new uniform for school girls—a long jacket and a pair of trousers, which becomes compulsory from next year. ● Student troubles: Cairo and Alexandria University students held protest demonstrations and meetings inside campus on the country's political situation and asked Pres. Sadat to fulfil his promise to give a rule of law. Students Federation denounced these protests and police arrested over 100 college students. ● Seven Rotary Clubs established within past year; these clubs include 200 women rotarians.

INDIA. Home Minister Pant said it is not possible to set a specific date when India would carry out an underground nuclear explosion. ● An Albanian report said Russia now controlled the production in India of over 75% of electric power, 80% of oil industry and 25% of aluminium, etc. Russia uses cheap Indian manpower to produce goods for itself but sells equipment and machinery at a price 20-30% higher than the international market and buys at 20-30% less. The 1971 War against Pakistan resulted in an expenditure of £85m while India's total foreign debt was already £3,850m.

INDONESIA. A Djakarta Court sentenced two Communist Party leaders for attempting to overthrow the government through armed insurrection between Aug. 1963-1968. Soviet Union of Journalists asked Pres. Suharto to stop persecuting communists and other democrats in Indonesia. ● Indonesia recognised Germany. ● France to provide training aid for Indonesia Civil Servants. ● The Executive Committee of the World Council of Churches met recently in Djakarta.

IRAN. Premier Hoveyda said the Fifth Plan investment was more than the total amount of the country's investments during the past half century. Iranian Social Revolution, he said, has brought deep changes in our society and although we accept new ideas we cannot import culture and ideologies: our culture is 2500-year old.

ISLAMIC SECRETARIAT. Chad ratified the I.C. Charter. ● Egypt's Peoples Assembly is understood to have favoured ratification of the

Charter. ● Indonesian F.M. said Indonesia will sign the Islamic Conference Charter when its title has been amended. Indonesia, he said, "was not an Islamic country" and the present title "Charter of Islamic Countries" was therefore inappropriate. ● Saudi Arabia paid its contribution of \$31,200 to the Islamic Conference—the first country to have so far paid. The Conference budget for 1973 was approved by an extraordinary meeting of the Islamic Foreign Ministers in New York last October.

ISRAEL. A Jewish Regional Centre and a city of 250,000 Jews are to be established in Sinai. ● Over 100 Arab families moved out of Gaza as part of re-organisation plan. ● Britain removed restrictions on imports of cotton goods from Israel. ● Jordan contradicted Israeli propaganda about the sacrifice of Jewish scriptures in Al-Khalil Mosque (Hebron). It said Muslims respect all Divine books and in any case no Arab had anything to do with alleged incident.

● Red Crescent Society sent a memo to the International Red Cross on the maltreatment of Pakistani PoWs. ● Kuwait is to recognise E. Germany and resume relations with W. Germany.

LEBANON. Dr. Edmond Naim, Lebanese University President, rejected the Muslim Students League's demand to close the University on Fridays. ● Saudi Arabia and Lebanon are to study the establishment of a Saudi financed refinery in Lebanon. ● A £30m order for arms is expected to be placed with Britain.

LIBYA. The Jt. communique at the end of President Tombalbaye's visit emphasised there was no conflict among all the religions of God and that Islam represented a self-renewing social system aimed at respecting man and raising his standards, and that Islam provided best solutions for all human problems and issues. ● Pres. Qaddafi declared readiness to contribute to the consolidation of the unity of Chad and the two leaders agreed on the need to aid African Liberation movements. ● A Cultural Co-operation Agreement signed with Pakistan.

MALAYSIA. Pan Malayan Islamic Party Congress approved the party's coalition with the Alliance Party. The Communist "Voice of Malayan Revolution" described the coalition as a betrayal and said they can no longer trust the lawful political parties. ● 62 students and youths have been arrested for subversive activities in Sarawak. ● Two squadrons of F-105 fighter jets ordered for M.A.F.

PAKISTAN. President Bhutto said he will not nationalise any more industries until the next elections. He said Pakistan's foreign debts totalled \$3.5 billion out of which \$1.2 billion was E. Pakistan's share which claimed to be a separate state but Pakistan cannot afford to pay \$82m per year on behalf of Bangladesh. He denied having compromised on Kashmir and said their right of self-determination remains. ● India and Pakistan troops have withdrawn to

their respective sides of the international border. ● President Bhutto said N.A. alone was the proper forum to decide the question of Bangladesh recognition. He personally felt that recognition might facilitate the return of the PoWs and said those who opposed the creation of Pakistan were now clamouring that Bangladesh should not be recognised. ● Jamaat-e-Islami Pres. Mian Tufail Muhammad said the argument implied that it were Mrs. Gandhi and Russian rulers who were Pakistan's true friends who created Bangladesh and now want us to recognise it. He said it is not Pakistan which wanted confrontation with India but it is India which occupied Kashmir, attacked Pakistan in 1965 and separated E. Pakistan in 1971. He thanked China for her unstinted support and non-interference in Pakistan's ideological affairs. The Jamaat's Council blamed nepotism, corruption and inefficiency for the worsening of the economic and law and order situation. ● Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the former NWFP leader returned to Pakistan after 8 years' self-exile from Afghanistan. Received by the provincial government he promised full co-operation to Pres. Bhutto in national reconstruction. ● An all inclusive National Guards force is to be raised to help in civil defence, paramilitary and other emergency work.

PHILIPPINES. Continued engagement between Muslim rebels and Government forces reported from S. Philippines. ● A \$50m International Islamic Cultural Centre—Mosque, religious centre and hostel—is to be established in Rizal.

THAILAND. The new constitution provides for a 299-member National Assembly: 200 military and police appointees and 99 civilians.

TUNISIA. Senegal and Tunisia to organise a conference to evaluate the working of the socialist system in Africa.

TURKEY. Defence Minister announced an allocation of \$793m for the defence Budget for 1973. The allocation included payment for 40 F4 Phantom jets. Turkey's 10-year plan includes tank maintenance factory and plants to manufacture rifles, ammunitions, spare parts, parachutes, bombs, etc. Projects for the construction of destroyer escorts, landing ships and submarines are also ready. ● RPP leader, Bulent Ecevit said the longer the Martial law continues the more difficult it will be to end it.

SAUDI ARABIA. A report that Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Iran proposed entering an American backed Defence Pact for the Gulf region has been denied. ● The Executive Council of the Conference of the Islamic Universities meeting in Jeddah discussed the question of uniform syllabi for the Islamic Universities and granting of scholarships particularly for countries where the Muslims are in a minority. The Conference was founded in Fas, Morocco in 1969. ● Prince Fawaz inaugurated an Italian Art Exhibition in Jeddah. ● Saudi Arabia to contribute £2000 towards a joint Arab-British Centre of Commerce.