

MUSLIM VIEWPOINT(S) ON CURRENT AFFAIRS

# impact

international fortnightly

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Books New Spectrum News Brief

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The People's Republic of China gives the impression of a supremely disciplined and vigorous country where change is taking place at a terrific pace both on the domestic and international fronts. One indication of this change has been China's taking her seat at the United Nations and the stream of delegations and visitors to and from communist and capitalist countries alike. The giant is coming out of its cocoon and the curtain is being raised.

One manifestation of this is the unconfirmed news that China is to allow groups of Muslims to perform the annual pilgrimage to Mecca. This is welcome news but one which raises numerous questions. Who are the Muslims in China? What are their activities and numbers? Are they a distinct group or groups? How long have they been there? And what is their position in the communist state which is often assumed to be monolithic and uncompromising in its dedication to communism and a specifically Chinese heritage?

It is difficult to put forward definite

recorded more than 800 acts of armed resistance in Sinkiang which is rich in gold, bauxite, iron ore, uranium, petroleum and is very fertile. In the last twenty years, there have been reportedly 300,000 people executed and more than a million detained. This was accompanied by the closing down of schools, libraries and mosques and the reported burning of the Qur'an. The persecution reportedly reached its pitch during the Cultural Revolution of the mid-sixties when Red Guards are said to have gone on the rampage and demanded the complete suppression of Islam towards what Lenin has called 'a final and definite elimination of religion'.

This is an important part of history which has yet to be documented and written but the overall impression of oppression remains. Chinese reports speak of the great advance of the various non-Chinese ethnic groups, increased agricultural production, in-depth practical education, the development of traditional industry like carpet making and the diversification of cultural

themselves as Marxists and ultra-Leftists and so the task to criticise and discredit—politically, ideologically and theoretically—the revisionist absurdities and to expose their lies and sophistry is a long-term one, and so on. This characteristic type of propaganda also raises many questions: who are the ultra-rightists? Why do they find it necessary to disguise themselves? What is the fate of those who dissent from the party line? The answers can only be guessed at.

In this situation, one might be optimistic enough to expect some results from the reported new policy of Premier Chou en Lai, of "respect and tolerance" for the Muslim religion in China? There are several reasons for expecting this.

Firstly, now that China is in the United Nations and more important seeks to improve its relations with countries in the Middle East, South Asia and Africa many of which are predominantly Muslim, it is important for China to do and be seen to do

## WHO ARE THE MUSLIMS IN CHINA?

answers to many of these questions. The Muslim condition in China remains very much an area of darkness so far as the outside world is concerned. It is known that Islam reached China early in the seventh century or the first *Hijri* century, that at present they are mainly to be found in the western provinces of China and are of Turkic origin mainly, but mosques in Peking and other central and eastern parts testify to Muslim population in several parts among the indigenous Chinese as well. Estimates put this population as high as 60 millions. Even if the number is a few million less, it still represents a Muslim minority in China of considerable size.

The Muslims are to be found mainly in the province of Sinkiang (meaning New Dominions) formerly known as East Turkestan. The recent history of the area—gleaned from the reports of refugees and others—does not tell a very happy story and often speaks of vigorous and systematic Chinese colonizing activity and suppression. Serious revolts took place in the early fifties and sixties. In the year 1963-4 there were re-

forms. And it may be true that other people have a lot to learn from the discipline and application to work which the present state encourages. Still, recent Chinese regional sources point to a continuing struggle of the most bitter kind.

At an agricultural conference in Sinkiang on 10 February 1973, Comrade Saifuddin (clearly a Muslim name) on behalf of the Regional Communist Central Party spoke of the persistent need to criticize revisionism and rectify the style of work of counter-revolutionary forces. He spoke of the "reality of the struggle" between the two classes, the two roads and two lines, that is, between Maoist Marxism and 'reactionary' forces.

Two days later, the *Sinkiang Daily* was maintaining 'the correct line and thinking' in an insistent and uncompromising way; swindlers like Liu Shao-Chi, renegades and traitors aim to revive the landlord and bourgeois classes, to restore reaction and push the revisionist, counter-revolutionary and ultra-Rightist line. The victory of Marxism has compelled some of them to disguise

justice and fairplay to the Muslims within its borders.

Secondly, Russia by now has been or should have been exposed as the friend of those seeking independence and liberation. China is now cast in this role, but still people do not know about China, its intentions and its policies. Indications point to the fact that it can be as ruthless and callous as any Big Power. It is up to Chairman Mao, Chou en Lai and others to show by word and deed that this is not going to be so. Mao's beautiful saying—"Let a hundred flowers blossom weed through the old to bring forth the new" may be good agricultural policy, but it must be shown that it does not apply to the rich and valuable heritage of the Muslim peoples.

Thirdly, many of the Big Powers have acute minority problems which they have failed to come to grips with and which they often exasperate rather than solve by their policies. Red Indians and Blacks in the United States, migrant workers in Europe and religious minorities in the Soviet Union are examples of minorities whose position seems to be deteriorating.

# Survey

IGNORANCE & PREJUDICE • SYRIAN CONSTITUTION • BLACK SEPTEMBER

## Sacrilege, but no need to be angry

A British consultant psychiatrist wrote recently in London's *Pulse* magazine which is circulated mainly among the general practitioners that many of the world's religious leaders may have suffered from a mental illness which made them think that they were divine. Dr. Clifford Allen suggested that sufferers from it have, among others, included Muhammad and Buddha. Muhammad, he wrote, had an unfortunate childhood, his father having died before he was born and his mother when he was seven. His grandfather who took charge of him also died and the young boy was brought up by an uncle. Muhammad was said to have fits at times and his first revelation came when he retired to a cave with his wife to meditate. "Here he had visions and claimed that Gabriel had appeared to him . . . He started to believe that he was a prophet." This led Dr. Allen to conclude "that he was an abnormal person and the ramblings of the Koran suggest that he was schizophrenic."

Some individual Muslims as well as associations who happened to come across a report about the *Pulse* article in the *Evening Standard* (16 Feb.) have felt outraged by its sacrilegious contents. The article hurts not only individual Muslim feelings, but may also "abnormalise" the attitude of the British general practitioners towards their Muslim patients.

However, in a society given to increasing ignorance, irresponsibility and trivialisation of all and any ethical values, and where even God is not any less spared of ridicule, it would seem unrealistic to waste emotions on such remarks or statements like that of Dr. Allen.

So far as Islam, its beliefs, values, culture, heroes and history are concerned, there is hardly a day when the media would not come up with something which is either stupid or atrocious or both. No doubt all these statements, remarks, slants and "studies" go to condition attitudes and the sub-conscious mind of those who are unceasingly exposed to it. But it is necessary to be clear about two things. First, however critical or unacceptable a statement may be, it is not always based on any design, malice or prejudice; in many situations lack of information is the factor. Second, no matter the strength and intensity of any propaganda, nothing which is untrue or superficial can take a firm place in the human mind. That is why an "unbeliever" can seldom be a "fanatic".

Since the last few centuries, the non-Muslim society has remained deprived of any objective knowledge about Islam and Muslims. The natural result of this on both intellectual as well as practical levels has been a piling up of ignorance over prejudice, over ignorance over.

Dr. Allen's article illustrates the point. The Prophet retired to the cave alone and never with his wife but this otherwise small factual error betrays the writer's source material: another 'Dr. Allen'. The question, however, is

that when a person who perhaps does not believe in God or in His wisdom and mercy in providing guidance to mankind through sending and inspiring messengers and prophets, how is he supposed to appreciate the need of or undertake objective research on the prophetic institution as such? If he does, he starts without a premise. Again how, without studying either the Qur'an or the Prophet's life, would he think otherwise that they were "abnormalities" and ramblings. Not being aware of the "child's" contribution to the shaping and betterment of the human society, the psychiatrist would from his own value and judgement regard Muhammad's childhood as "unfortunate"—of course, without giving any objective criteria of the "unfortunate".

There seems no purpose in being sorry or protestive about how others see us. The positive thing for the Muslims to do would be to address themselves to the real task of presenting Islam and living in Islam.

## SYRIAN INSURRECTION

The Syrian Interior Minister announced last week the crushing of an attempted insurrection in the towns of Hama, Aleppo, Damascus and Homs. The seriousness and the scale of the unrest can be gauged by unofficial reports which put at least 40 dead and more than 100 wounded. The Interior Minister, however, claimed that the security forces "intervened and eliminated the sedition without spilling one drop of blood." He explained these protests were engineered by "the imperialist, Zionist and reactionary remnants" who wanted to halt Syria's revolutionary march. "Since the correction movement on 10 Nov. 1970 under the leadership of President Hafiz Al-Asad", he claimed "there have been important and basic achievements in the Syrian Arab Republic in . . . pooling all their capabilities in the battle of steadfastness, the liberation of the occupied territories and expulsion of the invaders". He also assured that "the climate of freedom and democracy which has prevailed since the corrective movement will not be affected."

The agitation is reported to have been due to a total whittling down of the so far accepted Islamic provisions of the Syrian Constitution viz. the omission of Islam as the State religion, the deletion of the stipulation that the head of the State shall be a Muslim, and not declaring Syria an Islamic State. In a country which is historically and predominantly Muslim, Islam would logically be the source of inspiration as well as the rallying point, but for the Syrians who have been suffering at the hands of a worst and the most incompetent type of dictatorship in the whole of the Middle East and Latin America, such an eruption seemed long over-due. The ruling Baath faction's attempt to perpetuate itself through promulgating a dictatorial Con-

stitution came only to provide such a flash point.

According to the draft ratified by the People's Council, the President heads not only the executive, but supercedes and supervises the legislature and presides over the Supreme Judicial Council; not to say that he is also the Supreme Commander of the armed forces. All the "rights" given are "in accordance with the law". Although "sovereignty is for the people", it is "upon proposal of the Arab Socialist Baath Party Regional Commands" that "the Assembly will issue an order for the election of the President." "The leading party in the society and the state shall be Socialist Arab Baath Party". The People's Assembly itself is no more than a body to approve or ratify Executive actions. It does not have any original legislative or self initiating functions. The nature of the whole constitutional scheme is reflected in the article dealing with amendments to the Constitution: Two-thirds majority required to propose an amendment; amendment proposal to be examined by a special committee; then put to a vote, but even if approved by a two-thirds majority would not take effect unless approved also by the President of the Republic. What happens in that last eventuality is not provided for.

## THE KHARTOUM KILLINGS

The cold-blooded killings of the American and Belgian diplomats in Khartoum is an abominable act by the Black September group. The reaction in the Arab world and of most people elsewhere has rightly been one of shock and revulsion. The statement by Yasser Arafat that the Palestine Liberation Organisation has nothing to do with the act is a welcome one in as much as the legitimate rights of an uprooted people cannot be recovered by these senseless acts.

There is no doubt that the Palestinian people have suffered considerably and continue to suffer—at the hands of the Zionists in Israel and of the Americans who back them to the hilt, and at the hands of these statesmen and of others who are playing an opportunistic game in the Middle East. The heightened sense of injustice and deprivation remains and until something is done to remove it, the international conscience could never be clear. The root of the problem is the forcible implantation of an alien state in the Middle East, and the preservation and expansion of this state by strong arm and fascist methods like the recent attacks on refugee camps in Lebanon and the shooting down of the Libyan civil airliner in which more than 100 people were killed.

Palestinians who speak of the fascist nature and methods of Israel would be no different from their oppressors if they use the same methods. This is what the Black September group has done in Khartoum and as such their action deserves the strongest condemnation. It is an action which no one can, or can seek to, make capital of.

# Survey

## ● INDIA HOUSE KILLINGS

### Toying with Guns

The killing last month (20 Feb.) of two Pakistani teenage boys, Basharat and Hanif, inside the Indian Embassy in London was both sad as well as sordid. It has led to the evidently avoidable loss of two young lives. The tragedy itself was a product of another, more tragic and more sordid situation—that of the 93,000 civilians and military PoWs held by India in utter violation of the Geneva Convention and disregard of world opinion.

But why should two teenage and one school boy in Watford have felt so frustrated and worked up as to undertake upon themselves the fatal responsibility of shocking the world out of its insensitivity on the inhuman plight of the PoWs and a million or more of their dependents and family members? Surely world opinion has been apathetic, and a part of this apathy could also be due to a certain degree of prejudice about the 'fanatic' Islamic image of Pakistan, but it was ignorance too. Even those who knew the rights and wrongs in the situation should not be expected to be more active than the plaintiff. As pointed out in the previous issue ("Prisoners of Politics", *Impact*, 2:19), the plaintiff's role has been, to say the least, inexplicable. Instead of taking up the issue in right earnest and at appropriate level, of late one found Pakistani ministers visiting Britain and exhorting the immigrant Pakistanis to raise the PoWs' issue on the international platform. Certainly, the immigrant Pakistanis have a duty to support a cause which is not only national but human and moral too, but their efforts could only be complementary to the efforts and policies of the government in Pakistan. However, as things are, if the Pakistanis in Britain, and for that matter elsewhere, have to launch a support campaign on the PoWs issue, they have to accept that they may be on their own. And that meant more thought and more responsibility. In this the various community leaders have also to learn to modify the hackneyed methods of anti-colonial protest and adapt to the relatively free and democratic ethos of the society they have chosen to live in. A person who is given permanently to anger and vociferation, even though justifiably so, may be able to win the pity of some, but never the understanding of the society as such. Mrs. Jill Knight's, (Conservative M.P. for Edgbaston) advice to the Pakistanis in Birmingham that "you will destroy your claim for justice utterly if you are unjust to yourself" was sincere advice and needs to be taken as such.

