

impact

international fortnightly

Sudanese Course to Coup ■ Why Blacks Explode? ■ Advice to Sheikh Mujib ■ Indian Discrimination ■ Veil on South Yemen ■ Kashmir Accession ■ Egyptian Education ■ 'Black Muslims' ■ Paradoxes in Alienation ■ Muslim Reorientation ■ On Algerian Revolution ■ Thalidomide Story

Books New Spectrum News Brief

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He who has despised American arrogance, deceit and inhumanity in Vietnam and who also has no particular love for communists and their methods and who respects a people's right to self-determination must be at some loss to know how to react to the news of the Vietnam cease-fire and peace agreements announced on 24 January.

There can be no illusions about peace in Vietnam, possibly for years to come, although there is enormous relief that no more would America continue to pound and shatter the land and bring ruin to the economic and social life of the country and cause pollution of several kinds. The price that the Vietnamese has had to pay for the American attempt to shore up 'democracy' in South-East Asia has been lamentably high. The attempt, need one say, has almost totally misfired leaving Vietnam in a state of confusion and chaos and making many Americans feel sick at heart at their own government's policies and actions and at the way successive presidents and their clique of advisers could so exercise unfettered power as to bring ignominy on a powerful nation.

The tragedy of Vietnam holds many lessons, and lessons for many people—for the Vietnamese (Communist, anti-Communists and those in between) and countries of the Third World, for liberation movements depending on inspiration and support from the Big Brother socialist powers and regimes expecting to be propped up by capitalist countries of the West. It has of course its special lessons for America and the Americans who may look on with dismay and helplessness at their modern Presidential system which, as has been perceptibly remarked, has the effect of "creating a Government within a Government".

Curiously enough, it is the North Vietnamese who are proclaiming most loudly that the negotiated settlement is a 'victory for a socialism full of vitality'. This must in part be a face-saving slogan since all along, the Vietnamese communists have been insisting that they would not negotiate with the imperialists and would fight to the bitter end. It was the determination of a small people to fight against the huge military might of the most powerful nation of the world which won for the communists admiration and support from op-

FROM VIETNAM TO WHERE ?

pressed peoples. That they were brought to sign the agreements, whatever advantages these agreements give them, show that they did succumb to American might. 'The whole-hearted support and great assistance accorded to North Vietnam by other socialist countries and the progressive peoples all over the world' have not been so whole-hearted and generous as Hanoi would like us to believe. Hanoi theoretically had the advantage of being supported by both China and the Soviet Union. If these two great socialist powers were really intent on supporting North Vietnam and the liberation movement in the south, it would have been impossible for the Americans to unleash with impunity the devastation it has on Vietnam. Just as it has been possible for America to ditch Taiwan in pursuit of great power *détente*, so it has been possible for the Soviet Union and China to limit actual support to Hanoi while of course declaiming absolute solidarity with the struggle against American imperialism.

What has now happened is that the big powers have extricated themselves from the actual conflict and left the area seething with its own hatreds. It seems to have been a general understanding that on no account must wars be waged on the soil of America, Europe, Russia or China. (Remember the Soviet Union's uncontested actions in Hungary and Czechoslovakia). These powers have already introduced enough contradictions into the Third World so that the Third World can boil on its own. As an indication of some existing consensus, the United States, soon

after the signing of the agreements, has issued formal invitations to the Soviet Union, China, Britain and other countries to take part in a conference on Indo-China this month.

Seen from this angle, countries of Africa, south and south-east Asia and South America have a lot to learn from the Vietnam story and so too have the liberation movements in places like the Middle East and Southern Africa. Those that derive support and inspiration from international socialism must become conscious of the limits to which they can expect such support and the extent of collaboration now between the great powers.

To say this is not necessarily to imply that China and the Soviet Union and international communism as a whole have given up ideas of spreading communism by any means. That America has been discredited does not mean that the threat of militant communism in South-East Asia was a myth or that it has now receded. Laos, Cambodia, Burma, Thailand, Bangladesh and even countries due west are influenced as are Malaysia and Indonesia though these latter, as a result of bitter experiences, are very wary at the moment.

On the other hand, neither can one expect that the discredited America would now quietly leave the area with its tail between its legs. It still has considerable interests in the area of a strategic and economic nature and is still prepared to go to enormous cost to preserve them. The new American military budget stands at \$79,000 million which is almost \$4,000 million more than last year's; \$7,500 million are to be given as special aid to Indo-China. It thus seems that the poor Americans themselves are to get no relief from heavy defence spending and from the hypocrisy of the Administration's approach to communism. The hope must be expressed that much of this amount would go to reconstruction of the damage it has done and not to create other Vietnams in the area. Already the question is being asked, 'After Korea and Vietnam, what next?' But there are others who take Nixon's phrase 'Peace in our times' at its face value and contend that America will now turn its attention more diligently to getting peace in the Middle East. This is what much Arab opinion confidently expect. They are not the only ones who wait resignedly for the repercussions of 'peace' in Vietnam.

Survey

● WASHINGTON MURDERS ● SUDAN COUP NOISES ● MIDDLE EAST EXERCISE

Executions in Washington

The horrible murder of seven Muslims in Washington, the largest mass killings in the city's history was a sad news indeed. These execution type murders took the lives of five children and two adults and left two other adult women seriously injured.

There is as yet nothing conclusive as to who was responsible for the massacre. Those who were killed described themselves as orthodox Hanafi Muslims. The leader of the group and the father of the dead children, Abdul Khalis, is certain that Elijah's Black Muslims are involved, citing his letters to his ministers and the eye-witness testimony of his daughter who survived the shooting.

Observers have been expecting some sort of confrontation between Elijah's group and the emergent Afro-American Muslims. They now ask if this is the beginning or the continuation of the type of action which disposed of Malcolm X in 1965.

From Elijah and his group, who are concerned to look respectable outside America, one should expect them to show that they had nothing to do with the killings. Those inside America however say that being "overbearing and arrogant", they are not expected to seek to clear themselves. Abdul Khalis meanwhile is certain what 'foreign Muslims' should do. He said after the murders:

"Foreign Muslims who don't come to our assistance at this time and declare this man (Elijah) an imposter, by their silence are in agreement with and condone murder by this sectarian gang."

Sudan in course of coup

Last month's attempt on the part of Brigadier Shannan to force another change in the Sudan's government, whether true or a mere revolutionary frame-up, should, however, come as no surprise. Shannan, a known adventurist with a possible Egyptian sponsoring was himself a man of little consequence. What he could have been trying was to cash on the increasing unrest against Numeiry's regime.

For some time now the opposition has been growing and it has not been all that quiescent. The range of admitted opposition itself suggests that Numeiry is hardly as popular as he is made out to be. He himself has denounced the Communists, the Muslim Brothers and the Nationalists for plotting against him. This does not seem to leave very many other groups in his favour.

So far of course Numeiry has done his best to eliminate any possible rivals. The first to go were the Mahdists who were surrounded and eliminated on Aba island. Then came the purge of the Communists and the discrediting of communist activities in the Sudan. Apart from these a number of persons of various political persuasions and prominent individuals were put in jail or under house arrest. Sadiq al-Mahdi, a former prime minister, is

still under house arrest. Dr. Hasan Torabi, an intellectual and politician of considerable stature who is respected throughout the Sudan, has all these years since Numeiry's coup been under house arrest and released only recently. A lucrative offer was made for him to leave the Sudan but he said his role and his duty was in and due to the Sudan. The number of political prisoners is considerable. So far they have not been tried and one could now expect considerable reluctance to release them.

Many of the politicians who have remained in circulation are not daunted by assertions of Numeiry's popularity and surprisingly have openly come out against him and some of his recent measures relating to Sudan's internal situation. A leaflet recently circulated throughout the country by the National Front proclaimed: "Compatriots, look at the Government which you have. What link has it left with the Sudanese *ummah* and its interests? One man has taken control of its affairs and has hired a group of those seeking ministerial posts for carrying out his decisions." Strong language indeed especially when it goes on to speak of evils and corruption in the government and the armed forces and excessive dependence on foreign powers. In relying more and more on American assistance, Numeiry indeed does appear to be alienating himself from more and more sections of the Sudanese people.

Another important sphere where things have not been going well for Numeiry is in his constitutional battles. So far the draft constitution which is before the People's Assembly has met with a number of fundamental criticisms and amendments have been introduced which Numeiry has seen as frustrating his will. Objections have been made to Article 2, that Sovereignty does not belong to the people which is unacceptable because according to the Sharia'ah it belonged to God; to Article 7, that it speaks of the language of the State and does not mention the religion of the State; to Article 72, that it gives the President the right to pardon the enemy and reduce punishment while this right is not contained in and is against the principles of the Islamic Shari'ah and so on.

To many, then, it seems that Numeiry is out of step not only with the Arab world and those around him (with the exception of Ethiopia) but also with the aspirations of a great number of the Sudanese as well. It appears to them that he is more attune with the advices and suggestions of outside powers who present him as the only man on the scene who is capable of looking after the interests of the South in particular and of the whole country in general.

Middle East Peace Manoeuvres

Before the Arab Defence Council ended its sessions in Cairo last month, the "Voice of

Palestine" (Syria) asked, 'Why don't we or our masses expect positive action by the Arab Defence Council?' and answered, 'Because an Arab Defence Council, in its present form and with its present strange participants, held in the shadow of the prevailing atmosphere of submission, will only indulge further in misleading the masses, in procrastinating over a decision on the national cause, and in discussing a formula for submission to the enemies'.

Judged by the outcome of the conference, the analysis appears to be spot on target and the fears seem to be quite justified. For, while talking about war and the 'comprehensive military plan' (which is what the masses seem to want), the confrontation states in particular appear all set for peace with Israel.

The main part of the comprehensive military plan is the decision to unify the three fronts—the Egyptian, the Eastern or Jordanian and the Syrian—and to appoint the Egyptian War Minister, General Ahmad Isma'il, as the overall C-in-C. This decision is supposed to mean the 'reactivation' of the Eastern front and the bringing back of Jordan into the Arab fold which was made possible by Jordan's declared readiness to allow the fida'in and Arab armies to operate from its soil.

It is natural for the Palestinians to look upon this willingness on the part of Jordan with scepticism. There has been no solid indication that King Hussain wants the Palestinians back. The King has accepted "the fact of Israel" and has been trying to bring about a settlement at least between Jordan and Israel and might now be negotiating on behalf of Sadat to have a partial settlement on the Suez-Sinai frontier too. Hussain has clearly indicated that he sets great store by America's influence both on Israel and on the Arabs and would have tried to get Nixon to 'persuade Israel to withdraw from its occupied territory in exchange for recognized and secure boundaries' in order that 'all other obstacles to a peaceful settlement can be speedily overcome'.

That suddenly Sadat appears to work with King Hussain whom he denounced and broke off diplomatic relations with about a year ago is strange and unbelievable not only to the Palestinians. It could only mean that Sadat is intent on making peace and having a minor Israeli withdrawal from the Suez in order that the Canal might be reopened. All this smacks of capitulation to the Palestinians. What they want is to re-enter Jordan as of 'right'. In order not to alienate them the Defence Council has formed a conciliation committee to mediate between them and Jordan so that they could operate freely on the eastern front which they regard as the basis of their action and struggle. The mediation committee would start its work after Hussain returns from Washington, that is, after some attempt has been made at a political solution with Israel.

Still, therefore, whether there is talk of peace or war, the prevailing atmosphere seems to be one of submission.

Survey

● BANGLADESH ● NIGERIAN DISSUASION? ● YEMEN ● ● HOLY STATISTICS

'Ami Jodi Prodhan Mantri . . . ?

That more and more intellectuals in Bangladesh are coming out to give a moral and a human lead in what had otherwise been an over-anxious situation, is a healthy sign indeed.

The latest example is Abul Fazal's. A noted Bengali novelist, winner of Adamjee prize in literature, a secularist and a left leaning intellectual, Abul Fazal wrote recently as to what he would do if he, a relatively unknown writer, suddenly became transformed into a Prime Minister (*Ittefaq*, Dacca 22 and 23 Jan.). If something like that happened, something which he would not have imagined before 25 March 1971, then "At that historic moment of my life I would like to look to my own history and the lessons it contained. The great Prophet whose teachings I follow, whose religion is the essence of my social and spiritual existence, he would be the person to whom I would look for guidance." Why? Because, the Prophet "Had experienced both victory and defeat in his life (but) he never despaired . . . he never became intolerant. The conditions do differ, but there is something (which is) eternally true . . . (and) today it has not become worthless."

"When he entered Mecca, the Prophet had many enemies, yet his mercy and his amnesty extended to all . . . it remains unparalleled in the history of mankind." So "When our Prime Minister returned, many like me had hoped, he would say: except murder, looting, arson, and rape all other crimes are forgiven. Come let's all join to build the country". But it seems "The country is suffering from a collaborator plague".

The most significant observation which Abul Fazal makes and for which the Bangladesh leadership should be grateful to him is the reminder that "Had there been no Pakistan, Bangladesh would have never become an independent country. At best it would have been part of West Bengal, merely a province of the Indian Union . . . There is no doubt that the Muslim League had committed many mistakes, but that does not mean that one should deny its past contribution. To do so is to erase an important chapter of our history". The moral is not to behave as an upstart.

After pointing out how opinions change with the change in situation, how Mr. Suhrawardy and how Shaikh Mujib, originally Muslim Leaguers came out to form the Awami League, how even Muslims like A. K. Fazlul Haque and Dr. Khan Sahib had opposed Pakistan but after independence nobody called them agent or collaborator, Abul Fazal poses the question: "How is that within such a short period of time we have lost all the breadth

of our vision . . . ? That is not the mark of a great nation."

Finally he asks the Prime Minister to give a lead. Whether the Prime Minister is or is not able to do so, the lead would come from the people's own genius, which is human, democratic and indomitable.