In commending patience and peacefulness, it is, however, not possible to overlook the fact that humans do not live in any sterilised isolation. It is also the overall equity and social justice within the environment which affects the behaviour of those who live therein. In this episode, the press, the police and even the civil liberties lobby seem to show either hasty judgement or studied indifference as to the

merits of the issue. Even the national dailies, besides exhibiting an uncritical pride in the police bravery, succumbed to what was cheap and sensational in the story. This was after it had been known that the "terrorists" had been 'armed' with toy guns and the contradictions in the police account about what had happened inside the India House had become manifest. No one raised the question that even if the offence had been accomplished, it was never a capital one, so what was the sense in shooting to kill.

The Home Secretary Mr. Carr informed the parliament that the police had warned the raiders that they were armed. In that case, did they have to fire eleven shots? "A senior police Officer explained that volleys of shots were some times necessary so that gunmen kept their heads down while police marksmen got into position". Now read this report: "Two uniformed constables . . . shouted warnings to the Pakistanis to drop their guns and surrender. But the two terrorists holding 'pistols' replied: 'Get back or we'll shoot'. They then raised the weapons and took up a crouched position, ready to fire from behind pillars" (*Daily Telegraph* 21 Feb.). Compare this with Constable Stanley Conley's story: "I went through the door and he was about 15 feet away, at first part hidden behind a desk and then a bench. The moment I saw the barrel of his gun pointing at me I fired". (*Guardian*, 21 Feb.). Scotland Yard's Deputy Commissioner, John Gerrard resumes the story: "After the first shots, the other Pakistani appeared from behind a pillar, pointing his gun at the officers. Again he was warned . . . He continued to point his gun at the police. The police shot and killed him". (*Ibid*). But the *Times*: "According to one policeman, one of the raiders said: 'Get back or I will shoot'. One of the men was shot near the front entrance and died *clutching a knife*. A toy pistol lay near his body. The other died as he tried to run to the other exit, into Montreal Place. An *eye-witness* said he was shot in the head, and his body lay on the steps leading to the exit" (21 Feb). Comparing these reports, it becomes doubtful if the police really warned the boys before shooting, or that the boys had threatened them with their dummy guns, and that so faced they had no choice but to kill in self-defence. Stanley's version seems truthful in describing both the scene as well as the reactions within him. Only that he misjudged the boys 'attempt to conceal himself behind a desk and then a bench' as taking a position against him. P.C. Stanley's statement read with *The Times* report makes it clear that the boys were too scared to resist, not to speak of threatening the police. In fact they were not holding even the so-called toy pistol in their hands, they were trying to hide or to run away. There are other illogicalities too, but the conclusion seems to be that the two policemen when they arrived at the scene were themselves so nervous and conditioned as to do nothing but to kill the hiding "terrorists".

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## Survey • PAKISTAN'S CRISIS • INDIAN MUSLIMS

### Pakistan Quasi-politics

The recent arrest and maltreatment of Mian Tufail, the Jamaat-e-Islami chief and Altaf Gauhar, the editor of *Dawn*, the detention of Muslim League MNA Zahur Elahi and of the student leader Javed Hashmi and many others coming as they do in the wake of President Bhutto's "quasi-political" crackdown on the NAP-JUI coalition governments in the NWFP and Baluchistan seem only a logical progression to the kind of frivolous politics Pakistan has been going through since the last few years. People in Pakistan are, no doubt, concerned about Bangladesh recognition, about the callous imbroglio on PoWs, about an ever-worsening economic and law and order situation, about the spectre of a fostered internecine strife, and about a threatened disintegration of what is left of the country. There is also the evident desire to somehow get back to a constitutional and a legitimate position, but Mr. Bhutto appears more concerned about the stability of his government.

Obviously these arrests and persecutions are linked with the President's "determination" to recognise Bangladesh and the need to smother opposition to such a move. But Bangladesh recognition is not the issue. Mr. Aziz Ahmad, the Minister of State for Defence and Foreign Affairs has been visiting Washington, and the U.S. is working out a package deal on recognition, PoWs, division of assets and apportioning of the foreign loans. There is advice also from the Russians to Mrs. Gandhi to help Mr. Bhutto on the PoWs' issue. The key to the solution of the immediate issues lies very much with Mrs. Gandhi; Mr. Bhutto has only to acquiesce. Astute and pitiless as she happens to be, she is well conscious of her leverage and options with both Sh. Mujib and Mr. Bhutto. As for Mr. Bhutto, India has been trying sedulously to cultivate him. Her successive emissaries have talked, albeit jocularly, of the future subcontinental amity and the prospects of Mr. Bhutto becoming, some day, the Prime Minister of a unified subcontinent. Mr. Bhutto too enjoys the humour; he told Orianna Fallaci, the Italian lady journalist that if India and Pakistan joined together in a confederation, he would beat Mrs. Gandhi to win her job. (*Times of India*, Bombay, 1 Jan. 72). Nevertheless (or because of it), Mrs. Gandhi remains unsure of whether to help Mr. Bhutto out of his dilemma or wait for Pakistan's self-inflicted liquidation.

This threat of self-liquidation rather than the question of Bangladesh recognition or drawing up of a democratic Constitution is the problem in Pakistan.

The last week's 'Islamabad Declaration' by the Pakistan Opposition—Muslim League, Jamaat-e-Islami, the two Jamiat al Ulama, Pakistan Democratic Party, NAP, Independent MNAs, and the PPP break-aways—to resist Facism, could come to nothing unless

they had a clear comprehension of the issues. Practically every one in the opposition has been insinuating or alleging Mr. Bhutto's prime responsibility in pushing out East Pakistan and breaking-up the country. Strangely, Mr. Bhutto himself has not cared to clear his position. The allegations are either true or false, but the implications either way are frightfully crucial. It should be in Mr. Bhutto's interest to have his name cleared and Mian Tufail's proposed sedition trial would provide him with such an opportunity.

### Indian Conformism

One of the subjects perpetually agitating the Indian mind is the "supreme need" to draw up and impose a uniform Civil Code on all sections of the society. This was supposed to be the demand of the Constitution. Besides, there was the over-riding need to create an integrated secular society. The stumbling block in this regard is provided, however, by the Muslim insistence on the Divine nature, permanence and immutability of the Islamic Law. Apart from periodical anti-Muslim riots and the "nationalisation" of the only Muslim University in India at Aligarh, the threat to change the Muslim Family Laws has been another useful tool to keep the Muslim Indians harassed, agitated and away from any positive expression of their personality.

While the Indian Congress party president Dr. S. D. Sharma, with an eye perhaps on the coming elections in the U.P., had assured Muslims that their Family Laws, would not be tampered with by the majority, the former Chief Justice Dr. P. B. Gajendragadkar, appointed recently to head the country's Law Commission came out last month (5 Feb.) with the suggestion to impose a uniform Civil Code. Muslim Personal Law, he said, was not in keeping with the democratic traditions of the country and an imposition was necessary in the interest of secularism! Dr. Gajendragadkar pleaded for an amendment in the Constitution so as to rescind the right to preach one's religion and to place a legal ban on the right to adopt another faith. As to the question of uniformity, the retired Chief Justice said, if no body else raised it, he would deal with it *suo motto*.

Dr. Gajendragadkar's remarks have invited protest from the Muslim leaders who question his par-judicial method of influencing legislation and have demanded his removal from the Law Commission.

Dr. Gajendragadkar's one remark, however, deserved note by Muslims outside India, particularly the sovereign Muslim societies. The Law Commission chairman posed a very pertinent question in asking where the Muslims were when changes were made in other laws—Contract, Transfer of Property and the Criminal Law, implying thereby that Islamic law covered these as well as many other areas. So why be sensitive about the Family Law alone?

The self-ruling Muslim countries hardly realise how in their imitative and ill-considered craze to legislate in disregard of the pertinent Islamic injunctions, in order ostensibly to "reform" and to "modernise", they were exposing the minority Muslim communities to cultural persecution and an eventual liquidation.

## PEOPLE

Lt. Col. Ahmad Bin Rashid Al-Maktum appointed Dubai Defence Force Commander. Sakonbi Inongo appointed Zaire State Commissioner for National Orientation. Gen. Spinoia, Portuguese Governor & C-in-C in Guinea-Bissau on leave to home, may not return. Sir Abdul Rahman Osman, new Governor General of Mauritius. Esam Al-Ghazali, President Egyptian Jamiya Shahab al-Islam (Islamic Youth Organisation) among students arrested recently in Egypt.

### DIPLOMAT

Lebanese Military Attache in Amman deported. Kan Yeh-tao, new Chinese amb. arrived Kabul. Yohanan Cohen new Israeli amb. to Romania. Erdem Enver to be new Turkish envoy in Pakistan. New U.S. amb. Daniel Moynihan arrived Delhi. Andrei Fomin, 54 named new Russian amb. to Dacca.

DELEGATIONS: To AFRICA. Chinese Goodwill to Ethiopia. Zambian Agricultural to Egypt; agreements reached on cotton growing, irrigation, cattle-breeding, veterinary services and agricultural planning. N. Korean Telephone & Telegraph to Zaire.

To ASIA. Ten-member al-Fatah group to China. Nationalist Chinese Economic experts to Amman. Moroccan delegation led by Islamic Affairs Minister to Kuwait. Syrian Assembly delegation led by Chairman Fahmi al-Yusufi to Kuwait. Japanese Trade to Oman. PLO mission led by Abu Iyad to Dubai. Polish Cultural, Scientific and Technical led by Pres. Henryk Jablonski to Syria.

To EUROPE & AMERICA. ASU delegation led by Sayyid Mar'i to Yugoslavia. S. Yemen P.M. Ali Basir Muhammad with delegation to Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland. Bulgarian Trade to Nicosia. Chinese Acrobatic troupe to Cyprus. Zaire F. M. Nguze Karl Bond to Brazil via Tunisia. Algerian Economic to Brazil.

### VISITS

UAE Defence Minister Shaykh Rashid al-Maktum to Khartoum. Ildor Zhivkov, Chairman Bulgarian People's Republic State Council to Iraq. Gen. Gowon to Mali. Mauritanian President Moktar Ould Daddah to Algeria. Chad Pres. Tombalbaye to Cairo. Saudi Civil Defence Director, Lt. Gen. Fayiz Muhammad Al-Awqi to Amman. Dr. Muhammad Salim al-Yafi, Arab League Asst. Sec. Gen. to San'a. Viet Cong F.M. Mme. Binh in Algeria. UAA Defence Min. Shaykh Faysal al-Qasimi in Khartoum OAU Sec. Gen. Nzo Ekangaki to Cairo. Ugandan F.M. Wanume Kibedi to Kenya, on leave. Czech F.M. Bohuslav Chnoupek to Iraq. N. Korean V. Pres. Kang Yang-uk to Iraq. S. Yemen F.M. Muhammad Salih Awlaqi to Cuba. Ahmad Jibril, Sec. Gen. Popular Front for Liberation of Palestine General Command to Iraq. Butafiqah, Algerian F.M. to Italy. Dahomey F.M. Michel Alladaye in Algiers. Liberia's Pres. Tolbert for Gambia. Portuguese F.M., Dr. Patricio to South Africa. Libyan Pres. Qadhafi to Algeria. Malagasy F.M. Ratsiraka to Romania. Sadat Adviser Hafez Ismail to Bonn. Egyptian War Min. Gen. Ismail Ali to Kremlin. Somali V.P. Abokar to Tanzania and Uganda. W. German F.M. Scheel to Egypt, Jordan & Lebanon, 18-26 May. British Min. of State Lord Balneil to Tunis. Tun Mustapha Sabah Chief Minister to London. Ibrahim Al Angari, Saudi Information Minister to London. CPSU Sec. Brezhnev to the US, possibly June. CENTO Sec. Gen. Nassar Assar to London. Haile Selassie to London. Faisal to India, date not fixed. M. Shoaib, former Pakistan Finance Minister & V.P., World Bank for Development & Reconstruction for Haji.

### DIED

Salih Masud Buyasir, 50, former Libyan PM, in Libyan airliner shot down by the Israeli jets. Abdul Qayyum Ansari, former leader pre-independence "All India Momin Conference", who opposed the Muslim League demand, for Pakistan in Bihar State, India, Feb.

## Muslim viewpoints on current affairs

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# Pakistan letter

## Crisis and drama, but more to come?

When Ayub Khan abrogated Pakistan's first and the only legal Constitution drawn up by the C.A. in 1956, and installed himself as the country's President and Chief Martial Law Administrator, he said that democracy was not suitable for the tropical countries. Because the hot climate made it easier for the tempers to fray and the politics to reach the flash-point. Whether it is the Ayubian theory or the incompetence of the country's rulers and the ruling classes, politics in Pakistan seem no doubt to have reached the flash point.

The "discovery" of the Iraqi arms in Islamabad was only a take-off point in Pakistan's politics of permanent crisis and permanent drama. Whatever may be the other aspects of the story, the last paragraph of the official press note seems to give out a lot more than intended. "The operation demonstrates", it said, "that the Government of Pakistan maintains constant vigilance to protect the nation's interests". And that it "would not have succeeded without the co-operation of the people . . . such co-operation will continue to be forthcoming in whatever measures Government may take . . .".