Nigeria and Haj

The crash of the Alia Boeing on charter to the Nigerian Airways resulting in the death of 176 returning Hajjis, sad and tragic as it was, could have been just one of those accidents which do happen despite all human care and caution. The Nigerian authorities have already denied that the Kano airport runway had collapsed, but these and the related matters are certainly going to be inquired into. What is, however, alarming is to find the Nigerian authorities express hope "that the crash—and two days later the near crash of the chartered Ethiopian Airlines jet . . . at Lagos . . .—might dissuade some of the 30,000 Nigerian Moslems who annually make the hajj to Mecca. The shuttle is a drain on the country's foreign currency reserves" (*Time*, 5 Feb.).

Muslims in Nigeria have already been wary of the recent government take-over of the Haj arrangements and if the *Time* report was true, then this implied a new macabre way of State control.

Veil over South Yemen

While both the orthodox Marxists and the traditional Capitalists are shedding off the ideological pretensions of the post-War II years and settling to a balance of trade and terror with their respective adversaries, from Beyhan in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen comes the news of the local communist front ordering women to remove their veils and forcing them to come out on the streets and join the usual revolutionary marches and demonstrations. On 18 January the front called for such a demonstration in Raja, Harajah, Rowdah and other towns and villages and had the veils forcibly removed from the faces of the local women. The show was photographed by the Soviet, Chinese and the German experts working in the area. Similar incidents have also been reported from Wahidi and Awaliq where several Yemenis who tried to resist the diktat, including two religious scholars were killed.

Irrespective of the fact whether the veil was a good thing or a bad thing and irrespective also of the fact whether similar unveilings enforced earlier this century in some other countries had made or not any difference to their scientific and social development, these antics only show where the Beyhan leadership actually belonged to

—to the backyard of civilisation. Living in the backyard has become a way of life in the Muslim World. Not being up to date about the current and the vogue, the pressure to don used and useless clothings as well as redundant ideas is tremendous. Besides, it also provides a revolutionary fulfilment in an otherwise impoverished situation.

Indian Statistics of Discrimination

How many Muslims in India's Central Secretariat? The statement placed before the *Lok Sabha* by the Minister of State for Home Affairs makes an interesting reading. In the officers cadre the number of Muslims employed as on 1 May, 1971 was 19 out of a total 2,201, i.e. 0.86 per cent. In the lower scale of assistants and clerks, the percentage of Muslims in employment was 0.46, i.e. 58 out of 12,603. Among 3,605 steno-typists and stenographers there were 8 Muslims—0.221 per cent.

Officially the Muslims of India total 61.4m, i.e. over eleven per cent out of India's total population of 547.5m. Ridiculous and reflective of a serious and endemic discrimination as these figures are, compared with the 1969 statistics they no doubt show a marginal improvement! In the officers cadre the percentage has risen from 0.66 to 0.86 and in the assistants and clerks cadre from 0.41 to 0.46. As regards stenographers, although the cadre itself rose in strength from 2,218 to 3,605, the percentage of Muslims fell from 0.225 to 0.221. Interestingly, the Muslim percentage in the Class-IV i.e. "office menials" was also high at 0.72 per cent.

These figures are too cold and manifest as to call for any interpretation and it is clear that despite all talks of democracy and secular equality, the Indian polity is not willing to accord the Muslim Indians their rightful role and place in the society. The extremely low figure of 0.221 per cent in secretarial jobs also shows that Muslims are not considered suitable for positions which require confidentiality. In a country where the State is the main employer, the statistics forebode not a promising economic future for the Muslim Indians.

Muslim viewpoints on current affairs

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Survey • KASHMIR SAGA • EDUCATIONAL REFORMATION

PEOPLE

News from Kashmir

Kashmir was in the news recently. Not because of any eruption among the Kashmiris demanding self-determination or Pakistan asking the UN to implement its resolutions on the plebiscite in Kashmir. As far as Pakistan is concerned, long before the onset of the present bilateralism honey-moon with India, it has given up all hopes after the August 1965 misadventure. Not since that date its Ministry of Kashmir Affairs has issued even a folder on the issue. The ball, therefore, is now entirely within the Indian court. And with the break-up of Pakistan and the uncertainty surrounding whatever is left of it, for the Kashmiris things have become all the more oppressing. At least many if not all see no point in looking towards Pakistan. Shaikh Abdullah is one of them.

Like Palestine, and other problems which are there, the Kashmir problem too did not arise *entirely* from out of imperialist designs and conspiracies. A great deal of responsibility also lies with the respective leadership, its ineptitude, lack of foresight and lack of ability to rise above its own incompetent self. Shaikh Abdullah's responsibility falls in this area. An Indian 'nationalist' *par excellence*, he was not able to reconcile with Pakistan's 'Muslim' nationalists and being unsure of his own position in the new State, he allowed himself to be used by India to sign and 'legitimise' Kashmir's accession to India. No doubt this accession was subject to a later plebiscitary confirmation and both Nehru, India's Prime Minister and Lord Mountbatten her first post-independence Governor-General had given categorical assurance to Shaikh Abdullah and the United Nations, but once militarily entrenched, India refused to quit or to honour her pledge. She even dispensed with Shaikh Abdullah's services when no longer required and sent him to intermittent terms of prison and house arrest. She found many others to step in the Shaikh's shoes.

Shaikh Abdullah's ouster did gain him goodwill among the Kashmiris but he himself has been unsure of his stand. First he blamed it all on his friend Nehru, but has since then wavered between an independent Kashmir and plebiscite. Recently he told *The Times* (24 Jan) that he never personally disputed "the accession". He also modified his stand by saying that he would accept free elections in lieu of plebiscite, with freedom to take part on the basis of an agreed interpretation of the accession agreement. There is no reason why Mrs. Gandhi should not oblige and achieve yet another 'legality', but Shaikh Abdullah also wants 'internal autonomy' and that meant everything except defence, communications and foreign affairs. "Otherwise", says Shaikh Abdullah, "they erode my commitment".

Yet despite Pakistan, despite Bangladesh, and despite Shaikh Abdullah, there are many others, particularly those led by the young Maulvi Farooq and the Plebiscite Front who

refuse to compromise on their right to self-determination; but they too have to show not only courage but sagacity and leadership. Pushed from all sides, Kashmir also presents a favourable ground for foreign inspired 'Liberation Fronts'.

Egyptian search for an intergrated personality

The Parliamentary Committee of the Egyptian People's Assembly investigating last December's student unrest submitted its report on 27 January. The 24-page report presented by the Committee's Chairman, Dr. Sayyid Ali as-Sayyid, the Assembly's Deputy Speaker, held that the December 1972 events were related to similar troubles earlier in May 1971.

As to the causes of the unrest, the Committee mentioned "in the first place, the consequences of the June 1967 defeat", whatever it may mean! Also the "remnants of the Vanguard organisation" who opposed the regime because of their connection with those "who had been liquidated by the corrective movement". Then there were those who had assumed new religious and regional forms and names. Some sought to spread class hatred among the various sections of the working people.

It is, however, in the 14-point recommendations of the Committee that one gets a glimpse of the nature and dimensions of the problem. In main the recommendations deal with such questions as providing university autonomy, enabling students to practise politics through university institutions but outside study hours, establishing a free press in every faculty so that the students "can express their true views freely and honestly"; promoting student and staff participation, strengthening the regional universities; developing youth welfare; eliminating career misplacement of the graduates; and most importantly paying attention to national education as a whole so as to develop an integrated personality.

The recommendations pin-point the existing deficiencies in the student situation as a whole, and if implemented sincerely, Egypt would be solving not only its student problem but its larger problem, the problem of a disintegrated personality. Much would depend on the spirit of its implementation, because these recommendations also carry with them the usual in-built bureaucratic safeguards. For one thing, Egypt's educational and political leadership should learn to develop positivism and self-confidence. There is no use looking for scape-goats and bogies all the time and it is really counter productive. If the students call for the creation of a just and an Islamic society, they cannot be dismissed simply as "Muslim Brothers". If some others ask "where is God" and call for an atheistic society, they too can't be blamed on some Mao or Marx. They point to some underlying phenomenon and it needs to be faced.

Retd. Brig. Abdel Rahim Mohamed Kheir Shannan and 11 NCOs arrested and accused of plotting to assassinate Nimeri. Ataur Rahman Khan, Bangladesh Opposition leader assaulted by Sh. Mujib's son. Agha Shorish Kashmiri, editor Pakistan weekly *Chatan* released after 5 months political detention. Mahmud Ali Kasuri, former Law Minister and Vice-Chairman ruling PPP suspended from membership by Chairman Bhutto. Life sentence to Nawazish Ahmad, former Minister, under Bangladesh Collaborators Order. Dr. Abd al Majid as Sayyid loaned by Egypt as special adviser to UAA Premier, Adjie Djindi, Philologist, Armenian Institute of Oriental Studies elected member, Iraq's Kurdish Academy of Science, Martin Loney, 28, new Gen-Sec., National Council for Civil Liberties, U.K. Dr. M. Candau, WHO Director-General resigned. Miss Marga Klompe, a Dutch Minister of State refused visa for S. Africa. Lenin Peace Prize to Alfredo Varela, Argentine writer. *Nasir Prizes* for 1972 established by Novosti and Egyptian Culture Ministry: to Egyptians, Sa'adaddin Muhammad, Dy. Culture Minister, Iskandar Zaki Hannah, Director of Archaeology, Sulayman Jamil of Ahram; to Russians, Prof. Vsevolod Ardiyev, Mukhtar Ashrafi, ballet dancer, and writer Anton Khizhnyak. Pope Paul conferred *Ordine Piano* of Pope Pius IX to Polish Law Prof. Adam Vetulani. Dr. Kissinger mentioned as a possible go-between in the Middle East conflict. Miss Wyn Sargent, American anthropologist researching sexual customs married a polygamous tribal chieftain in West Irian. Vitor Monteiro, new PAIGC Chief. Walter Annenburg, US ambassador in London reported contributing \$0.25m for Nixon's re-election. Elliot Richardson new US Defence Secretary. Mrs. Steven, daughter-in-law of Pres. Siaka Stevens of Sierra Leone, awarded Master's Diploma in Engineering by Moscow University. Michael Carver new British Field Marshal.

VISITS

Romanian President Ceausescu to S. America later. Pres. Moktar Ould Daddah to Tripoli. Upper Volta President to Nigeria, 18 Jan. Ethiopian Crown Prince Asfa Wossen to London, heart treatment. Somali RCC member Abd al-Qadir Muhammad to Libya, 16 Jan. Gulbenkian Foundation President to Guinea Bissau. Haji Abd al-Majid Bin Hulwan, Director-General, Moroccan Foreign Trade Bank to Baghdad 21 Jan. Yemen FM Awwaqi to Cuba. Abba Eban to Brussels; also to several African countries, in March. Gevati, Israel Agr. Minister to Ivory Coast and Liberia. Indian Adm. Nanda, to Yugoslavia, 21 Jan. Tanzania Defence Minister Sekone's to China & N. Korea. Josef Valenta, Czech Journalists' Union Chairman to Damascus, 22 Jan. Algerian Minister of Higher Education to Conkary. Yasir Arafat to Cairo, Damascus, Beirut. British Defence Secretary, Lord Carrington to Hong Kong, Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, Jakarta, Canberra, Wellington, Tokyo and Washington. Italian FM Medici, to Egypt, Saudi Arabia 5 Feb. Wadi Habashi, Sudanese Agr. Minister to Bonn, 23 Jan. Hafez Ismail Pres. Sadat's adviser to Moscow. PM Heath to USA, Japanese Trade Minister to China, 19 Jan. Cambodian PM Souvanna Phouma to India, 27 Jan. Nepalese FM to Dacca, 23 Jan. Pakistan Food Minister Raisani to Cairo, 21 Jan. Prince Fahed, Saudi Interior Minister and Sh. Ibrahim Masoud Dy. FM to London. Czech FM to Cairo, 22 Jan. Willy Brandt to Yugoslavia in spring; also Israel. Syrian FM to Rabat, Algeria & Khartoum. Iraqi FM Marudat to Syria. Le Thanh Nghi, Dy. Premier N. Vietnam to Moscow. French FM Schumann, to Rumania, 29 Jan. Indian FM to Sweden & Denmark later. Tanzanian Information Minister to Somalia, 21 Jan. Australian CP Chairman to Peking, 19 Jan. Kuwait PM to London.

DELEGATIONS

To Peking: Mauritanian Economic, Ugandan Trade, Equatorial Guinean Trade, and US workers delegations. To Tripoli: Indian Cottage Industries and Atomic Energy Missions; and Maltese agricultural delegation. To Cairo: Bulgarian Communist Party, and French Parliamentary delegations. To Baghdad: Sri Lanka Oil, and Spanish Economic & Foreign Affairs delegations. To Albania: Yugoslav Film delegation, and Chinese Oil technicians. East African Community and the OAU mission to Lusaka. British Trade Delegation to Moscow, 22 Jan. Chinese Foreign Ministry delegation to Tokyo, 22 Jan. West German Economic delegation to Bangladesh, 19 Jan. French business delegation to Tunis. Afghan mission to Tehran. PLO delegation to Vatican, later.

NEW AMBASSADORS

Aftab Ahmad Khan, Pakistan Ambassador in Albania. Nazir Husain, India's first Ambassador to North Yemen. Mohammad Osman, Ethiopian ambassador in Jeddah. Gholam Hassan Safi, Afghan Ambassador to Czechoslovakia. Richard Helus, former CIA Chief, ambassador in Tehran. Petru Barlacu to replace Titus Sinn as Romanian ambassador in Cairo.

HAJIS

Dr. Muhammad Ahmad Yagi, Sudanese Under Sec. for Religious Affairs. Sayyid Marai, Sec. Gen. A.S.U. Egypt. Imam Musa Al-Sadar, Lebanese Shia Leader. Maj. Osman Jalil and Sh. Abdul Ghani, Religion & Justice Ministers from Somalia. Dr. Mohamed Faham, Rector of the Azhar. Sh. Ahmad Hamami, President, Islamic Council, Algeria. Mohd. Mokhtar Bin Binh, from Mauritania. Mehdi Bennouma, Director, Morocco Press Agency. Prof. Ghulam Salam, East Pakistan Jamaat e Islami President. S. M. Younus Salim, Indian Deputy Minister.

DIED

Fuad Shakir, 64, Chief Editor, weekly *Rabita al Alam al Islami*, Mecca on 20 Jan. S. Z. Subhan, Indonesia's former Dy. Speaker and leader *Nahdat ul ulama* party in Jeddah on 21 Jan. Abdur Rahman Baffaki Thangal, 69, President Indian Union Muslim League in Riyadh on 18 Jan. Dr. S. M. Ikram, former Pakistan civil servant and Urdu Scholar. Lyndon Johnson on 23 Jan. PAIGC leader Amilcar Cabral assassinated on 20 Jan. Academician Ivan Petrovskiy, 71, rector Moscow University.

America's 'Black Muslims'

Impact Report

Recent incidents, some violent and horrific, have focussed on what many newspapers and broadcasts loosely call "black Muslim sects" in America. There is very often little attempt to distinguish between the so-called 'Black Muslims' of Elijah Muhammad's nation of Islam on the one hand and the number of Afro-Americans on the other who have turned to 'orthodox' Islam.

There are many, both inside and outside America, who know what the differences are and what the *Nation of Islam* stands for and there are others, including some Muslim governments and their religious authorities, who do not have a clear picture of what the 'Nation of Islam' really is and are often prepared to lend recognition and support to it, seeing the efforts it has made to improve the condition of the black man in America.

Elijah Muhammad and his movement often maintain that they have been wrongfully maligned and criticised. Attitudes, judgements and policies towards the movement, of course, must be based on knowledge of what it stands for, how it has interpreted the message of Islam and how it sees itself in relation to other people. The most authentic way to do this is to go to the writings of Elijah Muhammad himself and his followers. A representative selection of these writings are reproduced below, without comment or any alteration. The set of quotations are taken from (1) *Message to the Blackman in America* by Elijah Muhammad, "Messenger of Allah, Leader and Teacher to The American So-called Negro", Chicago, 1965; (2) *This Is The One, Messenger Elijah Muhammad* by Bernard Cushmeer, Arizona, 1970 and which begins "In the Name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Most Merciful, in the Person of Master Fard Muhammad, and in the Name of His Messenger to the Lost Found Nation of Islam: The Honorable Elijah Muhammad"; and (3) *What manner of man is Muhammad*, article by Anne Ali in *Muhammad Speaks*, the weekly paper of the Nation of Islam, 7 November 1969.

From 'Message to the Blackman in America':

The Lost-Found Nation

"My greatest and only desire is to bring true understanding of the word of God, His Prophets and the scriptures, which the prophets were sent with, pertaining to the lost-found people (the American so-called Negroes) of God and the judgement of the world." (p. 10)

The whole world has been and is looking

for the coming of God. Several places in both the Bible and the Holy Qur'an refer to the coming of Allah (God)—"The Coming of the Son of Man." Referring to God as the Son of Man should remove all doubts as to his being anything other than a man." (p. 16)

Wallace Fard Muhammad

"Allah came to us from the Holy City Mecca, Arabia, in 1930. He used the name Wallace D. Fard, often signing it W. D. Fard, in the third year (1933). He signed his name W. F. Muhammad which stands for Wallace Fard Muhammad. He came alone. He began teaching us the knowledge of ourselves, of God and the devil, of the measurement of the earth, of other planets, and of the civilisation of some of the planets other than earth." (pp. 16-17)

"He chose me to bear the message of life (Islam) to my people here. Islam is our salvation. It removes fear, grief, and sorrow from any believer, and it brings to us peace of mind and contentment. The greatest hindrance to the truth of our people is the preacher of Christianity." (p. 18)

"He (Mr. W. F. Muhammad, God in person) chose to suffer 3½ years to show his love for his people, who have suffered over 300 years at the hands of a people who are by nature evil and wicked and have no good in them . . ." (p. 24)

Christianity and Slavery

"Our first step is to give back to the white man his religion (Christianity) his church, and his names. These three are chains of slavery that hold us in bondage to them . . ." (p. 26)

"I think it is a disgrace for us to be satisfied with only a servant's part. We should and must, as other people, want for ourselves what other civilized nations have! Let us do for ourselves that which we are begging the slave master to do for us. Do not be fooled by the false promise of civil rights and the softening of their language. It is offered to you now to keep you from becoming free of their evil plans of depriving you of the offer made to us by Allah—if we would submit to Him, He will set us in heaven at once." (p. 38)

Black Man Created Himself

"Today, God, in the Person of Master Fard Muhammad, is asking you and me to 'Accept our Own' and return to our own kind on some of this earth, that we can call our own . . . It was your fathers who created the heavens and the earth, while there is nothing that the white man has created independently. He did not even create himself. The Black Nation is self-created, while the white race is made by one of the gods and scientists of the Black Nation." (p. 42)

No White Man's Name

"You must remember that slave-names will keep you a slave in the eyes of the civilized world today. The example was

evident when I took Muhammed Ali (the World Heavyweight Champion) out of the white man's name, All Africa then acclaimed him as being their champion . . . and laid the red carpet for him to come among them as a prince." (p. 43)

"The orthodox Muslims will have to bow in the choice of Allah. Allah will bring about a new Islam . . . We are seeing this change now and entering into it. The devils oppose this change, and the Orthodox join them in opposing us because of their desire to carry on the old way of Islam." (pp. 49-50)

"The original man, Allah, has declared, is none other than the black man. The black man is the first and last, maker and owner of the universe. From him came all brown, yellow, red and white people. By using a special method of birth control law the black man was able to produce the white race." (p. 53)

Heaven on Earth

"Our true God is not like the "Spook God" of Christianity who demands death for our salvation and redemption. He is offering us Freedom, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness on this earth while we live . . ." (p. 54)

Elevation of Black Women

"Our women have been and are still being used by the devil white race, ever since we were first brought here to these States as slaves . . . Islam will not only elevate your women but will also give you the power to control and protect them. Stop our women from trying to look like (the white race.) By bleaching, powdering, ironing and coloring their hair, painting their lips, cheeks and eyebrows; wearing shorts; going half-nude in public places, going swimming with them and lying on beaches with men. Have private pools for your women and guard them from all men. Stop them from going into bars and taverns and sitting and drinking with men and strangers. Stop them from sitting in those places with anyone. Stop them from using unclean language in public (and at home), from smoking and drug addiction habits.

Nothing but Islam will make you a respectable people. We Muslims are your example, living in your midst.

There is no delinquency in Islam. Are you with us to put our people on top of the world?" (60-61)

White Race, the real devils

"Do not take what I am teaching and writing lightly. It is the truth from your God and you shall soon bear me witness that it is the truth. Allah has said to me that we are living in the end of the world of white rule, a race whom Allah has made manifest to you and me as being real devils." (p. 100)

"Muhammad took hold of the best, the belief in one God (Allah), and was successful. Fourteen hundred years after him we are successful. That is; we will not set

... Impact Report on 'Black Muslims'

up another God with Allah. The fools who refuse to believe in Allah alone, as the one God, if asked: 'Who made the heavens and earth?' most surely would say 'God', and would not say: 'God the Son, and the Holy Ghost.' Then why don't they serve and obey Allah? . . . Whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth submits to the God of black mankind—the sun, the moon, the stars and the powers that uphold them are from the original black nation. He is the first and the last." (p. 106)

"According to the Bible (Gen. 3:20-24), Adam and his wife were the first parents of all people (white race only) and the first sinners. According to the word of Allah, he was driven from the Garden of Paradise into the hills and caves of West Asia, or as they now call it, "Europe," to live his evil life in the West and not in the Holy Land of the East . . . The Adamic race is still the enemy of the Muslims (the black man) . . . The Adamic white race's history is proof that they are the enemies of God and the righteous, for they never did sincerely accept a prophet of God." (p. 133)

FARD prayer

"Prayer is obligatory in Islam . . . The five prayers of the day are spiritual refreshments and he who cleanses himself in and out leaves no filthiness. It would be an insult to invite His Lord's holy spirit into a house the outside of which was filthy. Why should we not pray five times a day to our Maker since we feed our bodies three times a day? What is so important that would keep us away from prayer to the Originator of the heavens and the earth?" (p. 136)

"FARD is . . . a name that is self-independent, and one which means that the Believers are obligated to obey. We can see clearly why He took this Name (FARD) for Himself.

All praise is due to our Lord and Saviour Master Fard Muhammad. To Him do we submit; to Him we fly for refuge from the evils of Yakub's civilization." (p. 142)

Charges of 'ignorant' Muslims

"When told that white people are not Muslims, some of the ignorant Muslims falsely charge me in their writings and sayings as not teaching Islam. They also falsely charge that my teachings not only do not represent Islam but that it is not recognized by the Muslim world. This is just what the enemies of Islam and the so-called Negroes of America desire that the so-called Negroes believe. They sow such lies in the hearts of the weak Muslims and the so-called Negroes in general. You are going to be greatly surprised. I have Allah (God) on my side to bring my people out of the darkness and power of our enemies: is not He (God) sufficient? And, most surely He is with me and I with Him. You most certainly will be the loser if you are

not on our side." (154)

The Last Messenger

"Many of the Orthodox Muslims do not want to believe that Allah has appeared in the Person of Master Fard Muhammad or that He has made manifest the truth that has been hidden from their religious scientists—the truth of God and of the devil as revealed to me . . . some of them believe everything that is prophesied in the Bible and Holy Qur'an about a last Messenger or Prophet being or referring to Muhammad of 1,400 years ago . . . This is very wrong . . . It must be remembered that the prophesies are referring to God and a Messenger in the resurrection of the dead in the last years of this world ruled by the Caucasian (white) people . . . Not one of the Orthodox Muslims has been able to do the work that I have done in resurrecting my people in America. They could not do it. It was not for them to do what I am doing (the resurrecting of the dead)." (pp. 188-89)

Economic and social programme

"We have wasted too much money trying to be the equal of the millionaires of America. We like sport and play, but we suffer the pains of hunger because of the millions of dollars lost paying notes for luxuries we could do without, such as fine automobiles, fine clothes, whisky, beer, wine, cigarettes, tobacco and drugs.

Let the entire nation sacrifice . . ." (p. 193)

"We must stop relying on the white man to care for us. We must become an independent people. So-called Negroes should:

1. Separate yourselves from the "slave-master".
2. Pool your resources, education and qualifications for independence.
3. Stop forcing yourselves into places where you are not wanted.
4. Make your own neighbourhood a decent place to live.
5. Rid yourselves of the lust of wine and drink and learn to love self and your kind before loving others.
6. Unite to create a future for yourself.
7. Build your own homes, schools, hospitals, and factories.
8. Do not seek to mix your blood through racial integration.
9. Stop buying expensive cars, fine clothes and shoes before being able to live in a fine home.
10. Spend your money among yourselves.
11. Build an economic system among yourselves.
12. Protect your women." (pp. 170-171)

From 'This is the One'

A Follower's Testimony

" . . . Messenger Muhammad . . . prepares us for the guidance to come. The future guidance is different from this

guidance. So Messenger Elijah Muhammad must have the knowledge of all what went before him of the work of prophets and of their wender because his work makes it unnecessary for future prophets and messengers. After Messenger Muhammad, God comes to Judge. But in addition, Messenger Elijah Muhammad's teachings will produce Gods. The Scriptures bear witness to this . . .

The Holy Qur'an is filled with the roots of our testimony to the truth of Messenger Elijah Muhammad. This book does not bear witness that Muhammad of Arabia was the last Messenger. He did not understand the depths of the sum of the teachings of the Qur'an. He did not understand the full reality of God . . . Muhammad of Arabia had nowhere near the knowledge of such subjects as astronomy as Messenger Elijah Muhammad has." (Cushmeer, p. 149)

"Messenger Elijah Muhammad has established the best educational system Black people in America ever had. He has markedly improved the family life of many thousands of Black families across this country. He has effectively stamped out drinking, gambling, stealing, and dope addiction among his followers. He has inspired such love in the hearts of Black people for self and kind, that under his direction we are acquiring farm land, with the aim of feeding at least a third of all the Black people in America. This is love!" (Cushmeer, p. 152)

Shrewd Leadership From "Muhammad Speaks"

"Messenger Muhammad is indeed an excellent example for us, and continuously teaches us that "Nothing is more important than the labor of Islam." And he has, through his shrewd business leadership, led the Muslims into million dollar enterprises. All of which are first-class, ultra-modern places, providing hundreds of jobs for our people. We have only to qualify for any number of jobs the Messenger has provided for us in bakeries, supermarkets, restaurants, farms, cattle raising, printing press, and clothing factories; and soon, department stores, shoe stores, banks and hospitals.

Every Black man, woman and child should help Messenger Muhammad acquire these things. He only asks that you help us to help you to help yourselves. And, he often says, "You can do whatever you want if you just put your heart in it, Allah will show you that there is a God in you."

What manner of man is Muhammad? We all know. Let us not forget. All praises due to Allah for you Messenger Muhammad. "O Allah, bestow upon Muhammad the means of greatness, and high dignity, and elevate him in the most exalted places which Thou hast promised him. Verily Thou never breakest Thou promise."

Paradoxes in 'Alienation' in Africa and in Israel

A. W. Hamid

More aliens than Africans

"Africa's Aliens" is the subject of the regular "Africa Essay" in the January issue of the monthly *Africa* journal published in London. The author, Kodwo Ankráh who works with the Refugee division of the World Council of Churches in East Africa, starts off by asking the question of 'Who is an alien in Africa?' and goes on to show how the term "alien" is foreign to many Africans and how the governments who adopt the terminology and regulations of colonial governments are causing dislocation and havoc in the name of economic well being.