The arms recovery though a cold hard fact, failed to arouse any popular passions against the NAP or the country's enemies. Everyone felt sorry for Iraq becoming a tool in Big Power politics to undo West Pakistan but they all wanted the N.A. to be convened and the whole issue to be subjected to an open judicial inquiry. Altaf Gauhar wrote of the "great pity if the international ramifications . . . are ignored and the whole thing is made to serve as a large brush to blacken the face of all the opposition parties". The very next day, however, 46 NAP leaders in the Punjab were put under house arrest in order to prevent them from inciting trouble between *Shias* and *Sunnis*. Why should NAP a secular and socialist Party try to fan religious trouble? To divert public opinion after the arms haul incident! Punjab Governor Khan said, in fact, they had first thought of starting anti-Ahmadi agitation but found it too difficult to start single-handedly. Next day (13 Feb.) came in the resignation of the Sind Governor, Rasul Bux Talpur who swore on the Quran and denounced the "wicked power-hungry clique" of the ruling PPP. His brother Ali Ahmad Talpur, MNA had already been at variance with Mr. Bhutto's bourgeois socialism. On the 15th were dismissed the governors of Baluchistan and NWFP and replaced by Akbar Bugti (whom the Pakistan Information Minister had earlier accused of being involved in the London Plan to overthrow Mr. Bhutto) and Aslam Khattak. The NAP-JUI provincial ministry in Baluchistan was sacked; in NWFP it resigned. Earlier on the midnight of 14/15 Feb., the police literally broke into the bedroom of Mr. Altaf Gauhar, the editor of

*Dawn*. Asked to produce a warrant of arrest, the accompanying magistrate produced his visiting card and took Mr. Gauhar away. He was said to be in possession of two forged passports for India and Afghanistan, unauthorised foreign currency, illicit liquor and obscene literature. He has been charged under the Defence of Pakistan Rules and for forgery under the Pakistan Penal Code. His wife has since denounced *all* charges and said "nothing whatever was recovered or taken away". Mr. Gauhar had earlier spent ten months in illegal detention and released only when the High Court upheld that there was no ground whatsoever for his detention. Those who know say that the grounds of Altaf Gauhar's detention lie in knowing too much. Fairly recent convert to democracy, Altaf Gauhar was Ayub Khan's Principal Secretary and later Information Secretary during the period Mr. Bhutto was Ayub's Industries and Foreign Minister. He knows about Tashkent, Yahya and possibly more. Besides, the *Dawn* too had started becoming less flattering and earlier spied on by one of the editors, the police had raided its works to remove the composed pages of Malik Ghulam Jilani's 8000 word letter to her daughter, in which he is presumed to have severely criticised Mr. Bhutto's politics of despotism and terror.

The report is that he is being ill-treated and possibly tortured.

Another opposition politician belonging to the Council Muslim League, Choudhry Zahur Elahi was arrested for "thieving a water buffalo". In the early hours of 19 Feb., the police took away another opposition leader Mian Tufail Muhammad, the Jamaat-e-Islami President. According to a report sent with ten hours delay by the official news agency *APP*, Mian Tufail addressing a public meeting in Lahore the previous afternoon had described Gen. Tikka, the Army Chief as a showpiece, criticised the domination of the armed forces by the "Ahmadis" and suggested a take over by the armed forces to hold a fresh election in the country. The official *Pakistan Times's* headline: "Tufail suggests army take over"; its associated Urdu daily *Imroz* read: "Army should take over"; and the People's Party *Masawat* headline said: "Army should once again resume power". On the other hand independent *Nawa-i-Waqt* captioned Tufail's speech: "Find a political solution to the NWFP & Baluchistan problems", another independent daily *Jamhoor* reported: "Army should not be used to solve political problems; and *Wifaq's* headlines said: "Will not permit repetition of the E. Pakistan drama".

Mian Tufail's arrest, however, has come as no surprise. In fact it was later than expected. Apprehensive of the Jamaat's grass root strength, particularly among the young and the students, Mr. Bhutto's policy had so far been to avoid any head-on collision, until he has consolidated himself enough, but meanwhile use both the stick and the carrot. Difficulty seems to have arisen because the Jamaat took the sticks all right but showed no taste for Mr. Bhutto's carrots. Its very firm stand on the Bangladesh issue, its uncompromising in-

sistence on the Islamic and democratic provisions of the Constitution and the unexpected growth in its popular base, were reasons enough but its refusal to be drawn into an East-Pakistan-like trap on Baluchistan and the NWFP question appear to have proved to be the last straw. Mian Tufail himself had been going up and down the country and according to intelligence sources through his forceful articulation of the national issues, the Jamaat (which had done poorly in the last elections) was becoming dangerously popular. Tufail's speech in Lahore on 18 Feb. which is supposed to have caused his arrest is very strong and candid from the party's own standards. Tufail quoted Mr. Bhutto as saying that the Hamoodur Rahman Commission had held Yahya responsible for the break-up of the country. Tufail asked why then was he sheltering Yahya? Did he not know that to harbour a criminal was also a crime. He related the drama leading to the boycott of the National Assembly and the army action in East Pakistan and inquired why could not the Polish and the Soviet resolutions in the UN Security Council be accepted, and would that not have saved East Pakistan as well as the disgrace of surrender? About the Iraqi arms he referred to the Information Minister's statement that they knew when the first consignment of arms was received by the Embassy. Why did they have to wait until 12 crates were distributed? He said the misdeeds of Yahya Khan and his "Foreign Minister" destroyed about half of the country's army and gave it in Mrs. Gandhi's custody and whatever is left of it is now being emasculated. General Tikka Khan is being used as a front and the situation in Baluchistan and NWFP is created so as to discredit him ultimately. Tufail mentioned the recent press reports about the Sikh demand to declare their holy places in West Pakistan a free city like Vatican and a similar "Ahmadi" demand about Qadian in the Indian Punjab, and said people were not blind. He referred to the soaring rise in the prices of the food grains and sugar due to smuggling and profiteering by the members of the ruling party and warned that if they did not mend their ways, Mr. Bhutto will probably find shelter no where except in that mansion in Bombay for the possession of which he had been engaged in litigation until 1958 (on the grounds that he was an Indian national and the government had no right to acquire it an evacuee property). He said the constitution should be enacted for the country and not for Mr. Bhutto and demanded that the armed forces must not be used for political purposes in NWFP and Baluchistan. If you want to use the army then admit failure. The army may help hold the elections, but we would not permit you to give the armed forces the same deal which Yahya had given them in East Pakistan. The nation already had enough.

In Islamabad, the opposition staged a walk-out on Tufail's arrest and got busy in another exercise to write a Constitution for Pakistan because if they can't do so by 21 April, the present interim Constitution becomes a permanent Constitution and that is worse than Martial Law.

Ahmad Lasi

## Turkish Immigrants: A sub-proletariat in Germany

Zia Sardar

"It's like this", explained a Turk, "there are many factories but not many people. In my country there are many people but not many factories." This Turk has 653,000 of his co-nationals working in Germany who form part of an estimated total of 2.3 million working immigrants.

In the late fifties West Germany reached full employment and her workers started to leave socially undesirable and low paid jobs. The resulting gaps were filled by the recruitment of foreigners on a temporary basis.

Recruitment of Turkish labour has been carried out exclusively through an official commission. Those who wish to go to Germany are interviewed by officials who check their health and special claims—like asking a road digger to show that he can handle a shovel. German employers tell the commission how many workers are needed and pay a standard rate per man to the commission. The Companies offer accommodation for the first year of stay but the immigrants are not forced to accept. The accommodation offered consists of barrack-like huts. Each room is about 12 feet by six. A Turk on the production line: "I live in factory quarters and I pay 30 DM a week (approx. £5) for a room that I share with two other men". There is a demand for cheaper and less restricted lodgings. The companies prefer to hire single men, but because of the shortage are obliged to take married men insisting that they leave their families behind. Workers with families naturally find it more difficult to secure accommodation.

The popular notion that Turkish immigrants do the most menial and dirtiest jobs is quite correct. In many parts of Germany, street cleaning and refuse collecting is the sole task of Turks. But immigrants are also the backbone of many essential industries. Iron and steel manufacture, automobile factories and the textile industry are largely manned by Turkish workers—and their numbers are steadily increasing. On some assembly lines the number of immigrants is as high as 80 per cent. The hardest work of all is in the building trade where a large number of Turkish 'guests' toil as navvies. "It is cold digging in the wet earth and I have pains in the stomach", said one Turk.

In general, Turkish workers find it difficult to adjust to German society. Apart from the obvious cultural and language difficulties there is the question of friendship and loneliness. The cold and ungriving way of German life is very strange for them. "If you come to my village in Anatolia", said one Turk, "I would say enter my house, have coffee, you are my friend. Here they do nothing." Many companies run official language courses for their workers but these are not very popular with the Turks because of their propaganda nature. Some language

courses make grown-up Turks recite phrases like "Ali is a good worker. He arrives at the factory on time and works hard". Members of the Turkish immigrant community in West Germany also suffer from a constant fear that they are being spied on. The fear of officials of their own embassy is very great. There have also been many complaints about the Turkish People's Liberation Army. a strong-arm squad of which has been extorting funds from Turkish labourers for months. Those with families have a major problem in terms of schooling for their children. Most work disproportionately long hours. Loneliness, the desire to make money quickly and return drive them to do as much overtime as physically possible.

'Dirty work' is well paid in Germany. The minimum rate for a manual worker is at present between £40 and £45 a week. There are also sickness benefits and family allowances, which are paid to workers with two or more children. This applies even if the children are in Turkey. For the second child one gets £3.50 a month, and for the third and the fourth £8.00 a month. Added to the weekly wage and earnings from overtime the total can amount to a substantial sum. Last year alone, Turkish migrants sent back to their homes 600 million dollars in German marks. Many save up for an annual holiday flight home and many drive their own car back to Turkey.

The 'illegal' Turks are the real *basfonds* of the foreign workers' society. These are the men who have been smuggled into Germany by 'slave dealers'. They are estimated to be 300,000 and they often lead miserable lives exploited by unscrupulous small firms. Berlin is the main centre for these 'serfs'.

The dismal situation of Turkish labourers in West Germany is unlikely to improve in the foreseeable future unless the Government changes radically its immigration policy. At present there is a great deal of talk about regulating the immigrants: having them serve what some economists call the 'buffer function' of foreign workers; they are hired in time of shortage and can be got rid of in time of recession. Even the trade unions admit that the principle of 'last in, first out' could be applied and it is of course the immigrants who were last in. Willy Brandt summed up the immigrant situation in these words: "Foreign workers are in Germany because at home they live in indigent circumstances. Germany needs them urgently. They are dependent on us. But we are even more dependent on them, for otherwise they would not be here".

From this one can reasonably argue that such important people deserve better treatment. They should enjoy political and civic rights of the country they serve. If steps are not taken in this direction, the melting pot will soon become hot enough for exploitation by extremists of all political shades.

## Dead for the PoWs

On 20 Feb., two Pakistani boys from Watford were shot dead inside the Indian High Commission premises in London by Special Squad marksmen. The third, Dilawar, 15, was arrested, and since accused of attempting to murder one of the Indian staff and conspiring to abduct seven men and a woman from the India House. An *impact* reporter who visited the family in Watford, writes . . .

Jan Mohammed was sitting on a bed at the corner of a small room. A towel covered his head. His eyes were glued to the floor. "Do you think this nation of ours will ever wake up? Do you think my son's sacrifice will awaken the Pakistanis?" For a moment there was pin-drop silence. After a sigh Jan Mohammed continued: "All this needn't have happened if only he had told me of his intentions. I wouldn't have let him go. What's the use! Nothing will bring my boy back". He thought for a moment and then said, "We must not let his death go to waste. We must fight for the cause for which he lost his life".

At the terrace house where Basharat Husain lived in Watford, there was a continuous stream of friends and relatives. They had come to offer their condolence. "My Basharat", said Jan Mohammed, "was a very shy and gentle boy. He wouldn't even kill an insect let alone attempt to shoot a policeman. He respected his elders and never spoke in front of me or other elders. He only wanted to demonstrate against the inhuman treatment of our prisoners of war."

A friend tried to comfort the dead boy's father. "Your son is a *shaheed*—martyr. Terrorists' the newspapers called them though they knew he only had a toy gun. Freedom fighters they were and now they are martyrs." Another added, "The Police just went in and started shooting. It was cold blooded murder. They use rubber bullets in Ulster against those with machine guns and the real ones against those with toy guns."

Earlier Mr. Mohammed Ismail, Secretary of Watford Muslim Association, had traced the course of the events. "The Pakistani community in Watford", he said, "is very passive. The main concern is to earn money, after all this is why they are here. Their interest in politics is next to nothing. For the past year or so, however, there has been some unrest because of the situation back home. There have been many minor protests about the condition of the Pakistani PoW's in India. Many thought of demonstrating against the Indian maltreatment of the PoW's but no more. Basharat, Hanif and Dilawar were perhaps trying to give a practical shape to these suppressed emotions on their own".

Early on the morning of Tuesday 20 Feb, the three teenage friends, took a train to London. Basharat and Hanif had worked a ten-hour night shift and Dilawar Khan was on half-term holiday from school. They reached India House at 9.31 a.m. and by 9.43 a.m., Basharat and Hanif had been killed by the police and Dilawar overpowered. What really happened in-between is not precisely known and the newspapers are conflicting.

Mr. Ismail said "What they did is not praiseworthy and I do not think that the sympathy and the solidarity shown by the community should encourage anyone to attempt this sort of thing."

Back at Mr. Jan Mohammed's place they were discussing the demonstration which was to be held in Bradford. In walked a group of Pakistani students and one of them, Mr. G. A. Gul, introduced himself as the Convenor of Basharat-Hanif Shaheed Action Committee. "We are proud," said Mr. Gul, "that there are young Pakistanis who have such sublime feelings for their country and co-nationals". Mr. Gul said that he was in the group which had demonstrated

outside the India House and Scotland Yard on Wednesday morning. The Action committee consists of Law students and it "intends to sue the police for their action". He informed Mr. Jan Mohammed that accounts have been opened in the Pakistani banks to collect funds for the 'martyrs'. The Committee was also making arrangements for funeral prayers to be held in the Hyde Park.

Mr. Gul said: "We are demanding an open judicial inquiry into the whole India House incident. If the police are at fault they should be brought to book". "There is no doubt", he continued "that they acted rashly. Why did they fire eleven shots when their fire was not returned? Why did they shoot to kill, why couldn't they fire to injure and disarm? One of the boys was running towards the only other exit out of the Reception Hall. I ask you why couldn't he be shot in the legs?"