He writes: 'The introduction and imposition of foreign regulations and laws on territorial limitations by colonial governments has created in the continent of Africa a serious dislocation of people, as well as social and economic systems. As the need arose, individuals or groups, moved on in search of employment or for economic and social betterment, or as a result of wars and/or national disasters. In many cases such freedom of movement has been stopped. The consequent emphasis of and maintenance of order at boundaries is considered a great hindrance by persons so affected.'

On the thorny problem of refugees he notes that 'in years past the traditional rules and regulations, or the non-existence of such written regulations as currently applied... did not create "refugees" as we know the term now. Aliens in the Western sense did not exist with any significant legal connotation.' The introduction of legal boundaries which were drawn up often in disregard of the interest and consent of the ethnic groups in the area was done by the colonial powers for their own economic benefits. However the 'insistence' of African governments in operating within these boundaries is causing modern Africa many hardships not least of which is the obstacle for the economic development and the political unification of Africa.

The author underlines the paradox between a Europe which having introduced into Africa the strict observance of boundaries is now having serious thoughts about it and introducing free movement of labour and an Africa on the other hand which clings to the bygone colonial regulations. The result of

this is the astounding fact that non-Africans find it easier to travel on the African continent now than the indigenous Africans. They are made more "Aliens" than non-Africans by some of the immigration rules on the continent.'

One of the questions which is dealt with in some detail is that of "expulsion". The author lists several examples of this: 'Ghana expels over 200,000 non-Ghanian Africans within a period of two weeks; Sierra Leone takes over business of non-Sierra Leonean Africans and deports 80,000 of them at short notice; Zaire, Equatorial Guinea (65,000 Nigerians) and Ivory Coast 'send African national packing from their terrains on the ostensible grounds that they are taking control of their economies...'. And the author asks, 'If none of this, nor the expulsion of Indians from Ceylon could be called racist, is it not unfair to brand President Amin as a racist? Is it because the Asians happen to be brighter in colour and non-African in origin? Who really is an alien?'

After considering the cost of expulsion in terms of human suffering, economic and governmental stability, the article concludes: "Governments in Africa... have obligation to call the attention of foreigners and non-citizens to their responsibilities and rights in the countries where they sojourn. The alien in Africa may be any individual who has not carefully defined his legal status; he may be black, yellow or white. This alien has a duty to practise justice if he expects justice to be shown to him. What can the Governments and those in absolute control of the wealth in many African countries do to care for the poor in their midst before such "explosions" like these expulsions with which we are confronted recur? Must we always wait and condemn *results* rather than get to the *causes* of the problem?'

"We are marching upward to Zion The beautiful city of God..."

The refrain of the hymn rings in the consciousness and aspirations of Christians the world over. The word Zion moves the Christian almost as much as it moves the Jew and is bound up with faith, the covenant of God, prophesy and fulfilment. Zion is the spiritual kingdom of God on earth. The State of Israel is supposed to be, in the minds of many if not most Jews and Christians, the temporal embodiment of Zion, the culmination of spiritual and political Zionism, the fulfilment of the covenant of God.

While this formula is disputed by many prominent Jews and Christians, the Rabbi Elmer Berger, Moshe Menhuhin for example, it has been possible so far for the Israelis to win the hearts and minds of both Jews and Christians making them give credence and support to the idea of a God-given heritage. Since the founding of the State of Israel the Judeo-Christian bond has been visibly strengthened. The phenomenon is at another

remove from the bitter conflict between Jew and Christian which has been almost unrelieved throughout their history. In the face of the newly-fostered common Judeo-Christian heritage, it has been impossible almost for Christians to be critical of Israel. Critical love, according to the former assistant arch-bishop of Jerusalem, Dr. Kenneth Cragg, is sadly suspect.

It is this play between love and criticism which forms the nub of an article by Dr. Cragg, known for his evangelical work and his many writings on Islam, on the "Paradox of Israel".* It begins:

"Paradoxes, no doubt one should say. For in the state of Israel there are many. The profound 'religious' ideal of retentive soil and rediscovered soul has emerged as thoroughly secular. The embodiment of a vision of peace impresses the world primarily as a highly efficient military power. The State which, according to its founders and its ideals, must gather home to itself the totality of its dispersed peoples survives only by dint of the wealth and influence of those who remain outside it in dispersion. Its interests locate its destiny firmly in the western world, yet geography, history and logic require it to belong in the east. Arab relations which are its supreme obstacle, are by the same token its supreme necessity..."

Dr. Cragg goes on to say that there are other paradoxes but quickly adds that "to be paradoxical is not necessarily to be disqualified." For him "the heart of the issue in the Middle East is what Zionism is doing to Zion, what the state is doing to the destiny it claims. The pacific, ironic, hopeful dream has taken sturdy shape in the subtle, martial exclusive power-girded entity. The State we witness is such a 'Gentile' thing... One finds more and more in Israeli writing and publicity the appeal to 'fact' and 'actuality'. In one sense this is healthier than the former postures of 'innocence' and the stance which said: 'Can we be blamed for succeeding undesignedly?' The pattern now seems to be a will to retain, to incorporate in effect if not in law, to consolidate...". And he asks, "How are we to find or see against the real Zion, beyond and against what Zionism has now become and seems likely to remain?"

In plain words according to Dr. Cragg the actuality and the reality, despite the justifications of interior Zionist thinking "has meant displacement, refugees, conquest, acquisition, force..." and to approve of this actuality is to forfeit this vision of a spiritual Zion achieved by the 'elected' people. Yet in spite of all his disapproval of Israel becoming so deplorably indistinguishable from the rest of mankind in its empirical statehood and its competitive power-rivalry, in the eyes of this sensitive Christian, the present State is still not disqualified. Dr. Cragg is merely "most sick at heart" and cannot resolve the paradox: One of the obstacles to his doing so lies in his consciousness of being "suspected of anti-semitism."

* Published in *Frontier*, November 1972, now issued by the SPCK (Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge).

The Muslim Attitude:

A plea for re-orientation

The assumed integration of *din* and *dunya* has meant nothing but exploitation in the name of religion and the subservience of Islam to interests other than its own . . . Hence,, argues **Prof. Syed Wahiduddin**, who heads the department of Philosophy at Delhi, it is all the more necessary to hold apart religious and political concerns . . .

Islam embodies a way of life and a vision of reality which transcends all biological barriers and sociological compulsions and aims at realising its objective in the *Umma* or the associations of all the persons who are committed to the self-same ideal. The spirit of its message has echoed through history with the world-shaking cry of *Allahu Akbar*—God is Great. When the all-compelling cry of Islam rings through the ears earthly desires which clamour for immediate satisfaction are hushed for good and the mysterious ground that sustains all is brought nearer to our consciousness. But Islam in its ideal significance is one thing and its partial realization through small pauses of history and its distorted expressions at long intervals is another. Indeed we need not go back to history to awaken to the tensions and stresses which make their appearance in Islam as a political actuality and which have gone a long way to tarnish its image.

It has often been forgotten that no ideology, religious or otherwise, can stand on its feet in abstraction. Its bearers will perforce be national and ethnic entities differing widely in their intellectual and moral equipment and in their capacities for good and evil. Islamic history is replete with fratricidal wars, with the struggle for power of the unscrupulous despots, the exploitation of one racial

group by another and its subordination to narrow ends.

Unfortunately today the Muslims are subject to illusions which cannot but have disastrous consequences for the future. If one section is given to the illusion that history can repeat itself; the other deludes itself by thinking that progress, whatever this word may mean to them, is possible only through repudiation and rejection of their past, that is, of their history. We have yet to realise that Muslims are as much conditioned by socio-political and scientific forces as any other world-group. They are constantly exposed to the onslaught of scientific and philosophical ideas which prevail at the time. The attempt to reject every development of thought as hostile to Islam and to force Muslims to stand between an uncompromising 'either-or' can only spell disaster.

It is not often realised that to-day millions of people in the world have lost their moorings in religion. Even among Muslims not only secularization is gaining ground but a positive animosity to the basic religious convictions and consequently to their own faith is becoming more and more vocal. Apart from those who are outspoken in their atheism and whom no social anathema or political compulsion deter from occasional outbursts, the number of silent and anonymous atheists is considerable and the number of agnostics is even greater. They might pass their whole life under a Muslim name and contribute to the numerical strength without in the least qualifying for inclusion in any authentic reckoning. Of course this is true of all religions. Hence it is all the more imperative to look at the supposed allegiance to Islam in a deeper perspective.

Any sincere evaluation of the divisive forces which are at work in any religious community must take into account the youth and the specific problems which confront them. The Muslim youth is split into divided loyalties. He sees the world torn in conflicting ideologies. He is committed to Marx or Sartre and broods in himself a spirit as dogmatic as of his forbears. The critical spirit which appears so uncompromising in relation to the past is pathetically submissive in relation to the doctrines which have assumed a prophetic sanctity and whose spokesmen brook no challenge.

The political dimension of Islam confronts us with a highly confused spectacle. The attempt to hold together a State which was supposedly built on Muslim ideology has miserably failed. The fondly cherished belief that this ideology was strong enough to override the geographical and ethnic conflicts has proved to be a tragic illusion. Nor has the idea of bringing the Muslim States together in a

bloc to make them think alike and act in unison on all issues of international importance any prospect of success. Muslim States constitute a heterogenous mass today. More often than not they are influenced by one or the other super-state and their conflicts often betray the shift in the power conflict of these powers. The best and the most feasible means of creating understanding among Muslims and to foster a Muslim consciousness shorn of political antipathies and overtones will be to confine the area of immediate co-operation to cultured and religious fields and to eschew giving the impression of a political alignment based on religion. While the Islamic element can always remain implicit even at the political level any attempt to bring it into a formal framework is to create suspicion and mistrust.

The political purpose is best served by the alignment of Muslim States with other non-Muslim progressive States, though this alignment need not and should not follow any ideological pattern and must be flexible enough to shift its stand in accordance with the situation. Even when the situation has a predominantly religious dimension as for example the status of Jerusalem, it can evoke international sympathy only when it is not treated as a specifically Muslim problem but as an issue which involves human rights and as such entitled to non-Muslim sympathy and understanding.

What is wrong then with the Muslims today? It is first and foremost the tendency to take shelter in our unreal world, and to use expressions which have lost all relevance today. What does the cry of *Jihad* mean when it has lost its effectiveness and which can only create suspicion? Muslims have yet to overcome the crisis of expression. Every period of history has its own language. Words change their emotive reference in the shifting situation of history. Islam cannot be used as a slogan and the old words have lost their evocative effectiveness. Muslims have still to educate themselves in the use of restrained expression in relation to their deepest commitments. The ostentation of Islam on hockey fields and its abuse in party politics is to negate the universal character of Islam as such and to convert it into a sectarian ideology with precarious political affiliations.

What is then, we may ask, is the function of Islam in a world given more and more to secularism and nationalist ideologies? Even Communism has learnt to accommodate itself to nationalist aspirations. Islam also has to shape itself differently in its socio-political expression in different geographical and ethnic contexts. Whilst Islam cannot compromise with any movement which seeks to absolutize the relative, it cannot but accord the relative a place

at its own level. It is the tragedy of the Muslim situation to day that we are prone to use Islam as a war-cry. What really happens is that Islam as a slogan only provokes disruptive tendencies in its own area of action and encourages forces which lie in wait for chaotic conditions to create a situation which is the very negation of all that Islam stands for. The greatest contribution that Islam can make today not only to its cause but to the good of the human situation at large is to counteract and restrain effectively the disintegrating tendencies which seek nourishment from promiscuous exploitation of racial and parochial interests unmindful of all that really matters.

What the Muslims need today is a thorough revision of their behaviour pattern both as individuals and as parts of national collectivities. They are often prone to impart a religious tone to all-too-mundane affairs. To them the glory of Islam seems as much at stake in sport competitions as in international issues. It serves no purpose to take the name of Islam in vain and impart to a most neutral situation an Islamic accent.

Muslims at present live in most divergent conditions and face different challenges at different levels, cultural, economic and political. If what is trivial is magnified even major issues are eclipsed and all sense of proportion is lost. But our theorists are sure to join issue with us on this point and argue that in Islam there is no division of the secular and the religious and every aspect of life has a religious dimension. Though there is substance in this contention nothing has done so much harm to Islam as a historical phenomenon and contributed to foster hypocrisy as the equation of 'din' and 'dunya' or the integration of politics with religion.

At the moment we are not concerned with aspirations and ideals but with brute facts which stare us in the course of Muslim history from the days of the Umayyads down to our times. The assumed integration of *din*, and *dunya* has meant nothing but the exploitation of the world in the name of religion and the subservience of Islam to interests other than its own.

I see no reason why one should take pains to deny that in the lust for power Muslim rulers, be they autocrats of old or their democratic substitutes of present, do not by any means lag behind their non-Muslim counterparts. Hence it is all the more necessary as much for religious as for practical considerations to hold apart religious and political concerns and develop understanding with all nations in a language which has not acquired any negative stresses in history and to cultivate attitudes which can positively respond to the challenges of a world that God has created 'not in sport', nor 'in falsehood'.

Nota Bene

'SCRIBE'

Marriage used to be an important social institution, later on it became a problem, but it is now divorce which is fast becoming a more important institution. In urban America there is one divorce for every two marriages, and in the big cities the two are attaining an uneasy parity. Current statistics show that there are over 800,000 divorces in a year in America. This has set many a senator, lawyer and financier to develop a ground plan for divorce insurance. The object is to protect the divorced wife and children on the same principle as people are protected against accident, fire and death. Senator Donald Halperin is preparing a bill for mandatory and Government-sponsored divorce insurance. But he and others would be prepared to settle for a private insurance.

Insurance companies advertising 'risk-free divorce' are sure to invite reaction from the Womens' Lib. If the scheme materialises, the protagonists of the Lib will have another target to strike at—the monopoly insurance capitalist who wants to chain down women in marriage so that its divorce insurance could thrive.

Personnel departments of a number of American corporations are busy introducing a lie test for new workers. They are worried over increasing cases of deception, pilferage, embezzlement etc. in their business. In fact leakages doubled or tripled in the past few years, according to one spokesman. Now a lie-detector has been developed and they hope that these tests would protect business from undesirable workers. One cannot but say good-luck to the producers of these technological gadgets. What interests one is the unique quality of the modern man in attacking social problems, not at their roots, but at the symptom level. A society that scorns absolute values and prides in the relativity of morals and flexibility of ethical standards should be prepared to face the logical consequences of such an approach. If there are no definite standards of truth, then should lie remain an abnoxious thing? If the superstructure of social, political and economic life is raised on the *summum bonum* of personal interest, and there is no accountability before a higher moral Authority, then why should people be expected to pursue truth if it is against their personal interests. But why take problems so seriously, try to tackle them at their source, and strain to re-mould ourselves? After all there is an easier course: the lie-detector.

Women belonging to the 'oldest profes-

sion' have come out on the streets in Marseilles, but with a different purpose. They are there not to offer their services, but to say that their services are valuable. The so-called war against vice that began with the police crack down on Lyon brothels a few months ago is causing difficulties to these ladies. Ten hotels have been closed in the port area of Marseilles and this forced them to come out in protest against excessive police zeal. "We are performing a public service" one of their leaders claimed.

If traditional sex morality is no longer to be applicable and one is free to act as he likes then this form of 'public service' does have a strong claim. If sex is to be a mere convenience then, why not 'public convenience'?

Whether it be the issue of 'risk-free divorce', or of 'lie-detection' or of the value of a prostitute's public service, the fundamental problem remains the same. Are we approaching the problem at the level of symptoms or that of root and source. If there is a patient suffering from fever or pain, the physician tries to look beyond symptoms and search for the causes of the disease. He may give a pain-killer for immediate relief, but he cannot go on giving an analgesic. This is scientific approach in medicine, but curiously not in the social realm. We are becoming addicted to dealing with social problems at the level of the use of half-understood yet over-used 'pain-killers' and do not care to go into the root of the malady. In this pain pursuit, what is being 'killed' is the sweet tranquility of social life.

The Rural Dean of Islington, London North, Peter Johnston, declared in his presidential address to the 1973 Islington Conference that the tide against the Church has turned. Although there has been a steady decline in church attendance over the last 10 years, trends now seem to be reversing. The number of those seeking entry in evangelical and theological colleges this year, has shown increase. What is more important "People are willing to talk about the person of Jesus".

What the Dean did not mention is that for all this poor Jesus had to step down to become a super-star. In this age of ours, if Jesus wanted to talk to his people, he had no option but to appear as an actor or a pop-star. When religion adjusts to the demands of modernity, the prospects do improve — but whose prospects, of religion or of modernity?

Speaking About The Algerian Revolution

Malik Ben Nabi

Prof. Malik Ben Nabi, an engineer by education, is a well known Muslim educationist, thinker and writer of several works in French and Arabic. His writings had a great impact on the ideological quality of the Algerian Revolution and after independence he became the new country's Director-General of Higher Education and President of the University of Algiers. Of late there has been a degree of mutual estrangement between Prof. Malik Ben Nabi and the Algerian government, and he has been spending his time outside Algeria, on advice. **Warisuddin Cowlas** and **Abbas Jamali** spoke to him during his visit to Perdue, U.S.A., last year.

Q. What is the historical background of the Algerian revolution?

A. The Algerian revolution was a stage in the Algerian people's resistance to French imperialism, an imperialism which lasted for 130 years. It derived its character and inspiration from the faith of the Algerian people in Islam, its values, its principles and its whole socio-political ethos. This stage differed from the previous ones in that it had benefitted from unsuccessful experiences of the past. The previous attempts did not succeed because they lacked a prior-organisation. It may be recalled that at the very outset of this Revolution on November 1, 1954, its primary call and slogan was "*Allahu Akbar*." This call and this slogan resounded throughout the whole country from east to west, from the coast in the north to the desert in the south and went on to move and mobilise the Islamic consciousness of the whole people. The Revolution thus became a sacred and a noble call to every individual in the nation. This sanctity and nobility permeated within all those who bore arms in the cause of the Revolution and that is why they were called *Mujahid* and not guerillas or the like. The spirit of their striving—*Jihad*—affected not only their quality as a soldier or as a fighter but also their whole being as a noble person.

Imperialism realised the danger it faced from the spiritual values, and the moral qualities of the Revolution from the very first day of its launching. Efforts, therefore, were made to dilute and negate these qualities by attempting to introduce alternative terms such as "soldier" instead of *Mujahid*. They did succeed in effecting a change in some of the organisational terminology but failed to modify the basic Islamic core of the Revolution. This Islamic core, and this inspiration remained until the last day of the Revolution, the primary weapon with which the Algerian people faced the mighty forces of the colonialists.

For the Muslim youth who is now passing through a revolutionary stage there are two points to be kept in mind:

1. Faith in the sacredness and nobility of their cause; this is or should be their primary as well as main source of strength.
2. Since Imperialism too is aware of this, it tries to strike particularly against this faith, its sources and its manifestations. This holds true in each and every case

where people are striving to bring about an Islamic revolution.

Imperialism will try its best to destroy the spiritual base and oneness of our revolution by promoting and causing differences between its various sectors of thought and action.

Q. How can you apply these premises and experiences in liberating other occupied lands?

A. For the revolution to succeed it is imperative that there exist no ideological separation or dichotomy between the fighters and the masses. This ideological harmony is a must and must be achieved by the fighters through seeking identification with the values of the people and not by trying to impose their own notional or borrowed concepts upon the masses who support and sustain them.

Q. Why should one choose Islam as a basis for revolution rather than some other ideology, say Marxism?

A. When you have to choose from two or three or four ideologies, because you want unity and at a given time you can choose only one, you select the one which is closest to the "whole truth" and not the one which was probably suitable in a particular situation. We as Muslims accept that the Marxist ideology probably did unite people to face a particular set of circumstances which you could call the Communist or Socialist revolution. But, we ask whether the mere fact of a political success would be an adequate measure of the post-revolutionary quality of this ideology; whether it is in fact a solution to all the problems of the human kind or applied only to a few of them, or perhaps none. I think we need to ponder over this question.

In order to answer the question we, however, would have to reconsider the Marxist philosophy in all aspects and in all details. Obviously Marx, like Confucius 4000 years before him, was not dealing with the human problems in their totality but rather with only a part of the whole. Both tried to deal with the diurnal and the ephemeral part of the human personality. Neither of them take a composite and a complete view of life, which in itself is in a state of dynamic equilibrium, so the solutions offered, are understandably *ad hoc* and insufficient. Half a century of Marxism, I suppose, should now make it intelligible.

Washington Letter

Why Blacks explode?

A sanguinary flashback to the racial violence of the 1960's, that is what happened in New Orleans, the very first week of the new year. Twenty-three-year old Navy veteran Mark Essex, driven to madness by repeated discrimination during his Navy tour of duty, barricaded himself on a hotel rooftop sanctuary for 12 hours and shot to death six white civilians, including three policemen, before he was himself gunned down by riot police in helicopters. The national news media rushed out nervous accounts of a "black terrorist conspiracy," "a nationwide plot to kill police," "a war on policemen". At first, authorities said three snipers were involved, but after it was all over, only Essex could be found.

The media have attempted to link Essex with the Black Muslims, the Republic of New Africa and other militant groups, on scanty evidence. But, according to interviews with his family and friends, the young man was quiet, sensitive and not a militant before joining the Navy. He was doing well in training to be a dentist until he ran into continuous racial harassment from his superiors. His attitude then began to change. He deserted for a while and began for the first time to speak of hatred for white people. Shortly after, the Navy discharged him.

Why do blacks explode? This phenomenon is not new. Revolts against American racist oppression date from the early days of slavery. Gabriel Prosser, Denmark Vesey and Nat Turner planned large-scale slave insurrections, Nat Turner's 1831 revolt leading to the murder of 60 slaveholding whites. After capture Turner pleaded "Not guilty", saying that "he did not feel so". The answer lies in 400 years of callous, unmitigated American racism against her black citizens (who at first were not even allowed to be citizens). It is often remarked that America has always treated better immigrants those who came from those very white nations who fought against her—France, Britain, Germany, Russia—than her own 'African' citizens, those who have fought on America's side in every war from the War of Independence to the war in Vietnam. Three hundred years of slavery and one hundred years of second-class citizenship constitute an aggression on the Afro-Americans personality; physically, psychologically, morally and economically.

The growing frustration among young black Americans can easily lead to mass suicidal tendencies, i.e., killing whites or even the dissident Blacks. The promised progress in civil rights of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations have proved to be largely hollow promises, but even this little bit of socio-economic advancement stands in jeopardy by the "benign neglect"

policies of the first and second Nixon administrations. After having been awakened to a new awareness of the past heritage and achievements and their future potentialities, young black Americans are not prepared to take regressive or repressive policies meekly; they prefer to put up a fierce, bitter physical struggle.

Despite America's for-foreign-export propaganda about being the land of freedom democracy and equality, the touchstone has always been her treatment of her African minority, and she has come out always as a dual personality. America in 1973 is no more liberal or ready to accede human rights to black Americans than was the America of 1673, 1773 or 1873. Only the charade of mock democracy has marched on. During the past few years, nearly every programme designed to assist minorities in progress has been curtailed or abolished; the poor and disadvantaged are expected to pull themselves up by their own bootstraps, though they do not even have shoes, figuratively speaking. Yet, America finds billions of dollars for programmes designed to kill Vietnamese, for example, or to bring back a few pieces of rock from the moon.

A nation that is willing to spend billions more for death than for life encourages the most mindless anti-social violence among its citizens.

S. S. Mufassir

Letters

"Whose Failure in Pakistan?"

Dr. Kaleem Siddiqui's article "Whose Failure in Pakistan?" (*Impact*, 2:15, 22 Dec. 1972-11 Jan. 1973) is thought-provoking in more respects than one. He is correct when he says that the failure of the political leadership of Pakistan cannot be laid at the door of Islam. But his observations about 'Maulana Maudoodi and his Jamaat-e-Islami' betray lack of information or a hasty generalisation, or both. The Jamaat-e-Islami did not become identified with the *status quo*, instead it alone rebelled against the *status quo* and 'paid dearly for it'. On the other hand the parties that represented the *status quo* were 'successful' because they did not attack the traditional seats of power, which the Jamaat had done. Sheikh Mujib's Awami League and Mr. Bhutto's Peoples Party represented directly or indirectly the power-complex of Pakistan politics—bureaucracy, feudal and industrial interests, foreign powers and the traditional ground forces. The Jamaat-e-Islami was too much of a rebel to the system and so committed to change it as to be accepted or even tolerated by the establishment. The slogans of the Awami League or the PPP must not confuse any perceptive political analyst. One must try to peep beneath their very thin veneer.

Any one who has some understanding of the political realities in Pakistan would find it difficult to agree with Dr. Siddiqui's other view that 'Maudoodi and the Jamaat also became identified with ritualised Islam'. Here again he shows ignorance or simplicity. In fact what he terms ritualised Islam was represented by Jamiat ul-Ulema Pakistan and the Jamiat-e-Ulema Islam, and if the 1970 election results were a reliable indicator (which many analysts dispute) of political success, this 'ritualised Islam' fared much better than the anti-*status quo* Islam of the Jamaat-e-Islami (the two Jamiats secured central seats as against 4 by the Jamaat). In at least two provinces of West Pakistan one of them even fared better than the PPP.

Dr. Siddiqui states that Maudoodi committed the most elementary of mistakes in predicting political behaviour on the assumption of peoples' belief. Any one who cares to study the Manifesto of the Jamaat or any other literature would agree that Dr. Siddiqui has perhaps tried to read something in the mind of Maudoodi, which was not there. The entire Movement of the Jamaat was directed towards the problem of rebuilding the broken bridge between belief and behaviour, individual and social. According to Maudoodi's analysis the real problem that besets the Muslims is the disruption of the link between *belief* and action. He does argue that action must follow belief but does not presuppose that this would come about automatically. He did not predict political behaviour on the basis of religious belief, on the other hand his efforts precisely were and are directed towards awakening the consciousness that this should. The Jamaat as a movement is nothing else but an effort to educate create a new social and political commitment to one's belief. The approach covers not merely the 'salvation of the soul' but is also directed equally to transforming this 'immediate business of living'. Maudoodi has tried to integrate 'belief' and 'reason' because one without the other is meaningless. Perhaps Maudoodi's failure lies in not pursuing the path of exploitation of politics, or of slogan-mongering. But he instead aimed at an ideological revolution through political education and rational persuasion. That is why the Jamaat has scored better amongst the educated as against the unknowing classes. Over eighty per cent of the 2 million votes the Jamaat got in 1970 came from the hearts of the cities. In Karachi it got about thirty per cent of the votes cast. In East Pakistan its position was second to that of the Awami League; while the Jamaat received 10% of the total votes cast, 12% were shared between some fourteen parties in the Opposition.

The post-1970 and continued success of the Islami Jamiat-e-Talaba in almost all the colleges and universities of West Pakistan can also be seen as a measure of success of this policy of rational persuasion. The Jamaat has yet to cover a vast ground, but it is not guilty of assuming that political behaviour follows automatically from religious beliefs.

KHURSHID AHMAD

Leicester, England.