Dr. Abdul Ghaffar, another member of the Committee, added: "It is surprising that the special squad marksmen, especially trained to handle guns, cannot differentiate between a toy and a real gun. It seems that even after close examination the police were not sure what type of gun it was. First they said it was a good replica gun of Japanese origin costing around £10. Then they changed their statement and said that it was a cheap imitation gun costing 50p. Couldn't they read the words 'S.Agent. Made in England' the first time?" Crescent Toys, the makers of the gun are reported to have said: "Our 50p. gun is a toy not a replica".

"What I don't understand" said Mr. Khalid Ahmad Kersh, also a Committee member, "is why didn't the police try to talk to the boys and calm them down a bit. We have read statements of Mr. Matthew Beriman who was working on the sixth floor of India House when the incident happened. He said, and I quote, 'I went down the lift and saw a short man wearing a stocking mask carrying a gun standing by the passport section. I walked up to him and asked 'What is this all about?' He answered in English, 'We have nothing for you'. Now, if Mr. Matthews could talk so calmly to the boys why couldn't the police?"

About the 'Black December', Mr. Gul said "The Times says that a man calling himself Mohammed bin Qasim phoned and said that this was the first action of the Black December. There will be more and Indian and Russian diplomats and their property is going to be their target. I don't know whether there is or not a Black December organisation, but I strongly suspect that it is a creation of the press who wish to sensationalize and tarnish the Pakistani image."

Hanif's father Haji Mohammed Husain reflected patience and grace. He sat curled up on one end of a small sofa staring at the wall. A small wall chart with the words 'Allah' and 'Muhammad' was the focus of his attention. "People steal" he said, "but you don't shoot them. I realise that what Hanif did was deplorable but did the police have to shoot? Why couldn't they talk to him. He was such a gentle and understanding boy. He would have let everyone go."

When Mr. Gul asked for permission to leave, Mr. Husain echoed the words of Mrs. Jill Knight, MP, who had said in the parliament: "Would you consider the possibility that this deplorable incident may well have sprung from the growing concern among Pakistanis in this country for the 90,000 Pakistani prisoners still kept under duress in India?"

## LIBYAN AIRLINER DESTRUCTION

# The British Press couldn't say more!

A. W. Hamid

"Imagine that an Israeli civil airliner had been shot down by the Libyan air force having accidentally flown a few miles into Libyan territory. Worldwide outrage would have been as immediate and torrential as it was after the murder of Israeli athletes at Munich. Properly so. But to the destruction of the Libyan airliner over Sinai . . . the world's response, especially in the West, has been calmer and more transient."

So began the *Sunday Times* editorial, (25 Feb.) on the Libyan airline disaster under the heading "Is Israel Special?" It was a surprisingly frank and forthright criticism of Israel and a remarkably accurate and perceptive commentary on the state of western opinion and support for 'Israeli aggression'. The frankness was almost too outspoken to be accepted on its face value for many people have long accustomed themselves to the blind eye and the blunted moral conscience on the part of the western press so far as Israeli injustice and atrocities have been concerned. How surprising it was then to read that Israel and Zionists have held the basic assumption that 'for Israel's cause the world must forgive everything, that Arabs in particular must be ferociously condemned and their legitimate interests disregarded and that whatever Israel does must be exonerated' because 'Israel is fighting for survival'. How surprising too it was to hear a call made for "a more fundamental review of how much Israeli aggression the West will continue to underwrite".

One's optimism was cheered on by the heading of the *Observer* editorial, "Israel: Problem for the world" but it was soon dampened because all the paper seemed to be concerned about were the perils that 'threaten to spoil the promise of Israel's achievements' and the immorality of trying to persuade Israel to accept a settlement that would be against her interests. The shooting down of the airliner, according to the paper, was 'excessively hawkish' but it only 'illustrated the nervous tension in which Israel lives.'

The *Guardian*, however, did not believe that 'Israeli jitters' could explain the destruction which was "a sign of Israel's military domination in the Middle East, and of its determination to be seen dominant". The *Financial Times* (22 Feb.) tried to explain the 'outrageous' act as 'a military error of judgement combined with the inflexibility of the Libyan aircraft's crew'. But in dealing with Israel's 'boldest attack on Lebanese territory' earlier the same day, it asserted that 'the Israelis do not act irrationally' and a message must therefore have been intended: that the Israelis, after five years of "no-war no-peace" have found that they prefer to carry on as they are rather than "risk the dangers of a genuine essay for peace." 'Such a position', the paper said, 'is not beyond understanding.'

The thin approval and explanation (not to say justification) of Israel's action were

adequately reflected in the comments of the *Daily Telegraph*. Its first comment (22 Feb.) said that 'Israel acted brutally in forcing down (note the nondescript 'forcing down' instead of the more accurate 'shooting down') a Libyan airliner' but quickly went on to argue that 'even more can cogently be said in extenuation'. It jumped to the ridiculous conclusion that "The captain, presumably, acting on strict explicit or general instructions from the Libyan Government, was offering extreme provocation and deliberately courting disaster". An incredulous reader, T. H. Fowke from Sussex replied that the *Telegraph's* opinion was 'a particularly blatant and absurd example of the total and unreasoning pro-Israel bias that the Arabs have to contend with when trying to present their case in the West'.

This was hardly enough to influence the papers leader writers. As the details of the tragedy unfolded the paper (23 Feb.) concluded that "the Israeli evidence sounds convincing". Even after Israeli spokesmen had to retract on some of their initial fabricated statements, the *Telegraph* still had praise for it. 'Israel', it said (27 Feb.) has acted with commendable frankness in the extent to which she has admitted faults on her side in . . . the "chain of misunderstanding" which led to the fatal Boeing 'crash'. (Note again the neutral word 'crash'.)

The *Times* comment on what it called 'a very shocking affair' fully appreciated the nuances of Israeli propaganda. It said: 'The first official statement said that they had shot it down; this was later amended to leave the actual details obscure'. It nonetheless rightly believed the initial statement and practically confessed to being astonished and disturbed (as one of Israel's friends) at the attempt to 'brazed out and justify what happened'. Some of these attempts should show how shallow Israel's credibility is (and perhaps always has been)—for example, the fabrication that the French pilot was not qualified to fly Boeings which Air France shattered by showing the pilot's licence. The pro-Israeli weekly *The Economist*, knows Israel sufficiently well not to expect truth from Israeli propaganda which it nonetheless invariably echoes. It observed (24 Feb.) that 'the motives behind Israel's action can only be a matter of supposition, and will probably remain so—even if Israel has an official enquiry'. It thus becomes much easier to subscribe to the Egyptian official view that Israel's offers of compensation to victims and the need for a hot line between Israel and Egypt were 'abortive attempts to cover up a bloody crime'. In most of the dailies this view only received obscure treatment while the offer of Israeli compensation received top billing.

Almost lost in the chorus of justification or 'whitewashing' of Israel's actions, there have been small voices—significantly among Jews and Christians as well—who have dared to utter their criticism.

### LAGOS EMPORIUM SPECIALISING IN AFRICAN AND INDO-PAK GROCERIES

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No Muslim intellectual can stand in isolation today. In order to understand his own religious engagement he has to reckon with the religious involvements in which others find themselves. We cannot arrive at any authentic understanding of our own religion without knowing how it appears to others, to people who have roots in a different religious tradition and who are yet sincerely interested to know what our religion really means. From the Christian side more than an attempt in evaluation has been made in the different works of the distinguished scholar Reverend Kenneth Cragg. He has attempted a deeper study of the Qur'an and tries to appreciate Islam in its original experience. Whatever he says deserves respect and his conclusions merit close scrutiny.

Rev. Cragg's work\* is a masterly analysis of the Qur'an in its 'Incidence', as reflecting the facts of history and geography as well as the pattern of socio-economic life prevailing at the time. In short, the object is 'to see Muhammad and the Qur'an as Arab realities' (p.55 n.). That the Qur'an and Muhammad are 'anchored in history' and as such Arab events no one will dare to deny. But that what was essential to the man and his mission could be exhausted in their historical phenomenality can be justly disputed. Professor Cragg observes: "The case that Islam made for its Muslim shape it made within the controversies, the contentions and the constraining of that single segment of humanity. When the story passed beyond them to other territories, the Qur'an was ended and Muhammad gone" (p.67). Gone indeed as Arab realities but only to come on their own as living and universal forces of history. The writer has set himself the task to 'disengage' Islam from its encounter with the Jews and Christians 'in order to understand it in its contra-pagan theme which is central to all else'. But unfortunately the famed professor has not consistently held this position to the last and his final reckoning with Islam is completely moulded by his own Christian involvement. As a result the contrast between Muslim and Christian experience asserts itself and the original intention to consider Islam 'in its anti-pagan theme' finds only partial fulfilment.

What we are aiming now at present is not to give a full estimate of Professor Cragg's illuminating study but to consider the conclusions to which he is led in relation to one or two specific problems and to offer some general observations on his approach to Islam. It is held that the view of the Prophet's 'total illiteracy' is linked with the miracle of the Qur'an, which is all the more remarkable if, indeed, such eloquence came in circumstances of total literary incapacity (P.57). Again he writes: 'Nor is the theory in any way

## Muslims & Christians

# Of a debate not dialogue

Syed Vahiduddin

required by historical evidence of Muhammad's actual illiteracy. Rather, the belief in the latter has arisen from dogmatic demand". Professor Cragg however concedes that 'the facts on this matter must remain an open question, with a strong assumption against any complete inability' (P.57). He thinks, perhaps rightly, that all that it indicates is that the Prophet 'was unlettered' in the sense of untutored rather than illiterate (P.58). After some exercise in linguistic analysis he comes to the conclusion that 'the unlettered prophet is the prophet for the (as yet) unscriptured' (P.59). Now there is nothing to quarrel with this preliminary observation except that the precise form in which the conclusion is formulated smacks more of scholarly ingenuity than a sound deduction warranted by facts. If the 'dogma' is motivated in so far as it is supposed to base the miracle of the Qur'an on the total illiteracy of the Prophet, western scholarship has been interested in the contrary view so far as it helps to trace the sources of the Prophetic inspiration and to facilitate 'explanation' for each and every feature of the Qur'an through them. Obviously impressed by the prestige that the word literacy has assumed in recent times the so called liberal Muslim scholars have tried hard to win for the Prophet a literary status. No less a person than Hebbel, however, considered it the tragedy of modern times that every fool had learnt something! It is always wise to treat the whole issue as an open question and not to prejudge it from one motive or another.

The problem of *al-nabi al-ummi* has a deeper significance and this should not be lost sight of. The question of literacy figures in the picture to the extent that it is the basis of nurture and culture. Behind the orthodox dogma as well as mystic

understanding there is the deep feeling that "human nurture" in all its formal and sophisticated varieties somehow adversely affects man's primordial relationship with God and is often capable of bringing about man's alienation from his Source. Scholastic learning, accordingly, does not allow man to be properly tuned in with the unknown depths of his existence. Even in recent times it has often been alleged that cultural sophistication inhibits man's primitive psychic sensitivity. In the Qur'anic context we may refer to the story of the encounter of Moses with an enigmatic figure who instructs him in the metaphysically rooted causation of seemingly commonplace events. If it is insisted upon that the Prophet was *ummi* it is because scholastic learning, according to the Muslim understanding of prophetic psychology, cannot but impair receptivity to Divine intimations. Now as outsiders and as enlightened rationalists we have every right to reject the whole theological and mystical basis of Islamic thought pattern and its 'feel' of life. But as serious students of religion we should at least understand that the 'dogma' is not as naive as it is supposed to be, and it has a 'meaning' which should be appreciated.

Now in his critical assessment the writer does not carry us beyond what he has already said in his other works. The success hypothesis, the absence of the tragic dimension, 'the power concern' and much besides are old theses repeated with growing eloquence. He finds it very significant, even symbolic, the exclusion of the great suffering prophets like Jeremiah and others from the Qur'anic perspective. If Job also had been excluded from its purview it would have perhaps made the theory more consistent. With the Biblical suffering heroes, according to Rev. Cragg, 'Prophecy becomes the critic and the accuser of the state, and cannot achieve itself in coalition'. Here, one may ask, whether these prophets of yore had any idea of the state in the modern sense against which they found themselves pitted and whether they had any concept of the 'political' as we understand it. What they were disowning was the worldly power as embodied in unscrupulous rulers and tyrants. If we wish to have a better understanding of the state in the Islamic context we will have to leave the Anglo-Saxon pattern of political thought. However misleading it may otherwise be, Hegel's idea of the state as a spiritual substance will give a better guidance. It is not the state as state, not the political as political, but the state as the expression of the Divine Will which comes into question here. No doubt the subsequent rise and fall of the Muslim power which is generally known as Islamic history amply bears witness to the danger and the risk involved in this ideal conjoining of religion with the state. What we are concerned with, however at the moment is not 'history' but primary intentions and meaning. Prof. Cragg's

\* The Event of the Quran-Islam in its Scripture, George Allen & Unwin, 1971



standing complaint is that with its sense of history as 'manifest success', with 'its facile assurance of just reward and due victory', the Qur'an has not found access to 'those darker reaches which lie beyond its doctrinal horizon'. But what kind of a 'success' has Qur'an in view? What it simply means is that the apparently tragic is not conclusive and this is perhaps something which is the necessary component of all religious consciousness. Secondly its frame of reference has never been 'this world' with all its limitations. Success is success in the Islamic context whether it is achieved 'in time' or demands an extra-mundane compass for its realization.