On Bangladesh logic and new French Translations of the Qur'an

In *Impact*, Vol. 2:16, you have published:

(a) an interesting interview of Mr. Zafar Ansari on Bangladesh. I have nothing to say about the answers you received, but I take respectfully a view different from yours expressed in one of the questions. You seem to presume that the East and West Pakistan being geographically separated, the union was unrealistic and unviable. I would submit that this very "weakness" was the greatest force and the best means for survival from a military point of view. Against a neighbour four times more powerful, believing in non-violence when un-armed and in Machiavellism when well-armed and desiring and preparing for expansion, even if the two Pakistans were in one piece, they would still be too weak against this neighbour. Even if all the whole of Pakistan was in piece, I would rather wish it to be in two wings so that India would be obliged always to divide its strength before attacking it. The fable of the two oxen and the lion is well-known, and how they were devoured by the lion when they decided to separate. India knew this better than the Pakistanis.

(b) a note on translations of the Quran. The Czech translator has the name Ivan Hrbk (even if you do not know how to pronounce it, the Czechs know that quite well). Your spelling Henryeck is imaginary. A new French translation and commentary has come out by the pen of Mr. Hamza Boubakeur (corruption of Abu-Bakr). Another *de luxe* French translation (costing about £100!) by Mr. Jean Grosjean. I will be reviewing the three for *Impact Insha Allah*.

A. M. NURUDDIN

Istanbul.

Pakistan—Maugham Style

I never like to get involved in any of the self-maneuvering controversies, but going through Mr Jilani's "Inquest on Pakistan" (*Impact*, Vol. 2:11) and Mr. Kaukab Siddique's subsequent comments (*Impact*, Vol. 2:1) one gets the feeling that politics draw a great deal from fiction.

The sum of our recent history—in fact recent tragedies—lies in the doings of our politicians and statesmen who have been trying to create something popular and beautiful by mixing religion, aristocracy, sex and suspense, in the style of Somerset Maugham. I am, however, sorry to say that Pakistan can no more afford to bear such disastrous ploys. So, would every one, please, come back to the world of reality, of honesty, and of sincerity. Pakistan was meant to be fashioned in the style of *Khilafat-e-Rashidah* and it is still not too late to come to grips with the real problems.

(Miss) FATIMA NISAR

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Books

A condensed encyclopedia of Muslim Education

Islamic Education: Its Traditions and Modernization into the Arab National Systems by A. L. Tibawi, *Luzac*, 256 pp., £4.50.

After centuries of stagnation and hibernation the Muslim world has awakened to find itself faced with a rapidly changing world, changing in all aspects of life: spiritual, moral, social, political, economic and technological. To catch up and to cope with the dynamism of the situation, education is the surest and the sole means.

Education is supposed to achieve moral and material renaissance. It is supposed to achieve national unity, democracy, prosperity and social justice. The easiest approach to education has been to imitate and to adopt a Western system with some adaptations. The result has sometimes been unfortunate. Modern education so grafted onto the Muslim body with little regard for the history and culture of the people has created a dichotomy between the past and the present instead of achieving harmony and continuity. It has created an uncalled for split between science and religion which, in Islam, are not disintegrated.

The Muslim world today is in urgent need of re-examining its educational system in the light of Islamic culture, its history and its hopes and ideals. Thus the study of Islamic education becomes a vital issue in the Muslim world. Muslim educators and philosophers should undertake this task. Dr. Abdul Latif Tibawi is one of them. He is an educator with a solid foundation in educational experience and scientific training, especially in the historical field. He has produced a rich book on Islamic education that is both objective and clear. He has covered the vast field of Muslim education from early Islam to the present times. Thus his book represents a condensed encyclopedia of Muslim education. Included are a history of Muslim education, the philosophy of Muslim education, a survey of the present-day educational situation in the Arab world. Dr Tibawi deserves a great deal of credit for his excellent work, and all those who are concerned with the problems of the Muslim world in general and education in particular will do well to profit from this valuable book.

Having acknowledged the value of this fine work, I should like to make the following observations:

(a) One might question Dr Tibawi's assertion that Ibn-Khaldoun was averse to natural science and philosophy as such. It is true that Ibn-Khaldoun warned against the study of philosophy before being well versed in the fundamentals of one's religious faith. He shuns a special kind of philosophy which he criticizes at length. But he himself is a philosopher and offers a philosophy of his own.

(b) Dr Tibawi gives Sheikh Mohamed Abdu his due as a reformer of traditional education and as a provider of a new philosophy of Islamic education. One might do the same with the well-known Tunisian statesman and thinker, Khair ed-Din Pasha al-Tunisi. When he established the famous Sadiqiyeh School in Tunis he showed that

he had a clear philosophy of education for the Muslim world.

(c) Dr Tibawi's excellent survey of education in each Arab state is a fine hors d'oeuvre, for it arouses one's appetite for more knowledge of the problems and conditions of the different states.

(d) Dr Tibawi is quite right in emphasizing the problem of language in the states formerly ruled by France in North Africa. The question of Arabicization of education is under serious consideration in these states.

(e) Dr Tibawi has put his finger on vital spots in education when he refers to the shortage of qualified teachers, the lag in the education of women, the relative neglect of rural and tribal areas, and the need for relating education to the economic development of the country rather than allowing educational institutions to turn into factories for producing unemployed white-collar young men and women.

(f) We feel that any consideration of education in the Muslim world in general and the Arab world in particular should point out the harm done to education by too frequent political change and instability. The result is instability in educational administration, policy and plans. In recent years, wars, military coups d'etats and heavy expenditure on armies and armament surely has reduced the chances of increasing the educational budget and has lengthened the time needed for removing illiteracy and for raising the social, economic and cultural standard of the people.

In short we wish to state again that Dr. Tibawi has produced a comprehensive and objective book on Islamic education. The Muslim world needs more books of this kind.

May we conclude with the hope that Muslim educators will realize that the world of Islam today needs, above all, the light and the compass provided by the holy Quran in order to chart the right course and to move forward in this world.

Prof. Mohammed Fadhel Jamali

The Israeli image

David's Sling, by Simon Peres, *Random House*, New York, 310 pages. \$8.95

The history of Zionism and the state of Israel is an unsolved one, of tension between Jewish orthodoxy and political nationalism, socialist ideology and capitalist necessity, imperialistic expansion and peace cries, Israel and the Diaspora. Political and social events in Israel have been dominated by its own version of 'an old-boy network': the leadership who came from Eastern Europe in the second aliyah between 1904 and 1913 still dominate the government and the parliament through both political parties and Kibbutzim. Recently, this dominance has been challenged with a decline in the Socialist-Zionist ideological beliefs and the rise of technocrats in public life.

Simon Peres is one technocrat in Israel's limelight. In *David's Sling* he examines the major problems facing Israel: its hostilities with Arabs; the rapid economic and industrial expansion; political, social and cultural entanglements between the technological state and the Diaspora. But mainly Simon Peres is concerned with the 'survival' of Israel—a helpless nation surrounded by intransigently hostile Arab states: three hundred times greater and possessing a population 33 times larger. Israel has thus been forced to become self-reliant. *David's Sling* relates how

Israel has survived by military successes of its army, its efforts to obtain an 'arms balance' with the Arabs, its building of external friendships by aid to many developing countries, and for the creation of a firm scientific and technological state. Many revelations are made about Israel's quest for arms in Washington, Paris and Bonn, and for the starting of armaments, aeronautical and electronic industries in Israel itself. Amongst many others, Lyndon Johnson, former French Prime Minister Maurice Bourges-Meounoury and Chancellor Konrad Adenauer emerge with special weakness towards Israel's aims.

We are told that a quarter of Israel's national budget goes towards defence, but will this make Israel a modern-day Sparta? Peres sets out to dispel this notion by giving accounts of his visits as Director of the Department of Defence, with Commander-in-Chief General Dayan to Prime Minister Ben Gurion, sitting under the shade of a tree explaining the 1956 Sinai strategy on a cigarette packet. According to Peres Israeli society has accepted subordination of the military to civilian rulers, the army is recognised as non-political people's army and is an essential instrument of nation-building.

Peres then proceeds to make a case against the analogy of Zionism with the crusaders and the failure of Zionism. He refuses to equate the movement of 'pioneer settlers' intent on redeeming a deserted land with a military force in search of glory. But he is worried about the relationship between the Jews and the Arabs. Some of the statistics and arguments he puts forward are interesting. In great many cases, the Jews lawfully bought the land from the Arabs often paying exorbitant prices. While the Palestinian Jews were indifferent to the Arabs, they paid 70% of the mandatory administration's taxes. Between 1922 and 1935, the Jews spent £403,000 in fighting malaria and draining the swamps compared with £85,000 by the British authorities and nothing by the Arabs. It was this expenditure which led to the Arab immigration and increase in population from 600,000 in 1922 to 1,200,000 in 1944. Naturally the Arabs resented the Jewish purchase of land in which they lived but did not own. This resentment and the impacable hostilities which followed led to three wars and ended any possibility of a common State. It has also united Israelis and conditioned the nature of their state.

In analysing the political philosophies at work in Israel Peres comes out to be surprisingly short-sighted. He claims that Israel has almost become a non-doctrinaire State (whatever happened to the political activism of Herzl, the spiritual ethic of Ahad Haam, Jewish-Marxism and Socialist Zionism?). As a modern technocrat he is proud of his country's economic, industrial and military strength. He asserts that Israel is largely devoid of economic class-division and with an efficient industrial economy; it needs merit and pragmatism rather than ideology or seniority.

David's Sling is a brilliant public relations work for Israel and gives an informative account of Zionism in action.

Z.S.

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NEWSMEDIA BOOK SERVICE

Briefing

The Killearn Diaries 1934-46, edited by Trefor Evans, *Sidgwick & Jackson*, £5.95.

Lord Killearn (then Sir Miles Lampson) who served in Egypt as Britain's High Commissioner and later his country's first ambassador in Cairo, actually was the British Viceroy of Egypt. At least his diary for the period, now edited by his former private secretary Evans says so.

Lord Killearn's 12 years in Egypt, came out as most crucial in the region's subsequent history. Early in 1936, Killearn and Anthony Eden saw no solution to the "problem" but to incorporate Egypt into the Empire. Since the situation was not "ripe", diplomacy and imperialism had to take a preparatory approach. The grooming of the young Farouk, under Mrs. Naylor, his British nanny, was part of the same patient and long term approach. The underlying theory being that if British-educated sporting types could be brought to and kept in power then one could well deal with them. In 1934, Prince Farouk was such "a nice simple boy" who owed "much to his English nanny". But in 1936, when Farouk became the King, the "upbringing" started showing its rough corners. The royal chemist Titterton reported to the ambassador that Farouk had been saying so and so about the British royalty. Farouk was duly lectured, but in course of time he had fledged into a "show-off" and a "playboy", and became a "rotter on the Throne".

When World War-II broke out in 1939, Farouk refused to declare war on Germany. Come February 1942: with Rommel in Benghazi, students on the streets shouting, 'we are Rommel's soldiers', and Farouk ready to swear in a government less committed to the British, Sir Miles drove to the Abdin palace, ringed already by British tanks and told the King to sign the letter of abdication which he had brought with him. "The King completely cowed, looked up and asked almost pathetically... if I would not give him one more chance?" It was agreed that Nahas Pasha, the Wafd leader be called and asked to form the government because only Nahas would inspire confidence among people—people in Whitehall.

Lord Killearn is sensitive to rising nationalism in the Muslim world and does not hide his Zionist company or sympathies. He broaches the matter with Nahas who tells him that partition "would never be acceptable to the Arabs". Moreover Egypt "would not contemplate with equanimity... a Jewish State on the borders of Egypt", because "the Jews might even later on advance some claim to Sinai". So selfish in looking at the situation from only an 'Egyptian' angle and so wrong on the side of under-predicting a future situation. On the other hand, George VI, the British monarch is seen to express common sense and humanity when he tells Killearn that "old Balfour was a silly old man; and had given (or promised to others) something already belonging to someone else!"

Bride of the Revolution Krupskaya and Lenin by Robert H. McNeal, *Gollancz*, £3.60.

McNeal's biography of Lenin's legally wedded wife, Krupskaya, creates as many myths as it seeks to resolve. No discredit, however, to the historian because the problem—a permanent one at that—lies with the socialist concept of historical objectivity: What was objective during Lenin era assumed a different objective value during Stalin's era, but only to be superceded by another objective awareness as to the true facts of history.

From McNeal's account, Krupskaya far from being a "Bride of the Revolution", was perhaps not even Lenin's full bride. Coming from a liberal-religious-bourgeois family, her femininity, her kindness and the social corruptions of the society, combined to make her a natural revolutionary and a comrade of Lenin. She was 25 when Lenin was exiled to Siberia, and she agreed to join him. Lenin was faced with the necessity to marry in order to cut across some

bureaucratic difficulties and Krupskaya said: "Well, so what—if as a wife then as a wife". Since then, she overtook upon herself the role of a functional wife and it is here that she comes out superbly human, and a real heroine. She put up with exile, with rumours surrounding Lenin's stop-go love-affair with the attractive French-born Inessa Arnaud, with the strains of being Russia's first lady, and above all with widowhood under Stalin. When Lenin was dying she had to keep bad news from him, and after he died, she found out to her bitter experience the impossibility of being able to speak-out. She did try, but Stalin told her: "I shall make someone else Lenin's widow". Since the Revolution could well make that impossible, possible, she recanted and even joined in denouncing those who had to stand against the then great Stalin. Krupskaya presents herself as the kind of honest, pathetic and exploited creature, who provided justification to the Women's Lib.

Rasputin by R. J. Minney, *Cassel*, £3.75.

Rasputin, true or false, that is the question raised by Minney, half a century after the death of the man whose name has become an adjective of the unholy. If you are superstitious, you need to have some one close by, who would mediate, intercede and obtain for you the favours of God—no matter how unfavourable these may be to other people. Rasputin did exercise such an influence in the Tsarist court, particularly over the Tsarina. As to the kind of influence Rasputin exercised, Minney cites investigations in 1917 ordered by Kerensky. The investigation showed that his "affairs with women consisted solely of night orgies" with singers, etc., and when drunk Rasputin would hint of "intimacies in higher circles", but nothing really improper took place. In politics, Minney says, Rasputin stood for peace made reformist suggestions, refused to be bribed and "warned" against revolution. The suggestion is that the not-so-wicked Rasputin was more of an escape-goat than a real villain.

Does God Say Kill? An investigation of the Current Fighting in Africa by John Eppstein, *Tom Stacey*, £1.95.

John Eppstein, a Roman Catholic philosopher, argues that African Liberation Movements do not meet the criteria of a "just insurrection" because the conditions in general do not justify a revolt and are not likely to succeed. The World Council of Churches is, therefore, ill-advised to give financial aid to the non-military activities of these anti-racist movements.

Before the Bawdy Court. Selections from Church Court and Other Records Relating to the Correction of Moral Offences in England, Scotland and New England 1300-1800. Edited by Paul Hair, *Elek*, £4.00.

Interesting social history; documents 600 cases of morality offences from drunkenness to unobservance of Sunday to adultery etc. that were brought before the Church Courts between 14th and 19th centuries.

Religious Policy and Practice in Communist China by Ronald E. MacInnis, *Hodder and Stoughton*.

Study sponsored by the National Council of Churches, New York, it claims to document all the official statements on or about religion in Communist China.

Religion and Soviet Foreign Policy 1945-1970, William C. Fletcher, *Royal Institute of International Affairs*, £3.50.

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The Thalidomide Saga

Zia Sardar

The drug 'Distaval', otherwise known as 'Thalidomide', first came on the market in 1959 and was distributed in Britain by Distillers Company (Biochemicals) Ltd. (DCL). An intensive advertisement campaign placed the drug in the eyes of the public. Its non-toxicity was its main selling attraction. Medical journals carried advertisements showing a small child reaching up to a medicine cupboard with the words: This child's life may depend on the safety of Distaval (Thalidomide). The drug was designed to reduce morning sickness during pregnancy but had disastrous side effects: Thalidomide caused both nerve damage in adults and malformation in the human foetus. The result was 432 children in Britain, and some 8,000 in the world, being maimed for life. The Distillers Company was accused of causing death by negligence and wilfully offering for sale a medicament likely to have harmful effects. DCL have denied the allegations and the parents of the Thalidomide children have been fighting the Company in the Court for eleven years in an attempt to gain adequate compensation.

In 1968, 62 of the parents settled out of court for £16,129 each, a total of £1m. This was only 40% of the amount they would have received if Distillers had admitted liability and agreed to pay full compensation. DCL then made an offer for the remaining 370 children of £5m which worked out at about £13,500 each. If we take inflation into account this amounted to about 60% of the 1968 settlement. The parents asked for at least £20m to meet children's needs and were supported in this by a group of shareholders in DCL and by some companies who buy DCL products; both groups applied pressure on the company to pay up.

Distillers Company Ltd. is one of the biggest, richest and most profitable Companies in Britain. Its wealth is based on huge near-monopoly position in producing and exporting Scotch Whisky. DCL have assets of £421m and their pre-tax profits last year were £64.8m. At present, the Company has £250m worth of whisky in stock which is increasing in value at the rate of 13% a year, £25m of hard cash in bank and stock exchange securities and other saleable investments worth another £53m. The £20m which the Thalidomide victims asked for would have hardly bankrupted the Company!

Last Summer, *The Sunday Times* began publishing a series of articles on the

Thalidomide case and on the unbelievably agonising condition of 400 seriously deformed children, still awaiting adequate compensation after eleven years. The inquiry reawakened public concern in the case. The Attorney-General, acting on behalf of the Distillers, applied successfully on November 17, 1972 for an injunction preventing publication of *The Sunday Times* article. The presiding high court judges declared that "having regards to the power of public opinion publication of the article complained of would create a serious risk of interference with the Distillers' freedom of action in the litigation". Neither the judges nor the Attorney-General challenged the factual accuracy of the article. In fact one of the judges said, "we ought to approach the article on the footing that its allegations are true."

In early December 1972, the Government announced that it is setting up a public fund of £3m to provide for 'desperately congenitally disabled children'. It is not clear at the moment exactly what kind of cases this fund will provide for, but if it were only to apply to the 432 Thalidomide victims and the 3,000 *spina bifida* sufferers, who would almost qualify, the amount received would be less than £1,000 each. It is interesting to note that the Government has refused any tax-relief on the £5m offer DCL made to the Thalidomide victims; if tax-relief is allowed the compensation would amount to £12m.

Early last month, after much financial arm-twisting by its shareholders and various companies which do business with Distillers, DCL agreed to raise its compensation offer to £20m. If the parents and the High Court accept this offer the Company will pay £2m a year for the next ten years into a charitable fund specially set up for the Thalidomide victims. In addition the parents would receive £5,000 cash each, amounting to £2m.

The condemning combination of recklessness, commercial greed, prevarication and indifference to sufferings of the Thalidomide victims shown by DCL would have led many to conclude that the Thalidomide trial was an open-and-shut case. The legal wrangling that has occupied the courts for the past eleven years, however, not only throws light at the inadequacies of the British Judicial system but also puts a seal at the hope that similar tragedy would never happen again. Furthermore, the Thalidomide experience has done little to discourage excessive profit motive and the temptation it offers to manufacturers to forestall their competitors and make a quick bid for the new markets, throwing overboard the tremendous social responsibility of drug production. The chemical industry should accept all responsibility for all the consequences. It takes the profits; equally it should be required to compensate the victims of its mistakes.

Glaswegians give a lead on the PoW's issue

Impact Report

On Sunday 21 Jan. the city of Glasgow faced a big demo: hundreds of Pakistanis and Scots had turned up to protest about the continued detention of 90,000 Pakistani Prisoners of War by India. After a long march—from Oxford Street to Woodside Hall—the demonstrators were addressed by six Scottish M.P.s and leaders of the Pakistani community. Amongst those who took part in the march and spoke to the demonstrators were: Mr. Neil Carmichael, M.P. Mr. Frank McIlhone, M.P.; Mr. James White, M.P.; Mr. Edward Taylor, M.P.; Mr. William Hannan, M.P.; Mr. Ian Campbell, M.P.; Mr. Hugh McCartney, M.P.; Mr. Norman Buchan, M.P. The crowd heard messages of sympathies from Mr. James Reid, Rector of Glasgow University, and Mr. David Steel, M.P. The Speakers told the demonstrators that the detention of Pakistani PoWs by India after the ceasefire is a violation of the Geneva Convention and the Security Council's resolution of 1971. Pakistan has already repatriated all the Indian PoWs and civilian detainees. The participants expressed concern at India's treatment of the PoWs. A report by International Committee of Red Cross was quoted which notes cases of 'cold blooded murder', talks of unprecedented torture, and appalling living conditions particularly for infants and children in 'barracks closely fenced in barbed wire'. The group called upon those with concern for humanity to take steps for the speedy release by India of the prisoners of war.

Following the demonstration a 'Committee for Pakistani PoWs' was formed. The Committee, which consists of thirteen professional Pakistanis of Glasgow, aims to create an international awareness of the sad and inhuman situation facing the PoWs and their families. It hopes to approach and seek the support of the British M.P.s, pressmen and other responsible leaders of public opinion. Dr. M. Zakauddin, a consultant psychiatrist who is the Convenor of the Committee (54 Bridge St., Glasgow C.5) has appealed for similar committees to be formed in other areas. Individuals can at least write a letter to their local and the national newspapers so as to let them share and reflect on the agony of the situation.

Registration of Pakistani Doctors in Britain: Question in Commons

The Secretary of State for Social Services Sir Keith Joseph told Mr. Cyril Smith, the recently elected Liberal MP from Rochdale that the entitlement of the Pakistani doctors for full registration depends on the existence of an order applying Part III of the Medical Act 1956 to the country of origin and on the GMC's recognition of the qualification held by the practitioners. When Pakistan left the Commonwealth the order previously in force lapsed and the GMC could not any longer grant full registration to doctors qualified in Pakistan. The Government is now considering, Sir Keith Joseph said, whether a new order can be made having regard to the provisions of Section 19 of the 1956 Act.

Mr. Smith who is seeking an end to the ban on Pakistani doctors for full registration with the General Medical Council Commonwealth Register (*Impact* Vol 2:9) had asked for recommendations to the Privy Council for new instructions to the GMC. (*Impact* news.)

Easy Loan for Pakistani Students

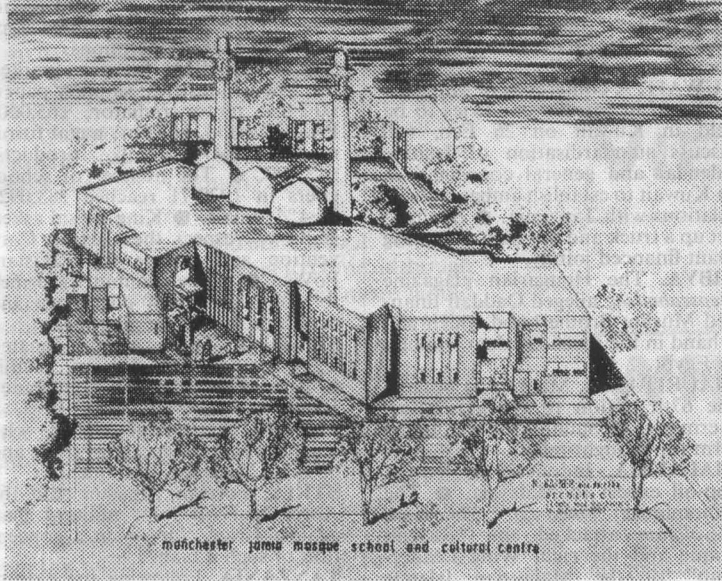
Pakistan Ministry of Education has drawn up a scheme whereby Pakistani students in Britain who face financial difficulties due to last year's devaluation would be able to obtain easy loans from the National Bank of Pakistan. Details can be obtained from the Education Division, Pakistan Embassy (35 Lowndes Square, London, S.W.1). (*Impact* news)

new spectrum

Manchester Mosque — a grassroot foundation

IMPACT REPORT

Manchester, the commercial and industrial heart of England, has a Muslim population of 16,000. For over quarter of a century the Muslim community in this city, particularly the students, had worked to establish a place of worship which could also serve as a common meeting place. These efforts have now started to bear fruit: the first phase of Manchester Jamia Mosque, School and Cultural Centre has been completed. On Eid ul Adha the Mosque—which has materialised entirely through local support and funds—was used by over 1,000 Muslims.



manchester jamia mosque school and cultural centre

The need and desire for a mosque and an Islamic Centre had prompted the community to form an Islamic Association which, with donations and practical help worked very well until the two old semi-detached houses in Upper Park Road, were demolished to make room for the new project. Until the demolition in 1969, the houses served as a Mosque and formed a nucleus for the community in the north-west region of Britain.

Compelled by the needs for better facilities, a preliminary scheme was designed and started in 1966 and the overall responsibility was transferred to the Jamiat ul Muslimeen, Manchester. Unfortunately for various reasons the project was abandoned.

In October 1970, the new project was redesigned to consist of self-contained phases. The reason for phasing the project was purely dependent on the availability of the donations.

In planning due regard has been given to the need of holding simultaneously various activities, so that each area with the help of folded partition, can function independently. This eliminates the unnecessary use of the whole premises and offers a reasonable control on the running and maintenance cost.

The structure offers a simple traditional construction, the main elements of which are in reinforced concrete and red brick walls envelope them. The domes and the minarets are in white reinforced plastic which is self cleansing and requires no maintenance. The finishes and

decoration have been kept very simple and functional but elegant.

The contract figure of Phase One is £48,777 and it comprises of the main mosque covering an area of 2,600 square feet with a gallery providing another 1,300 square feet. The basement in phase one provides toilets and wudu facilities, a large store room and the boiler room. At ground level there is a large entrance hall giving access to the mosque, stairs to gallery, common room and stairs to the gent's toilets. Phase one is designed to accommodate 1,200 people and provides six class rooms, when completed, the mosque will cater for up to 2,000 people and ten class rooms.

In the second phase, will come another four class rooms, a library, activities' rooms and the Imam's residence. The hostel will be added in the third phase. A Muslim businessman has offered to pay for the construction of a mortuary which is being presently designed. There is provision for a park for up to 90 cars and the site will be landscaped to enhance the looks of the building.

Mr. Naaserudin Kaiser, the architect of the Mosque, said that when completed "This mosque will be a constant reminder to our children in the generations to come of their heritage and their responsibilities towards the society in which they live; it may even tell them that inspite of their limited resources, their forefathers have given them a basic lead to follow".

POST-MORTEM AGONIES

from Yacoob Mank,
President Islamic Culture Centre,
Bolton

Muslim community in Bolton, Lancashire, and I am sure in most other towns, is faced with a number of problems arising out of specific religious requirements; amongst them is the most agonising problem of post-mortem and delays in burials. In case of post-mortem it takes up to seven days before a death certificate is issued and burial can take place. This causes dismay and great inconvenience to friends and relations of the deceased.

Whenever this happens, there are cries, all fury and sound signifying nothing, amongst the local people. They get upset, feelings run high and in desperation they run from one office to another with the hope of obtaining the death certificate earlier than otherwise. This, however, brings no positive result. In fact it annoys the authorities and, according to them, stops them from working which causes further delay. This situation prevails almost in every town and something has to be done to remedy it.

One way is to make strong personal representations to the local authorities, explain to them our religious beliefs and requirements in this matter and try to make arrangements with them to facilitate quick burials. It would be better if one person is selected by the community to undertake enquiries and remain in touch with the Coroner's office rather than groups of people (or even crowds) frequenting his office needlessly.