As the writer in the end falls back on his own Christian frame of reference he hails every subsequent development which to him at least appears as an approximation to the Christian perspective and greets with approval all those intellectual positions which try to accommodate 'extra-Islamic sources of wisdom'. We are only happy that in spite of his 'basic Christian disquiet about the power equation of Islam' it has been possible for Prof. Cragg to develop 'a certain fundamental sympathy with the original cause of Islam'. (P.186).

But sympathy, however sincere, assumes distance and is always exposed to the danger of lapsing into a condescending posture. It is perhaps by moving literally into it and living it from within that one can understand a religious experience which is not "ours". Our own commitment should be 'bracketed' at least for the time being. But in 'sympathy' one's attitude is constantly shadowed by one's value preferences and the 'insider' may feel justly annoyed by repeated references, always to his disadvantage, to a world of experience which is not his. In all inter-religious communication it is necessary not to allow the 'dialogue' to develop into a debate. And this is possible only when every religious position is appreciated from its own angle and not 'judged' from a point of view to which one is committed.

## The Voice of Islam

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## Nota Bene

'SCRIBE'

Shock-communication is not confined to electronics, show-business and the news-media. Academics make their contribution too often administering new and novel shocks.

The American scientist, Professor William Shockley of Stanford University got a Nobel Prize in 1956 for his work on transistors. But he became well-known not for his contributions to electronics, but for his views on genetics and their policy-implications for the Negroes.

Professor Shockley thinks he has "proved beyond doubt" that black people are inherently less intelligent than whites (by of course flirting with IQ tests). Perhaps that much was digestible. After all he has a right to hold whatever opinions he wants to hold—scientific, pseudo-scientific or anti-scientific. But he claims that he is man enough to advocate policies "consistent" with this belief and has very elaborate plans up his sleeve.

He wants the Government to sponsor and finance the sterilization of black people with low IQs to prevent the deterioration of the human species. He suggests a "voluntary sterilization bonus plan" to stop "low breeding" and its consequent "retrogressive evolution through disproportionate reproduction of the genetically disadvantaged". Under the "bonus plan" the "disadvantaged" who include people with an IQ below 100 and those who suffer from "diabetes, epilepsy, heroine-addiction, arthritis and so on" will receive something around \$1000 for every point below 100 IQ. This means that a person with an IQ of 70 will get \$30,000 for getting sterilized and thus protecting the human race from his progeny. Professor Shockley believes this would mean great "savings" to the Government and the taxpayer, something in the vicinity of \$250,000 per sterilized person by way of "reduced costs of mental retardation care".

These views of Professor Shockley have shocked many of those who still believe in the equality of man and the serenity of the human race, and who believe that humanity cannot be measured by the calculus of money alone. However 'primitive' these ideas may be, they still have some appeal for a large number of people who regard such "thinking exercises" as sacrilege against humanity. Professor Shockley doesn't care a dime for these people. He sticks stubbornly to his "scientific" opinions.

There are occasions when even Professor Shockley has to be at the receiving end of the shocks. Leeds University decided to confer on him an honorary PhD. for

his contribution to transistors. He was expected to visit U.K. to receive this degree in summer 1973.

As he was passing through Britain he thought it better to confirm the matter. The Vice-Chancellor of Leeds University, Lord Boyle, politely suggested that Professor Shockley should forget about the degree, as there was a lot of furore against it in view of his racist ideas. This has thrown Shockley into a rage. He is out to expose the "intolerance" of the academics.

Professor Shockley may or may not be good in genetics, but his sociology apparently stems from a low IQ. He belongs to a genre of intellectuals which would like society to spend millions of dollars on birth control, a device whose application is confined to the better educated—the high IQ component of Professor Shockley's ideal society. After over a century's experimentation with birth control and journeying on the royal road to "pleasure without responsibility", the equilibrium of society seems to have been disturbed. The historian of tomorrow will perhaps accuse the leaders of this age for burning the candle of civilization at both ends. Didn't the Greek and the Romans follow the same strategy in their own towns?

A little dabbling in Professor Shockley's economics may also be interesting. There are over 20 million negroes in the United States. If, on an average, one in ten is taken to be below 100 IQ the target for sterilisation would be 2 million. All whites are not about 100 IQ. If only two and a half per cent of American whites are regarded as below normal, another four million will have to go through the operation. To save America from the progeny of these sub-normals some 6 million people will have to be sterilised. If the bonus works and even half this number responds to the bait (disregarding the suggestion that because of their low IQ they may not be able to see the benefits embedded in it!) this should mean a financial cost of something to the tune of \$90,000 million. The total annual budget of the United States comes to over \$200,000 million and its total expenditure on health and welfare is around \$40,000 million. If Professor Shockley's 'bonus plan' is adopted this would need more than double the amount that the U.S. is now allocating to health and welfare—and all that for one new item only. When electronists by profession and geneticists by hobby dabble in economics, they produce such freaks. Is there a way to check the production and reproduction of such sub-normal specimens of thought and policy?

# Intellectual dissent in Bangladesh

Mir Mardan

In Bangladesh today, the number of those who are speaking out against the many ills and contradictions of the war-ravaged society is still somewhat limited. Yet those who have chosen to speak up have been well known and influential thinkers whose loyalty to the concept of Bangladesh is beyond doubt.

To take three examples: there are Abul Mansur Ahmed, Abul Ghaffar Choudhary and Abul Fazal. Abul Mansur Ahmed has been a politician in addition to being a literateur and satirist of considerable repute. He has been a staunch Awami Leaguer. He was Commerce Minister in Suhrawardy's Cabinet. In the National Legislature of Pakistan and outside, he had consistently advocated the cause for justice—both economic and political—to the then East Pakistan. In his writings, occasionally published in the dailies and journals of Dacca, he frequently advocated secularism as the basis of politics and held that the two-nation theory had become irrelevant after the establishment of Pakistan. He was never tired of quoting from Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's speech of 11 September 1947 in which he said that all, irrespective of their religion were equal citizens of Pakistan. After the establishment of Bangladesh Abul Mansur Ahmed was perhaps the first to point out that the Awami League Government was a constitutional rather than a revolutionary regime. As such, he pleaded, the Government should deal with others constitutionally. He appealed for general amnesty for those accused of political crimes and requested the government to approach the matter from a strictly legal point of view, giving everyone the right to defence. He also pointed out very clearly that the establishment of Bangladesh was nothing more than the realisation of the Lahore Resolution of the All India Muslim League of 1940. He said that by agreeing to the tri-section of the subcontinent, the Indian government and people have also realised the value of the arrangements proposed in 1940.

Mr. Abul Fazal, a famous educationalist, essayist and novelist has been known as a secular and left-leaning intellectual. Yet he came out with an article, extracts of which were published in *Impact* (Vol. 2:18), in which he said that Pakistan was an essential part of the history and evolution of Bangladesh. He denounced the efforts to erase history by belittling the role of the Muslim League and the Pakistan Movement in the re-awakening of the personality of the Muslims of India, especially of

Bengal. He appealed to the Prime Minister to forgive and forget and start afresh with the co-operation of all instead of branding people of different views as collaborators or agents of Pakistan.

Abdul Ghaffar Choudhary is the youngest among the three. He has been quite vocal on the question of the rights of Bangalis in pre-March 25, 1971 Pakistan. By profession he is a journalist and has also written a number of novels and short stories. He has been an advocate of secular, territorial nationalism and in that context supported Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. But in his columns in one of the Bengali dailies of Dacca, before 25 March, 1971 he launched quite vocal attacks on the manner and style of Sheikh Mujib's Movement. After the army crackdown in East Bengal he fled to India and came back after 16 December, 1971. Recently he has been taking courage in his hands to clearly and without fear criticise the manner in which the country is being run. In a very bold article published in the daily *Ittefaq* (12 December, 1972) Choudhary said, "We are greater criminals than the war criminals." In fact this is the title of his essay in which he says that the martyrs of the Bangladesh movement would turn in their graves if they were to see what the Bangladesh of their dream has become. He wrote:

"It is not only the souls of the martyred intellectuals but also of the three million killed which are restless in the lamenting air of Bangladesh. None of them knew that the freedom that had been bought in exchange of their lives, and their blood

would be exploited by a handful of smugglers and black marketeers; that the independence so dearly won would be utilised by a greedy few to build up personal fortunes. They did not know that unbound greed would indulge in black marketing of essential medicines and baby foods. Bangladesh is bleeding even today. Secret assassinations are going on day in and day out. The knives that are being wielded are not of foreign invaders but of native murderers. Even today the people of Bangladesh are losing everything not to foreign looters but indigenous exploiters. If one hundred thousand invading troops are war criminals because they killed 3m Bangalis then what to call those who after liberation murdered the peace, happiness and security of 75m people and created a reign of anarchy in the country? Will they be tried in the peoples' court?"

There is no doubt that intellectuals like Abul Mansur, Abul Fazal and Abdul Ghaffar Choudhary are trying to create an atmosphere in which sober elements would be able to exert themselves. But evidently they are not operating in a vacuum. Nobody can question their courage but at the same time it would be wrong to underestimate the strength of the public opinion current without which such writings could not dare see publication. The climate of intellectual social and political life in present-day Bangladesh appears to be coming, albeit slowly, towards something more composed and positive.

\* Mir Mardan is the pen-name of a Bangladesh intellectual. When the Bengal Governor Sirajuddaulah lost to the British in the Battle of Plassey in 1757, Mir Mardan was the General who stayed with him until the last.

Letter from Kuwait

## It is easier to walk off a football field

From a Special Correspondent

Along with affluence, oil has also brought turmoil to the Arabian Gulf. The latest round of controversy concerns the so-called 'Participation Agreement'. This Agreement, signed in early January, is between the Kuwaiti Government and British Petroleum and Gulf Oil, parent companies of the Kuwait Oil Company. The Agreement gives Kuwait an immediate 25 per cent interest in the oil concession. At the centre of the controversy is Mr. Rahman Salem Al Atiki, Kuwait's Minister of Finance and Oil. Announcing the Agreement Mr. Atiki said that it was 'reasonable and satisfactory' and claimed it constituted a 'radical modification' of the existing oil concession. The Minister went on to say that in its first phase—1973/75—the Agreement would give Kuwait an additional revenue of over hundred million dollars annually. Kuwait would pay in return about 150 million dollars for its initial participation share of 25 per cent. However, Mr. Atiki is in the opposite side of the ring than the parliament and the press

both of which are sceptical about the Agreement's merits and favour Libya's step of taking over an immediate 50% share in the companies' asset.

At his press conference, called especially to announce the Agreement, Mr. Atiki was prepared for an hostile reception. He went straight on to defend the Agreement: "We were careful to have the agreement include transitional arrangements for the marketing of Participation oil on world markets" "But", he went on, "the basic objective of Participation was not financial. An increase of Government revenue was never the prime goal of the negotiations conducted although it was realised that Participation would offer a profitable investment opportunity. A more fundamental aim was acquiring a share in the productive assets of the companies, thereby realising a real and effective Participation in the exploitation of our oil wealth." Asked if the Participation Agreement was conceived as a 'solution' for the growing need of United States for oil over the next

decades, Mr. Atiki replied that America would indeed need more oil in the coming years "but we should be concerned with our own need to sell our oil". He added further that "United States does not necessarily need our oil". "How about the use of oil as a weapon?" Mr. Atiki was asked. "We are prepared" he replied "to use oil as a weapon against Israel if we find this to be in the interest of the Arab nations."

Although the Kuwait's Council of Ministers approved the Participation Agreement during an ordinary session, the Agreement came under heavy fire in the National Assembly. In fact, even before it reached the National Assembly strong views against it were aired. Mr. Abdul Aziz Al Massaeed, Chairman of the National Assembly's Foreign Relations Committee said that "the idea of participation is a new American game plotted in Washington in order to make the Arab oil producing states guardians of the American oil interests in the area".

During an Assembly session, Dr. Akmal Al Khalil blamed the government for shrouding the Agreement in complete secrecy during its negotiation thus keeping the parliament in the dark right up to the last minute. "I was shocked to see the way the agreement was handled", he said, "with the result that we now find parliament and government on opposite ends instead of their being together on one side in confrontation with the oil companies". Other deputies complained about the attempted bulldozing of the Agreement through the Parliament.

The press too is against the Agreement. *Kuwait Times* has been rather unfavourable towards Mr. 'Atiki's cord' while *The Daily News* announced that "the Agreement should have never been signed with western owned companies whose countries—mainly the United States—are supplying Israel with more and more lethal arms to kill Arabs, and thus, directly or indirectly, boosting the enemy's aggressiveness, industry and economy".

Whatever the merits for and against the Participation Agreement, it seems that now Kuwait has 'no alternative'. As Mr. Atiki has pointed out, "the Government simply has no scope for entering into fresh negotiations with the oil companies and getting better terms". The debate continues.

The Participation agreement debate was momentarily broken when a 'controversial win' followed by a walk-out by the visiting Iranian football team hit the headlines. The Iranian team of the Persepolis Club beat the Kuwait's Qadisiyah Club 2-1. The controversy arose when two Iranian players objected to the referee's ruling over a foul which gave the ball to the opposite team. The referee ordered the two players out and thus drew a protest from the entire Persepolis team which then refused to play. It turned out that the 'stubborn and provocative' behaviour of

the coach of the Iranian team—"a Britisher called Rogers"—was responsible for the walk out. He not only intervened vehemently in protest against the referee's decision but also incited the whole team to withdraw.

The next time Iran came up in the news, it was bugged 'Israel of the Gulf'. Ahmad Al Nafisi, a Deputy in the Kuwait's National Assembly, strongly objected,

## This Muslim World

Fatima Nisar

At the present critical juncture in the history of Islam, when many parts of the Arab and Muslim countries are under alien influence/occupation, Muslims undoubtedly face the greatest ever threat, and this threat is both internal as well as external.

A previous issue of *Impact* (Vol 2-15) happened to catalogue some of these forces and factors. For example, the articles captioned: UN's Resolution on the Middle East, Soviet objectives in the Middle East, Conflict in Patani, Whose failure in Pakistan? and The Bihari Tragedy, could very easily convey the talk of the town.

The UN should in fact be an organisation to uphold justice but it happens to be no more than the original league (of Nations) including of course, the newer perquisites like FAO, WHO, ILO and UNESCO etc. Perhaps it is because of these perks that the developing countries keep their mouths shut. The UN has never succeeded in any mission in so far as the Third World is concerned, be it Kashmir, Vietnam, Rhodesia, South Africa, Cyprus, Middle East or any other Afro-Asian problem. So it made no difference if Syria, Libya, Iraq or any other country does or does not participate in its resolution-makings on the Middle East.

The "Soviet Objectives in the Middle East" or elsewhere should have been pretty obvious, but it seems today's Muslims do not even remember millions of Turkestani Muslims who are left to groan and suffer under the Soviet rule. Perhaps one is impressed by the Russian condescension of researching Islam and even Iqbal etc. No one, however, bothers to ask why all this interest? Considering, however, the fact of many Pakistanis having forgotten Russia's ugly role in helping Indian aggression and breaking up their country that would perhaps be too much to demand. This reminded one of the BENTO and SEATO which Pakistan had entered into to protect itself against external aggression. So it was not the fault of the Soviet Union alone; she did play the major role, but there were others too.

Similarly it is not only Patani but there

during a session of the Assembly, to the inclusion of a trade treaty with Iran on the Assembly's Agenda. He reminded the House that in 1971 it unanimously adopted "popular demands" for severing political and economic relations with Iran and boycotting Iranian products. He announced that he felt ashamed to see the House agenda formally including a trade pact with "Iran—Israel of the Gulf".

are Muslims in the Philippines whom President Marcos is trying to purge through Martial Law. The Eritreans too pay a heavy price for liberation from the despotism of Haile Selassie; and so do the Muslims in India and even in Bangladesh.

These problems arise mainly due to lack of Muslim unity and lack of sincere and dynamic leadership. The result is that they have moved away from their centre, the *Kaaba* and there is a lack of effective, communication and meaningful understanding within their ranks. The Muslim World should not only come back to Islam but start paying adequate attention to research and study of the problems that it faces today. The European Common Market, presented a splendid example of countries forgetting their age-old religious and nationalistic hostilities and joining in common effort toward a common goal of social and material Welfare.

One simply cannot believe how the Muslim leaders get involved so often with their personal ego, without having any real concern for the sufferings and the well-being of their own people. The main reason for the Muslim World's discomfiture lies in its leaders' bickerings and conflicts, and this expose it to pressure and intrigues from both within and without. But until the internal front is secured, it is futile to think about any progress or betterment in the Muslim situation.

Dr. Kalim Siddiqui's article on "Whose failure in Pakistan?" where he tries to fight the Marxist and such others, did not, however, pinpoint the real causes. It is not only the failure in Pakistan, but failures in the Middle East, failures during Khilafat-i-Rashida's, the tragedy of Karbala, all deserve thorough investigation and drawing of the appropriate lessons. One looked hopefully to the Islamic Secretariat to initiate and coordinate efforts to achieve an honourable and purposeful existence for the comity of nations it represents. The outlook is indeed pessimistic because of the apparent lack of sincerity in many quarters. So this too is the problem. Should not the Islamic countries try to achieve political stability, economic strength, and internal cohesion?

## Books

### Faith, sense and sincerity

**Sahih of Muslim al Jami us Sahih of Imam Muslim**, translated by Abdul Hamid Siddiqui, *Sh. M. Ashraf*, Lahore, Pakistan. Fascicles 1-5. 384 pages.

In the Muslim classification of Hadith collections, the Sahih of Imam Muslim (b. 206.H/821. A.D.) ranks second among the six most authentic collections. Hadith is the record of the words and deeds of Muhammad and embodies the totality of his teachings, precepts and life-example as the last Messenger of God. Hadith is necessary to the understanding and practice of Islam, yet surprisingly there are very few translations of Hadith in the Western languages. In the English language too, while there are partial translations of the "Sahih of al-Bukhari" no translation of the "Sahih of Muslim" is available. The present work fulfils this need most eminently.

Imam Muslim considered only such Hadith to be authentic that had been transmitted to him by an *unbroken chain* of reliable narrators. There is no confusing of names with the *kunya* of the transmitters of Hadith. He has recorded only such Hadith which, at least, two reliable *tabi'in* had heard from two *sahabah* (companions of the Prophet). *Tabi'in* is the term for those who came after *sahabah*.

One merit of the book is that 'Abdul Hameed Siddiqui throughout his elaborations, does not involve his readers with technical and theological discussions. Like the early scholars he accepts two dimensions of Hadith: (1) making explicit what is implicit in the Qur'an; (2) having its own independent entity which remains unaffected by change either in space or time. Siddiqui has also tried to be innovative in his explanations but confines himself within the expositions made by the earlier authorities like al-Nawawi, Ibn al Qayyim, Ibn Hajr al-'Asqalani, al-'Aini, Shabbir Ahmad 'Uthmani, Anwar Shah Kashmiri and others. He also furnishes his readers, wherever necessary, with information about the narrators of Hadith, technical terms, and important themes such as *Imam*, *Qadr*, *Ijtihad* and so on. Wherever a hadith explains a verse from the Qur'an, the translator quotes the relevant verse in the foot-note. A brief account of the life and work of Imam Muslim and a more detailed discussion on hadith and its significance in Islam would have added to the value of this otherwise invaluable work.

The work under review—1,754 Hadith and 1,081 foot-notes—consists of five fascicles covering the first three chapters of Sahih Muslim on *Iman*, *Taharah* and *Salat*—faith, cleanliness and worship. Such

in fact is the order of precedence in Islam. *Iman* is not just belief in one God, His Messengers, the hereafter, the angles and the unseen or prayer, fasting, haj, zakat, and jihad. Abu Huraira reported the Prophet saying: one whose neighbour does not feel safe against him, will not enter Paradise. *Deen* indeed is another word for a sincere concern towards others weal and well-being (Tamin ad Dari). To abuse a Muslim is an outrage and to fight against him is (tantamount to) unbelief (Abdullah b. Masud). Modesty is a branch of *Iman* (Abu Huraira) and conversely vanity negates it. He who harbours vanity in his heart equal in weight to a rye-seed shall not enter Paradise (Abdullah b. Masud). Of hypocrisy, according to one hadith a hypocrite has three main characteristics: lying, making a false promise, and going back on his word (abu Huraira). On the other hand, the good tidings—*Iman*—are for those who love mankind, loves it only for the sake of Allah, to whom God and His Messenger are the dearest, and who prefer being thrown into fire to reverting to unbelief.

The publication of this Hadith classic in English is a notable, in fact, a singular contribution to contemporary Islamic literature in the English language. The work is sponsored by the Islamic Research Academy, Karachi and expected to take some five to ten years to complete.

**Anis Ahmad**

● *Professor T. B. Irving adds:*

One of the great needs of contemporary Islam is adequate texts with which to interpret and explain its scriptures to the English-speaking world. Too often in the past we have had to rely on translations by Western scholars or by Muslims trained in Western schools and who have been exposed to non-Islamic standards and prejudices. This has applied to the presentation of the texts, to the criticism to which they are subjected, and to the haphazard and unscientific system of spellings which varied from one colonial or colonizing country to another. Arabic has a standard orthography, though one would never know this from its capricious transcriptions.

Here however Shaykh Ashraf has given the first volume of a long needed work, the great *Sahih* of Imam Muslim. It will be extremely useful for those Muslims living in Great Britain especially, and perhaps in North America as well. Apart from the Qur'an, the *Sahih Muslim* is one of the most essential works on Islamic tradition.

The volume is splendidly printed on fine paper, and it is bound in buckram as a durable reference work. The translator and editor, as well as the publisher, should be commended for the excellence of their product. It is the sort of reference work which our new Muslim communities in the West, as well as those who commonly speak English in the East and in Africa, urgently need.

## Not the West alone!

**A Look at the West**, by Major-General A. Akram, 270 pages, *Islamic Publications*, Lahore.

The author is a retired medical man of military service, who has also literary and religious tastes. He has read sufficient number of historical works to be able to scan an impressive number of citations showing the defects and mischiefs of the West. He proves that the West is now morally bankrupt, and also that the West has done much harm to Islam and Muslims by sowing discord among Muslims.

All is well documented and referred to dependable books and to their very pages. Of course much more has already been written on the subject, and the author must be aware of the whole family of books that had followed the publication by Miss Mayo of her famous work "Mother India", to which came rejoinders: "Daughter India" and Lajpat Roy's "Unhappy India" and lots of others. But to me that is not the right approach to the question, nor the right cure.

If crime and immorality are rampant in the present day West, Muslim countries have never lagged behind very much. The fatherland of the author, India, of the time of Muhammad Shah Rangeela and of Wajid Ali Shah should not be forgotten, not to speak of other "Muslim" countries past or present. Why attack others while living in a glass house? More so since this very West is still the more industrious and very far ahead of us even morally. How many Muslim institutions spend a pence on non-Muslims in charity? Whereas there are hundreds and hundreds of charitable, specialized and general, institutions in every "Christian" country of the West which serve many other than Christians or Whites who need help. It is not enough to say that they have ulterior motives of religious propagation; what prevents Muslims from doing like-wise? One only needed to go to any convent, to see how they give hospitality and sympathy to poor Muslims, to sick Muslims, to imprisoned Muslims, to needy Muslims.

If the West sows discord among Muslims is that not the fault of Muslims themselves who willingly accept such advice? No use blaming the West, which is after all the "enemy"; blame the foolish Muslims, who are continuing in the same path of discord, even without the counsel of the West. Go to Pakistan, to Syria, to Iran, even to Arabia, from Morocco to Malaysia-Indonesia, you find the same fratricidal mania. And good Muslims, like the much experienced author of the book under review are, apparently, seeking satisfaction in blaming others while forgetting their own responsibility. Let Muslims concentrate on more useful work, and let each do what he can individually as well as collectively.

This book is no doubt interesting reading, though not opportune.

**A. M. Nuruddin**

## Briefing

### Religion and Soviet Foreign Policy, 1945-70

by William C. C. Fletcher, *OUP*, £3.50

Half a century of militant atheism has shown the futility of trying to eliminate religion as such. Despite social classification, economic and political control and an all pervading system of atheistic education, the successive generations in the USSR have shown a persistent though vague and varying degree of a belief in the Divine. In Russia, the objective question, therefore, is not how to eliminate religion but how to control and use it as a tool of the state policy? There was nothing unusual in Stalin calling upon the Christians, Muslims and Jews to pray to their God(s) to avert Russia's defeat at the hands of the Germans. Earlier the tsars too had used the Russian Orthodox Church as a tool of their pan-Slav imperialist policy in Eastern Europe. The 'religious foreign policy' has continued to be followed by all the successive regimes since Stalin. In recent years this policy has seen activation in the despatch of a greater number of delegations of Russia's Christian, Muslim and Jewish 'religious' leaders, particularly to the Third World countries where religion is taken more seriously. Although the Russian Orthodox Church was allowed to join the World Council of Churches in 1961, contacts with the Muslim World are very limited and very cautious. While Russia has been sending out its appointed *Mufitis* and paying host to Ministers of Auqaf from Muslim countries, they are still not prepared to take the risk of allowing the Turkistani Muslims under their rule to proceed for Hajj — one of the five essentials of Islam. Prof. Fletcher's study is about the utilitarian and naturally, subservient role of religion in Soviet foreign policy.

**Medina** by Mary McCarthy, *Wildwood House*, £1.50 (Paper 75p)

Vietnam has been an exceptional war and so has been its conduct: callous, brutal and diabolical. The killing of over 300 unarmed civilian men, women and children in the Vietnamese village of My Lai was, therefore, in no way exceptional. Lieut. Calley who was convicted of murder (a life term reduced to 20 years is to be reviewed by President Nixon) was only obeying the order of Capt. Ernest Medina to kill "everything that moved". Capt. Medina, about whom a helicopter pilot testified lifting a wounded woman with the toe cap of his shoe and having found her still alive shot her, is now an executive in a helicopter company. Of his two other superiors Col. French Barber died in a helicopter crash and Gen. Koster was "censured".

No wonder, Medina's trial was dull, boring and uninteresting to the media men. They knew it was a farce and designed simply for the sake of putting a moral veneer over the USA's raspy exterior. They also knew that Gen. Koster too was carrying the orders of his superiors: President Johnson and his court of American liberals who only wanted to create a new village culture in Vietnam and if this meant setting fire to bamboo hamlets or eliminating the unfit, it was all justified. It was because of this over-riding morality and the duty to civilise, that the prosecution performed its duty with unashamed indifference. When the 'trial' was over, not only the defence but the judge, press and prosecution all came to celebrate. Mary McCarthy who reported the trial in the *New Yorker* magazine is concerned about the moral culture that produced this callous farce, but as it is, she does no more than scratch the surface of a vastly fundamental amoral situation.

**The World of the Crusaders** by Joshua Prawer, *Weidenfeld & Nicolson*, £3.25

Prof. Prawer of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem attempts a new look at an earlier model

in conquest and occupation. The Frankish knights despite overwhelming arms and resources, and a superior organisation and technology could not hold for more than 190 years. Instead of fraternising and trying to be part of the Holy land which they had ostensibly set out to be, they chose to stay as a superior class. They came in as aliens, stayed as aliens and got expelled as aliens.