An alternative is to take collective action. This could be done by joint representation to the Home Office by heads of various Islamic organisations. In either case we must draw the attention of the authorities to the Islamic injunctions in matters of the sanctity of the dead. Muslim doctors can be of great help in this matter and community leaders should seek their advice. I would like to invite members of Muslim community to reflect on the above and suggest the type of action which can be taken.

● A three thousand page report submitted by 16 drug companies to the Federal Trade Commission of the USA claims that some well known and heavily advertised cold and cough remedies contain alcohol. These include those which are especially prepared for children. Some of them are: Dristan Cough Formula; Vicks Formula 44 Cough Syrup; Pertussin Plus (Impact news)

ISLAMIC WORK IN ROME

Impact Report

For the past six years Centro Islamico Culturale d'Italia has been the prime focus of Muslim activities in Italy. It is registered as a religious and cultural institute in accordance with the Italian law and is administered by a council composed of Ambassadors of Muslim countries in Rome. The authorities of the Centre hope to build a mosque in Rome, but meanwhile the Centre performs all the functions of a mosque and a community centre. Marriages and conversions take place regularly and the library of the Centre provides a regular supply of reading matter for the Muslims in Rome. Recently the Centre held a Qur'an recitation competition. "We do all we can within our financial limits to be useful to the Muslim community in Italy", says Mr. Amini Abolghassem, General Secretary of the Centre. The activities of the Centre are reported in Italian in a fortnightly bulletin. ● A place used by Muslims for funeral prayers in Rome was ransacked and desecrated by hooligans according to the *Jornale d'Italia* (7 Dec. 1972). Protest has been made to the Chief of Police asking for investigation into the incident.

DOLLARS FOR TURKEY

During the period from January-November 1972 Turkish workers abroad sent home \$660 million worth of foreign exchange. This compared with Turkey's total export earnings worth \$775m during the same period. (Impact news)

SOCIAL BENEFIT AND CITIZENS' RIGHTS

A welfare state, by definition, offers social benefits to those in need (writes M. R. Bhatti). To get the maximum out of the welfare system, however, we should know our social and welfare rights. Information on social benefits can be obtained from local employment exchange, Citizens' Advice Beaureux and Citizens' Right Stalls now spread all over Britain. Alternatively, *Supplementary Benefits Handbook* (H.M.S.O., £0.32½) may provide the required information. Basically, the booklet is intended for people who are willing to help others to discover their rights. The booklet asserts that the Supplementary Benefits Commission recognises the fact that some people do not claim their rights even though they may be in urgent need of supplementary benefits.

IN THE NEWS

Imam Hatyb Faizrahman Sattarov, Deputy Chairman, Muslim Board of the European Part of the USSR & Siberia, went for Hajj. Husein Tahmisi, new Editor-in-Chief, Sarajevo Television. Chowdhry M. Zaman of Pakistan Friends League Walsall, elected to the local Labour Party's Liason Committee. Pakistan Society Bradford, new executive: Humayun Mirza (President), Bostan Khan (Secretary), Sufi Mohammad Rashid (Treasurer). London Islamic Circle, new executive: Ziauddin Sardar (President), Mehboob Kantharia (V. President), Ishtiaq -hmad, (Secretary), Yaseen Siddiqui (A. Sec.) Ayub Gangat (Treasurer).

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

AFGHANISTAN. Cultural and scientific exchange agreement signed with Poland.

BANGLADESH. On the first anniversary of Soviet recognition, Radio Moscow said because of the Soviet support to freedom and peace in the region, Washington and Peking failed to gain their objectives. ● Diplomatic relations to be established with Cuba. ● A British company is to install a £0.45m emergency communication link between Dacca and Chittagong. ● Sheikh Mujib expressed full support for Arabs and hoped the Arabs would sympathise with his difficulties.

CHINA. Chou En-Lai said the Russians have posted 1m troops along their borders with China "threatening from the air, land and sea". He alleged Kosygin went back on agreement to (1) maintain the status quo regarding territorial borders (2) avoid armed clashes (3) withdraw troops from the disputed areas and create a demilitarised zone and (4) areas along river Amur belonged to China. Chou En-Lai warned, the Vietnam ceasefire would not bring real peace as long as the Soviet Union continues to seek supremacy in the region.

CYPRUS. The committee for Enosis said it would not recognise Makarios' election and resist settlement with Turk-Cypriots.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA. Following improvements in economic prospects more women now avail maternity facilities; as compared to 106,000 in 1969, last year 240,000 took maternity leave; there was 15% increase in birth rate on 1968 figures.

EGYPT. Forty-six university students released. ● *Jewish Chronicle* (12 Jan) reported the Coptic-Muslim troubles were provoked by Pope Shenoudas speech before a meeting of Coptic leaders. Shenouda compared Egyptian treatment with that of the Jews by Hitler and said: "If the Jews could drive out the Palestine Arabs and establish Israel, surely we can at least establish a Coptic state in Egypt." He demanded Copts in the cabinet, a Coptic university and a Coptic vatican. Confronted with an intelligence tape recording of proceedings Shenouda confessed; went into a monastic seclusion, and later on a hunger strike. The Khanqa clashes occurred when the story filtered out. ● Two journalists of *Akhbar Al-Yawm*, were arrested during recent student troubles. ● Egypt Air to buy 4 Boeings for \$53m. ● Soviet geologists in western desert discovered a number of oil and mineral deposits.

Guinea Bissau Lisbon said Cabral's death indicated what would happen if Portugal left its African territories. ● *Johannesburg Radio* said Pres. Toure by announcing the arrest of one of Cabral's aides had absolved Portugal and contradicted his earlier statement. ● Contract awarded by Portugal to Esso for oil search.

INDIA. A new sophisticated tank which will meet the country's defence needs during the 80's is being designed at the heavy vehicles factory near Madras. ● The first ever offshore oil drilling operations to start in March. ● Fourth Atomic power

station designed completely by Indians is to be established at Nararo, U.P. ● Foreign Minister Singh said Pakistan's indecision on Bangladesh was obstructing normalcy in the sub-continent. He denied secret pact or treaty with Bangladesh. ● The President assumed all the powers of Governor and functions for the Andhra state government. ● George Hoffman chief delegate, International Red Cross in Delhi expelled.

INDONESIA. National Defence and Security Council Sec.-Gen. said until the end of the second 5-year plan intervention and invasion by a foreign power could be ruled out. Threats, however, existed from communist elements and those hostile to the new order; Indonesian waters presently being used by foreign fishermen could also be used for intelligence missions. ● An agreement providing for a permanent border with Papua-New Guinea signed with Australia.

ISRAEL. Rabbi Tanenbaum, Director, Inter Religious Affairs Department, American Jewish Committee, revealed that Pope John XIII had been moving carefully towards recognising Israel and would have done so but for his death in 1963. The rabbi was told this by the late Cardinal Augustin Bea in 1963. ● Abba Eban said Lyndon Johnson was a friend and he established the principle of balance of power in the Middle East. Johnson's definition of the US policy still remained in force.

● Radio Peace and Progress said the CIA Chief made a secret visit to Israel in June 1971. ● Japan Airline to open an office in Tel Aviv. ● Mrs. Meir offered to release 106 Egyptian and Syrian soldiers including a Syrian General in exchange for 13 Israelis. ● Jewish population rose from 2.9% in 1971 to 3.3% in 1972, 48% through immigration; the Arab growth being 4% as against 2.9% in 1971. Total population 3.2m. ● Israel has asked for \$350m of U.S. aid—300m in military aid and 50m in grant. Excluding food surplus and other bank loans, the total aid from the USA since 1970 would be \$1,500m.

IRAN. The Shah said an economic democracy and a democratic economy will create a society in which every Iranian will be fully involved. As far as possible people's affairs will be handed over to them except where centralization was unavoidable. The principles of Iran's revolution, the Shah said, are based on Islam. ● He blamed International Consortium for violating the 1954 agreement.

ISLAMIC SECRETARIAT. At the initiative of Libya, FMs of the Muslim countries will meet in Tripoli in March to discuss Muslim situation in the Philippines and other matters. ● Qatar paid its 1972 share of \$2,750. ● Tunku Abdul Rahman said that an information project will be organised in Europe and the USA to let people have a clear idea about Islam.

JERUSALEM. Mrs. Meir told Cabinet that the Pope had expressed interest in Israeli legal formula on Christian holy places. Arrangements similar to those between Italy and Pope would create a small Vatican in

Jerusalem, larger than the 42 acres of the Vatican and would give the Church a nominal sovereignty without affecting the Israeli position. The proposals denote an apparent shift in Pope's position on internationalisation. Similar offer made also to King Hussein.

KASHMIR. Shaikh Abdullah told *The Times* that he has "never personally disputed" accession. He said free elections along with a re-interpretation of the accession agreement to grant autonomy except in defence, communications and foreign affairs would meet the plebiscitary requirement. But "if they erode the legal basis of accession then they erode my commitment to it."

KUWAIT. A conference of Ministers of Aqaf in Muslim countries to be held in Kuwait on 26 Feb, will discuss standardisation of Islamic calendar and general coordination. ● Kuwait to establish ambassadorial relations with Tanzania. ● Spain to set up a truck and bus manufacturing plant financed jointly.

LIBYA. The Hungarian magazine *Nepszabadsag* alleged Qaddafi financed Muslim Brotherhood which had a hand in the recent student troubles in Egypt.

MAURITANIA. Mauritania became the 67th nation to recognise East Germany. ● Saudi Arabia donated \$1m for drought relief.

MALAYSIA. Indonesia to loan a top-oil expert to Malaysia. ● The Communist *Voice of Malaysian Revolution* attacked the "Razzak clique and the right Wing Leadership" of the Malaysian Islamic Party to have betrayed the nation's interests.

MOROCCO. Waqf Minister Makki an Nasiri, presided over a Soviet exhibition in Rabat. ● At the end of his Moscow visit F M Binhimah said our trade relations were very extensive and forecast a number of agreements with Russia on industrial development in Morocco. ● Following the death of a Police Officer in clash with students the Government dissolved the National Union of Moroccan students and said students and teachers not attending classes will be dismissed. ● The new budget for 1973 provided a 25% increase on education a new tax share dividend and an increase of the tax on wines and beer.

NIGERIA. In an *Alia* crash at Kano, 176 returning Hajis were killed; the authorities denied that the runway had collapsed at the time of landing. ● Nigeria to establish ambassadorial relations with Gabon.

PAKISTAN. Pres. Bhutto said he already had paid \$82m towards Bangladesh's foreign debt, but was going to pay no more. ● Pakistan to establish diplomatic missions in Somalia, Ethiopia, Guinea and Mauritania. ● Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia recognised. ● A car with 60% indigenous materials produced in Karachi. ● PIA opened a new bi-weekly service to Peking.

PALESTINE LIBERATION. Palestine National Council expanded from 155 to 179, and includes for the first time a Communist, Fuad Nassar, Jordan C.P. Secretary. The Execu-

tive: Arafat, Chairman; Zuhdi an Nashashibi, close to Sa'iqah—Secretary; Abu Yusuf of Fatah—political department, to succeed Khalid al-Hassan; Zuhayr Muhsin of Sa'iqah, military department; Kamal Nasir, independent, information and official spokesman; Ahmad al-Yamani alias Abu Mahir, Popular Front, popular organisations; Dr. Abd al-Wahhab al-Kayyali, Arab Liberation Front, cultural affairs; Dr. Yusuf Sayigh, independent, National Fund treasurer; Adib Abd Rabbuh, Democratic Front, internal affairs; Hamid Abu Sittah, independent, occupied territories affairs. ● Syria imposed control on Fidayeen operations.

SAUDI ARABIA. Licences granted for 5 new industries; sanitary paper, £0.24m; motor radiator, £65,000; Pressed wood, £0.25m; metal furniture, £22,470; milk products, £13,400. ● The number of school goers in 1970-71 reached 583,092; 24.4% female. ● King Faisal asked India to respect the Geneva Convention and release the Pakistani PoWs. ● Three committees formed to study aspects of pilgrimage and problems facing the pilgrims.

SENEGAL. Saudi Arabia donated CFA Francs 60m for an Islamic College in Dakar. Libya contributed 100m.

SUDAN. Agreement signed with Yugoslavia for increase of trade and possible Yugoslav investment.

SYRIA. Foreign Minister said the Arabs had no joint military plan against Israel, "not even a conception of such a plan".

TANZANIA. Following the closure of Zambian border with Rhodesia, Tanzania allowed Uhuru railway for the transport of Zambian copper.

TURKEY. National Assembly extended Martial law for another two months in 9 provinces. ● 28 persons arrested in Erzurum on 21 Jan for holding 'Nurist rites'; 10 freed because too young. ● Prof. Necmuddin Ezbakan, leader of the banned National Reliance Party asked the government to establish defence industries. He said it was not at all difficult as the Ottomans made warships and other sophisticated equipment.

UGANDA. Pres. Amin said the former regime promoted tribalism but in my cabinet, there was no Muslim or my tribesman. ● The currency to bear the Amin's portrait.

U.S.A. The Supreme Court ruled that a woman has a near absolute abortion right in the first three months of pregnancy. ● Wright Harrison, Chairman, Virginia's largest bank said the national plummeting of birth rate would result in drastic reduction in home building, university expansion and problems for children's industries. ● It was disclosed during Pentagon paper's trial in Los Angeles that the British concealed an American agent during secret negotiations on Vietnam between Kosygin and Harold Wilson. Mr. Wilson said the Russians knew that, and the man was not a spy.

U.S.S.R. *Sovetskaya Latvija* said each Soviet family spent 550 hours a year on shopping; half in queuing.

YEMEN-NORTH. RAF to carry out a detailed photographic survey.