**Arab Attitudes to Israel** by Y. Harkabi, translated by Misha Louvish, *Valentine Mitchell*, £3.95

What do Arabs think about Israel? A question which hardly needs asking but General Harkabi's updated doctoral thesis written just before the June war is an exercise in compiling and showing how this attitude is presented and articulated by the Arab scholars and media men. Carefully compiled, it serves to highlight all the grandiose shallowness and empty grandeur of the contemporary Arab expression. Though meant as an Israeli propaganda exercise, the Arabs shall find it a useful study.

**The Search for the Niger** by Christopher Lloyd, *Collins*, £2.75

When Mungo Park, a Scotsman arrived at the Western coast of Africa in 1795, the area was already known as the source of slaves for the American market. Killed after he had probed upto three-fourth of the length of the river Niger, Mungo Park's explorations were followed by other white men, and finally by Richard Lander who paddled down to the mouth of the river in Bight of Benin. Then came the slave-abolitionist and missionaries followed by a British occupation made easier by the discovery of quinine. All this story is well told by Christopher Lloyd.

**Bigger Profits for the Smaller Firms**, by E. G. Wood, *Business Books*, £3.50

E. G. Wood who has worked with small firms for a number of years has shown with precision and without resorting to generalisation as to how to run a business to gear to the six-letter word profit.

## Israel and the Prophecies of the Holy Qur'an by

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## Letters

### Whose Failure in Pakistan?

Professor Khurshid Ahmad's letter (*Impact*, 2:18, 9-22 Feb. 1973) commenting on my article "Whose Failure in Pakistan?" (*Impact*, 2:15, 22 Dec. 1972-11 Jan. 1973) is welcome. I did not say that the Jamaat-e-Islami stood for the status quo; my point was, and remains, that the Jamaat, in popular mind, became identified with the status quo. It may be that the Jamaat wanted to change the system; but I insist that the Jamaat failed to put over its commitment to change and it also failed to capture the minds of those Professor Khurshid calls the "unknowing classes."

Professor Khurshid also disputes my point that the Jamaat represented "ritualised Islam." This is so manifestly true that I do not feel called upon to defend it.

The next point is rather more fundamental and important. If Maudoodi did not expect that at least a majority of the people—Professor Khurshid's "unknowing classes"—would vote with their beliefs, why did he insist on democracy? If Professor Khurshid is right then Maudoodi could not have assumed that the "unknowing classes" would vote with their reason. If so, then, in a country where the bulk of the population is "unknowing", democracy could not be expected to produce the desired result. Yet Maudoodi insisted upon democracy. Why? Why did Maudoodi not realise the true nature of bourgeois democracy? Why did Maudoodi not denounce the democratic farce enacted first by Ayub and then by Yahya? Why did Maudoodi take part in such a farce? Why did Maudoodi, regarding himself and his party as the standard-bearers of Islam, allow the name of Islam to be slurred in an election which was clearly a bourgeois affair? Why did he not stand aside and warn the Muslim *millat* (let us learn not to use the word "nation") that such democratic processes were a fraud perpetrated by the "power complex of Pakistan politics"? Why did he not present Islam's alternative to bourgeois democracy? Unless perhaps Maudoodi does not know what is Islam's alternative. If he does not, then he ought to say so; if he does then he ought to tell us; but to regard bourgeois democracy, even by implication, as "Islamic" or a process that might somehow lead to an "Islamic State," is, to say the least, an untenable position. My own view, perhaps based on "ignorance" (I await enlightenment), is that Maudoodi did not realise the need to produce an alternative to democracy. Professor Khurshid says that Maudoodi's "failure lies in not pursuing the path of exploitation of politics." I am not sure what exactly that phrase means, but it appears to claim credit for participating in a political game without abiding by the rules of that game. Why enter bourgeois politics if you cannot "exploit" it? If you have principles or scruples, why be a democrat?

Professor Khurshid says that the Jamaat has tried to integrate belief with reason and impart "political education." He then claims: "That is why the Jamaat has scored better against the educated as against the unknowing classes." In support he cites the fact that "over 80 per cent of the two million votes the jamaat got in 1970 came from the hearts of the cities." What he really means is that this is because the "educated" live in the cities and the "unknowing" outside them. The Jamaat had reached the former but not the latter. It follows, therefore, we would need large scale organisation before the Jamaat's Islam can be widely accepted.

Professor Khurshid can also be understood as saying that Islam's political message can only be understood by the "educated". If so, then this is a dangerous doctrine and stands the history of Islam on its head. Islam has always challenged the establishment of the "educated" and led the "unknowing" masses. The Jamaat, or any

other movement in the name of Islam, will never succeed, nor will it deserve to, without first (a) rejecting bourgeois democracy, (b) rejecting capitalism, feudalism and communism as equally and totally alien to Islam, and (c) producing an alternative that can be clearly understood by all as a rational solution to their everyday problems. The Jamaat failed on all these counts.

To introduce a distinction between the "educated" and the "unknowing" to defend the failure of the Jamaat and its leadership is a dangerous exercise in self-deception. The Muslim masses are still as good as 25 years ago or at any other time in history. The failure is entirely that of the leadership, both "secular" and "Islamic" and of the so called intellectuals.

Slough, Bucks, U.K.

KALIM SIDDIQUI

### Pattani Conflict: the other viewpoint

I was astonished by "The Conflict in Pattani" (*Impact* Dec. 22, '72- Jan. 11, '73). Astonished most of all by the pack of lies that appeared in the article.

Thailand is a sovereign Democratic Monarchy and if the 2% of the total population refuse to comply with normal convention or UnThai activities in the Kingdom then I would suggest to them to make themselves scarce or in other words 'get lost'.

Yes, there is a lack of qualified teachers in the South as well as brick schools. Why? Bricks school are bombed and burnt down and teachers are assassinated by the bandits and Communist terrorists. The people are forced to pay protection money or risk being shot at or have one's wife raped and brutally murdered before one's own eyes. A Muslim labourer in a rubber plantation was nailed to a rubber tree because the owner had refused to pay protection money. (I'm willing to name the plantation owner).

Would it be fair then to take the blame of the outlaws and place it on the head of the Buddhist government? After all the bandits and the Communists, acting in the name of liberating the Muslims, themselves are destroying the hope and aspiration of the Muslims, at the same time creating international conflict by claiming that the Thai government had placed Thai spies in Malaysia to spy on Malaysian students and their activities.

Turning the provinces into a Republic would result in its economic collapse because the area lacked capital, enterprise, initiative and honest and rational leadership, and when this happens Chin Peng would be very pleased to take over these provinces. And then what would happen both to the Malaysian states of Kelantan, Perak, Kedah and Perlis and these Southern provinces? Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

KASIM RATANAVONGSE

### Muslim hopes and fears

How often I wish to write and complain that *Impact* makes me so miserable! But what can you do if the so-called Islamic world is so boring, so miserably wretched and disgustingly sad and horribly false? Believe me, if I did not read the 'New Spectrum' in *Impact*, I would have a nervous breakdown. But, wait a minute, do not be impatient with my impressions.

The fact is that for almost nine years I was extremely upset and was gradually losing patience with the politicians and journalists (for that matter television can be included) in this country. I thought and thought that not many people were taking any responsibility and a reasonable stand to explain the Muslim attitude, hopes, desires and fears. . . .

Now I can say with a great sense of relief that *Impact* has taken my worries off my little mind and I can look after my home and children a little bit better.

Liverpool 17

Mrs. W. B. ABBASI

## India House Killings:

### Pakistanis in Britain express disgust

Impact Reporter

Around 400 Pakistanis answered the call of Pakistan Solidarity Front to gather at London's Conway Hall on Saturday, 22 February for a mass meeting. The gathering heard speeches from Pakistani leaders and then marched (accompanied by almost an equal number of police) to the Indian High Commission to protest against the shooting of the two Pakistani youths.

Addressing the participants, Mr. Shafiqul Islam said that the Pakistanis have not been doing justice to their commitment to Pakistan and the results were there to be seen. The only way for the two wings to come together, and in fact the only way for Pakistan to save itself from self destruction, was to fulfil the objects for which it was created. To transform Pakistan into a truly Islamic society.

Maulana Asad-ul-Qadri, reciting his speech in prose and poetry, said that all nations pass the stage which Pakistan was going through. But only those survived which understood the essence of life and the relationship between themselves and their Creator.

Dr. Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi spoke of the gross misrepresentation of the Pakistani case in the British Press. "Today", he said, "it is very difficult to get the truth to the British public". He concluded by pointing out that there was no justice for the weak, disunited, and decadent. Unless the Pakistanis rid themselves of these evils there was no hope.

The meeting passed resolutions condemning the police over-reaction in killing the Pakistani boys, on the shooting down of the Libyan Airliner by the Israeli jets, and the presence of arms inside the Iraqi embassy in Pakistan. The meeting also heard messages of sympathy from the Chinese and the Libyan ambassadors.

Pakistanis in Manchester, Bradford, Birmingham and other places also held meetings and organised marches to register their protest at these avoidable and sad killings, and called for the release of the PoWs held by India. The Bradford procession organised by the local People's Party was led by a child carrying a toy gun and a placard: Who's next for the Bobby's gun? In Birmingham, Mr. Denis Howell, M.P., told the meeting: "We must ask India what possible excuses there can be for the retention of these people in this way". Mrs. Jill Knight, M.P., advised Pakistanis not to use violence because "you will destroy your case for justice utterly if you are unjust yourself".

On 27 Feb. over five thousand Pakistanis coming from various parts of Britain offered funeral prayers in London's Hyde Park.

### BALDNESS!!!

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## Call for a North American Islamic Research Institute

Impact Report

Dr. Mohammed Abdul Rauf, Director of the Islamic Cultural Centre, Washington, addressing, in Brooklyn, a gathering of Muslims of Russian and Polish origins, called for an independently run Institute of Islamic Research in North America. Dr. Rauf feels that the lack of unity amongst Muslims in North America is due to lack of basic knowledge of Islam.

The Institute should not only enlighten the Muslims but also rectify the designs, misgivings and misunderstandings of others. The Institute should be established by the scholars of highest ability in sciences, law, theology, art and literature of Islam. "We shall have to discard the hit and miss techniques of the past in attacking the problems confronting us", Dr. Rauf said. "To do this", he went on, "we shall have to train our own personnel for the Islamic Research Institute". This, says Dr. Rauf, should be done by establishing a college. And special efforts should be made to create an authentic Islamic 'ambiance' in the north American continent in which Mus-

lim boys and girls will live, learn and grow up, physically, emotionally and intellectually.

"The alumnae and alumni of the college", said Dr. Rauf, "would steer a course clear of the monasticism of medieval Europe, materialism of the modern west and the neopaganism of the Soviet Union".

At the moment both the Research Institute and the College are only an idea. But "from tiny acorns grow mighty oaks; and from this idea, some day, the Islamic Research Institute will be one of the most prestigious academic institutions in the world and will be the pride of the world of Islam".

## Swine Diseases and Little Things

Impact Reporter

● One day last Summer, noted the *British Medical Journal* (4 Nov., 1972) 250 cases of food poisoning were reported from six schools. The food poisoning caused by eating pork pies had produced severe diarrhoea and abdominal pains. In Feb., Dr. Ghulam Mustafa Khan, President Doctors' Islamic Society in U.K. and Eire, was speaking at a meeting of the London Islamic Circle and had used this example to illustrate his talk. "Pig meat is the commonest cause of food poisoning", but food poisoning and tape worms are only a small fraction of the whole story. Dr. Khan listed over 20 diseases one can get by eating pork or handling pig. Many of these diseases caused muscle pains, gastrointestinal symptoms or malabsorption and some produced lung and brain diseases. Dr. Khan thought that modern methods of 'curing' the pig are not good enough either to destroy the parasites or eliminate other harmful microbes. Talking of curing pig meat by radiation, Dr. Khan said: "radiation destroys the cell tissues of the meat before it destroys the parasites, thus making the meat even more dangerous to eat than it originally was!"

"The psychology of pig" said Dr. Khan, "is unique in the animal kingdom. Its eating and sexual habits are dirty to the extreme and are not surpassed by any other animal". The chemicals which cause the pig to behave as it does can have similar effects on those who consume pig meat. Dr. Khan went in great depth into the psychology of pig behaviour and concluded: "It is no wonder that 'pig' is a word of abuse in all languages and among all people!" Dr. Khan's ninety minutes talk dealt with the biology, physiology, origin, habitat, and economics of pig. But at the end of it all there was still a lot of data and information to get across. The hour long discussion which

followed brought out some hitherto unrevealed facts, yet the participants were left asking for more.

● A week before Dr. Khan's talk, Abdullah spoke about 'Little Things that Matter'. He said that half the joy of life is in little things taken on the run. Let us run if we must but let us keep our hearts young and our eyes open so that nothing worth our while should escape us. And everything is worth our while if only we grasp it and its significance. He concluded: "Life is made up, not of great sacrifices or duties, but of little things, in which smiles and kindness and small obligations, given habitually, are what win and preserve the heart and secure comfort".

● The London Islamic Circle, a FOSIS constituent which had up to now held its weekly meeting at the Islamic Cultural Centre has temporarily moved to the nearby Malaysia Hall due to impending construction work on the Central London Mosque. The programme of Circle's weekly meeting is being run in conjunction with Malaysian Islamic Study Group (copy from the Secretary, 29 Windsor House, Wenlock Road, London N1 1LA).

### IN THE NEWS

H. E. Abdul Jabbar, Saudi Ambassador to Italy, just back in Rome from Hajj. Dr. Fatima Bugaigis, former active member of FOSIS, died in the Libyan airliner shot by the Israeli jets. New Steering Committee, Association of Muslim Scientists and Engineers, USA: Mr. Mohammed M. Shamma (Chairman), Mr. Rashad A. Khalifa (Secretary), Mr. Fathi Abdul-Hameed (Treasurer). U. K. Awami League, new office bearers: Mr. Ghaus Khan (President), Mr. M. Matin (V.P.), Mr. Afroz Mian (V.P.), Mr. A. K. M. A. Haque (V.P.), Mr. Tayabur Rahman (G. Sec.).

## Muslim Teachers Group

Impact Report

Many Muslims are concerned about the purpose and the direction of education in primary and secondary schools in contemporary Britain. There are thousands of Muslim children today in these schools and what goes on there is of crucial importance to the children and the future of the Muslim community in Britain.

On the invitation of the FOSIS, a small number of teachers gathered at the Muslim Students Hostel and Centre on Saturday, 17 February to discuss their experiences in teaching and to decide on possible future steps.

Most felt that although some parents do co-operate with the teachers they should also be made to realise their role in the Islamic education of their children. They envisaged triangular relationship, of teachers, parents and childrens — with the children at the apex. Others expressed the apprehension that the children are drifting away from Islam due to parental neglect, the attractions of the pop culture, misrepresentation and misrepresentations of the religion, and the psychological effects of an imbecile and non-entity Muslim world.

The meeting also considered the problems arising within the

profession of teaching. The following were highlighted: overseas trained teachers were not accepted by schools; Muslims with adequate qualifications were unaware of short-term training courses which would enable them to teach; suitably qualified Muslims did not find the profession economically attractive; and many Muslim teachers felt no commitment towards Islam.

It was also brought to the notice of the group that under the Education Act 1944, if at least eight parents with children at one school desire Islamic education for their children, they are entitled to it provided the Muslim community bears the expenses and is able to supply suitable persons to impart Islamic instruction in that school.

The teachers' conference ended with the formation of a Muslim Teachers Group with Mr. Ziauddin Fasihi as the Secretary. The group has the following two immediate aims: (1) to prepare lessons and teach at the existing week-end schools and if found successful, these lessons will be published for wider circulation; (2) to prepare a list of week-end schools and determine their common requirements.

## Education Trust holds Annual Prize Giving

The Muslim Education Trust held its annual prize giving ceremony on 3rd March, 1973 at the Islamic Cultural Centre. Prizes were awarded by Shaikh Abdul Aziz Mansour Al-Turkey, Cultural Counsellor of the Saudi Arabian Embassy to boys and girls who topped the recent examinations of the Trust. (Impact News)

### Dearborn End

Impact Report

In Dearborn, Michigan, USA, half the population consists of Italians, Romanians, Poles, Yugoslavs, Greeks, Mexican-Americans, Serbs and American-Americans. The other half is Muslim. The next main scene-setter in this small town is the gigantic River Rouge Plant of the Ford Company; the plant's giant smokestacks give the neighbourhood an air of industrial picturesqueness.

Today, the South End of Dearborn, where most of the Muslims are resident, is in danger of extinction: the Muslim Community of Dearborn say that the City is deliberately trying to force them out to make way for the expanding industry. This, the community claims, is being done by depressing property values so that they are forced to sell them. Many South End properties have already been cleared. If this is continued, it is alleged, the Muslim community will be destroyed. The community

have filed a class action suit against the City in US District Court in Detroit.

### Loophole in Immigration Law Blocked

Up to now immigrants who entered Britain illegally and managed to avoid interviews by immigration officers within 28 days or persecution within six months could not be deported. This 'lie-low loophole' in the Immigration laws has now been blocked. Three high court judges confirmed that the Immigration Act of 1971 allows for the deportation of illegal immigrants even if they manage to 'lie low' for six months. The judges ruled that a Pakistani who entered Britain by illegal means in 1970 but who was not interviewed by the police until September 1972, could be sent home. The law came into force in January this year. The Pakistani concerned has appealed against the judges' ruling. Ten other similar cases wait outcome of this appeal. (Impact News)

### Forest Gate Muslim Parents Meet

On the 25th February, 1973 parents of Muslim children studying in Forest Gate Sunday School held a meeting to discuss the formation of an Association to deal with week-end school, formation of youth groups, and other community matters. (Impact News)

# news brief • news brief • news brief • news brief • news brief

**AFRICAN AFFAIRS.** Eleven African Commonwealth countries have attended a ministerial meeting in Lagos to discuss issues arising from enlargement of the European Economic Community. They are Zambia, Malawi, Swaziland, Lesotho, Botswana, Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone, Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. The meeting was to develop a common policy towards the expanded market rather than a piecemeal approach. A Lagos Radio talk said that the alleged EEC concessions to the developing nations were at best discriminatory and at worst ruthless. ● The first all-Africa Medical Student's Conference was held at Ibadan University on 10-15 February. The theme of the Conference attended by representatives from the 28 medical schools in Africa, was "Population Pressure and Community Health Care".

**ARAB AFFAIRS.** Arab States Broadcasting Union conference held in Abu Dhabi to discuss the setting up of an Arab News Agency. ● Ten countries — Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Morocco, Syria, Sudan, North Yemen, United Arab Emirates, Qatar and Bahrain—participated in the first-ever conference of Awqaf ministers on 26 February—2 March. Unification of the Muslims calendar and the setting up of an Islamic Cooperative Fund for helping Islamic centres and organisations were among the matters discussed.

**BANGLADESH.** Awami League Manifesto announced on 20 Feb. stressed the need for attaining self-sufficiency in food grains and national self-reliance and pledged jobs and free medical treatment for all during the next 5 years. ● Sh. Mujib rejected the demand to withdraw the Rakkhi Bahini and said nobody would be able to use religion for political gains. ● NAP Chief, Muzaffar warned against the use of terror tactics and false voting. ● Sh. Mujib said quarter million non-Bengalis who had opted for Pakistan would be allowed to go. ● JSD leader Maj. Jalil shot at and grievously wounded while addressing Party meeting. ● Afghanistan recognised Bangladesh.

**BELGIUM.** The Belgian Government, on an Israeli suggestion, may set up a new company, Belgian Airspace Industries, to manufacture Israeli-designed short take-off and landing light transport aircraft and sea-to-sea missiles. American Beechcraft Corporation would still finance part of the company. Lebanon and Syria have protested to Belgian government.

**DAHOMEY.** President Kerekou, at a meeting with 350 Indian, Lebanese and Syrian traders accused them of large-scale smuggling and threatened them with deportation. The Lebanese government is to make representations to Dahomey.

**ERITREA.** The Eritrean Liberation Front has stated that its army has captured the road and rail networks between the cities of Asmara and Tessenai.

**GERMANY.** The West German Chancellor, in a Times interview,

has said that in the new Europe's foreign relations, the "Middle East seems to be most difficult... because it is 'just outside our house' (with) all the oil interests and so on... I doubt that we can influence it as much as we should... The United States and Russia will play a more important role during the next phase". "It takes time", he said.

**GHANA.** A government decree prohibits the employment of Ghanaians under 19 outside the country as maid servants, clerical workers, apprentices and artisans. This follows allegations that a syndicate involving wealthy Lebanese and Ghanaians is operating a "slave trade industry". The decree reflects a growing campaign against alleged economic malpractices of Lebanese and other aliens in Ghana.

**INDIA.** Two killed and 40 wounded in anti-Muslim riots in Gonda on 14 Feb. As against 521 cases in 1970 and 311 in 1971, the Home Ministry recorded only 40 cases of communal i.e. anti-Muslim riots in 1972. Of these 12 were of serious nature and affected towns in Andhra, Assam, Bengal, Gujrat, Mahareshtira, Mysore, and U.P. ● *Blitz* reported plot by Tikka, Qayyum and Ayub to topple Bhutto. ● Law Commission Chief Dr. Gajendragadkar called for a uniform Civil Code and amendment to the Constitution to rescind the right to propagate religion as this was inconsistent with secularism and democracy.

**INDONESIA.** Indonesia has rejected Australia's proposal for a new ASEAN-type super-organisation that would include China, Japan and Australia possibly because of fears of Great Power domination. Indonesian leaders however discussed with Australia's P.M. during his visit to Indonesia the expanding of economic and military co-operation.

**ISLAMIC SECRETARIAT.** Economic Section of the Secretariat has announced a competition to choose the best four research papers on Islamic economics and development of an Islamic Common Market. Essays should not exceed 45,000 words and should be in Arabic, English or French. The winners would receive prizes of 8,000 riyals. (Address P.O. Box 178, Jeddah). ● Oman ratified the IC charter.

**JERUSALEM.** The committee for the deliverance of Jerusalem (Amman) has said that the main south-eastern wall of Masjid Al-Aqsa has been destroyed as a result of Zionist excavations. The Secretary-General of the Islamic Conference, Tunku Abdul Rahman, has proposed that a delegation from member countries should inspect the Aqsa Mosque and report to the Foreign Ministers Conference in Benghazi. ● Work started on a super highway to link Jerusalem with the Upper Jordanian Valley and Galilee through the West Bank.

**KASHMIR.** Sh. Abdullah said "it is futile to think of an independent Kashmir" and "I do not want to thrust any agreement arrived at in Delhi on the people of Jammu and Kashmir".

**KUWAIT.** India and Kuwait have

agreed to set up an inter-governmental joint committee for economic and technical co-operation. ● Kuwait to loan \$80m. at 7% interest to International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

**LIBYA.** A 5-day conference of Libyan writers and men of letters held last month in Benghazi called for freedom of opinion and the banning of political interference. It also called for opening the doors for all human thinking experiences, the revival of the national inheritance including the Islamic inheritance, the encouraging of new theatres, actors and artists. The conference also decided to form a union of Libyan writers and men of letters.

**MALAYSIA.** The Ministry of Home Affairs is to re-organise the People's Volunteer Corps to combat subversive activities, smuggling and crime especially along border areas.

**NIGERIA.** In the wake of the Kano Airport 707 disaster, the government is to set up a centralised Federal Pilgrims Welfare Board to co-ordinate the work of the individual State Pilgrims Welfare Boards and to act in an advisory capacity. The government is also concerned about some pilgrims' smuggling, organised rackets and drug trafficking. About 48,000 Nigerians performed the Hajj this year. The Supreme Council of Jama'atu Nasril Islam has proposed strict penalties for offending pilgrim organisers. It is also proposing to establish Islamic radio stations in Ibadan and Kaduna. If the plans are successful, these will be the first Islamic broadcasting stations in Africa south of the Sahara.

**PAKISTAN.** President Bhutto told *Time* magazine that Pakistan was determined to recognise Bangladesh, but needed assurance on PoWs. ● Baluchistan and NWFP's Governors refuted allegations of troops being used in these provinces. ● Maulana Maudoodi said those who wanted to finish Jamaat-e-Islami were bound to fail. ● Rawalpindi Conspiracy case Gen. Akbar Minister of State for National Security rumoured relieved of duty ● *NCNA* reported Soviet trawlers "sweeping Pakistan's fishing waters clean of fish" a third of Pakistan's trawlers having gone idle.

**SAUDI ARABIA.** Addressing undergraduates of the Shari'a and Education faculties in Mecca, the Vice Chancellor of King Abdul Aziz University, Dr. Muhammad Yamani spoke of "beatnik-like tendencies affecting some of the students" and hoped students would set a good example since some of them would be sent to advocate Islam in many parts of the world particularly Africa. ● The World Bank is to assist in a massive project for a new public transportation system for the Kingdom covering all air, sea, land, cable and wireless transportation. This follows the visit of Robert MacNamara, President of the World Bank to Jeddah. ● Faisal donated SR16.7m for a mosque and two girls and boys schools in Chad; another 50,000 Dinars for a hospital in Amman. ● The Muslim World League ended its yearly Cultural

Season with a lecture on 'The Position of Women in the Muslim World' delivered by the well-known Egyptian scholar, Muhammad Qutb. Other lectures delivered in the series were "The Persecution of Islam in the Arab Homeland" by former Syrian Minister of Awqaf, Ahmad Mahdi al-Khidr, and "Protecting Islamic Culture from Ideological Onslaughts" by Muhammad Yamani Vice-Chancellor of King Abdul Aziz university.

**SOMALIA.** From "an awareness of the need for Somalia to play a greater role in world affairs, especially African affairs", Somalia is to open embassies in Nigeria and Senegal. ● The Government denied that Catholic missions were closed and priests deported since "all religions were accepted in Somalia". According to a law promulgated last October all private schools, including Catholic, Azhari, Sudanese, non-United Nations and Somali ones, were nationalised. But the Government welcomed Catholics as teachers and doctors "who teach and cure the Somali people".

**SUDAN.** Foreign Minister Mansur Khalid, said it was the first time in refugee history that half of the total number of refugees had returned voluntarily to their country. He commended the efforts of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Egypt, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates and others who had contributed substantially to rehabilitation and reconstruction in South Sudan.

**TAIWAN.** Premier Chiang Ching-kuo has reiterated Taiwan's uncompromising stand against communism and said the major tasks in foreign policy included strengthening relations with friendly countries including the United States.

**TURKEY.** Police arrested a young Jew for desecrating Malem synagogue. ● Martial Law authorities denied reports that censorship has been imposed on news agencies and the press. ● Three parties—the Republican, Independent Republicans and the National Reliance—have decided to amalgamate.

**UNITED KINGDOM.** A pamphlet on taste and standards in BBC programmes has noted that in its role as the national instrument of broadcasting "the BBC has maintained the dominant place of Christian mainstream beliefs within its religious programmes, very largely to the exclusion of all other forms of religion... It has taken account of the extent to which Christianity has shaped British institutions and how far Christian beliefs still influence the British way of life. It has done so despite the objections from humanists and from those who see the development in Britain of a society in which non-Christian religions have a growing part to play".

**YUGOSLAVIA.** A graduate of the Academy of Stage, Film, Radio and TV, Lazar Stojarvic, is being prosecuted for his film *Plastic Jesus*. The criminal court judge stated that in certain scenes "the socio-political conditions (in Yugoslavia) are portrayed maliciously and falsely".