

MUSLIM VIEWPOINT(S) ON CURRENT AFFAIRS

impact

international fortnightly

USAID IN LAOS
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Vol. 3: 2

Military affairs in Pakistan have always been a hush hush thing. In the earlier post-independence phase when the system enjoyed goodwill and credibility, people put up with the curtain gladly and in good faith. There was some shock when in 1951 came the disclosure that a number of senior army and airforce officers in league with some known and some alleged communists like Sajjad Zaheer (former Secretary of the Indian Communist Party) and Faiz Ahmad Faiz (editor of *Pakistan Times*, later awarded Lenin Peace Prize) were trying to stage a coup. The 15 accused (11 military and four civilian) included the then senior most Air Force officer, Air Commodore M.K. Janjua and the Army Chief of Staff Major-General Akbar Khan. All except one, the wife of Akbar Khan, were later convicted by a Special Tribunal. Very few if any then questioned the justification for secrecy and secret trial. It was hinted that a foreign power was involved and national security was obviously involved too. People felt it was better not to know.

Few months later came the broad daylight assassination of the country's first Prime Minister, Liaquat Ali Khan. The assassin was killed on the spot by a police officer, and subsequently enquiries and commission failed to discover either the motives or the forces behind the murder.

The ensuing political instabilities and infightings resulting from this short-circuiting of an evolving

Commodore Janjua were provided handsome jobs; the latter became the Station Manager of Pakistan International Airlines in London. Was it Ayub's guilt-complex? Had there really been no conspiracy? According to one version the master mind was Major-General Akbar Khan, Chief of Staff of the Pakistan Army . . . The tiny Communist Party of Pakistan also got embroiled . . . Sajjad Zaheer met Akbar at a cocktail party, and the general had broached the subject and requested help to draft manifestos and a possible plan of action. The C.P.P. leadership accepted the offer . . . Akbar's mistake was that he acted before his time. If he had waited another seven years things could have been different! (Tariq Ali: *Pakistan, Military Rule or People's Power*, Cape, 1970, p. 45). Janjua too has said that the conspiracy if any was in Akbar's mind. Akbar Khan later became active in the People's Party and when Mr. Bhutto came to power he was made Minister of State in charge of National Security. After the discovery of arms in the Iraqi embassy in Islamabad last February he was transferred as Pakistan's ambassador in Czechoslovakia.

The second and third round of military unrest came during Ayub Khan's regime. Soon after Ayub Khan's take-over, a number of junior officers in the Air Force went on strike. Although non-political, this did indicate the Air Force's lack of enthusiasm for Martial Law politics. In

Group Captains. While announcing these 'structural changes' President Bhutto drew attention 'to the influence of Bonapartism in the armed forces under which professional soldiers had been turning into professional politicians'. This he said has gone on since 1954 and more openly since 1958. He assured that with reorganisation and structural changes now made the armed forces would achieve 'the highest contemporary standards and would be turned into a truly invincible force'. That was in March, 1972. What progress has since been made in making the armed forces the 'finest fighting machine in Asia' is not known. What is known is contained in two cryptic press notes: one on 30 March and other recently on 12 May. The Defence Ministry on 30 March had announced the arrest of a "small group of military officers engaged in activities directed towards seducing certain military personnel from their duty or allegiance to Government." The group included 20 army Majors and Colonels, one Wing Commander, one Squadron Leader, two retired military officers, one retired police officer and one civilian. The press note did not mention any *prima facie* charge of conspiracy to overthrow the government although ominously the Pakistan President in his 29 March broadcast spoke about his determination to die fighting with his boots on rather than surrender to intrigues and conspiracies. The official *Pakistan Times* later gave details

PAKISTANI BONAPARTISM & THE MIRAGE AFFAIR

By a Special Correspondent

democratic structure led first to the dissolution of the country's sovereign Constituent Assembly at the hands of a titular Governor-General. Governor-General Ghulam Muhammad was able to enforce the dissolution because he had the support of the Army C-in-C, Ayub Khan. The resulting constitutional imbroglio rendered a number of enactments null and void. Among them was the enactment relative to the Rawalpindi Conspiracy case, and thus hardly two years after their conviction the "conspirators" were set free because of this legal lacuna. Too engrossed in watching the political musical chairs, the people did not bother to take notice of what had happened. If those now set free were really guilty of conspiring against the State then the excuse of a legal lacuna was a false excuse. An enabling ordinance should have put them back into prison. Alternatively, if the new regime was not really sure of the crime then they should have been allowed to be exonerated through an appropriate judicial process and also compensated for malicious detention.

In October, 1958, Ayub Khan, the Army's ambitious chief decided that it was better to rule directly than be a mere bully for the incompetent bureau-politicians. Ayub abrogated the constitution and installed himself first as Chief Martial Law Administrator and later President. Ayub Khan had earlier been promoted by Liaquat Ali Khan as the first Pakistani C-in-C by superseding a number of army officers who were senior to him. This too was at the back of the Rawalpindi Conspiracy discontent. Strangely Ayub Khan during his Martial law regime rehabilitated a number of "conspirators". Faiz Ahmad Faiz and Air

Pakistan both the Air Force and Navy have regarded themselves in an "intellectual image" and were not keen to get involved in politics. The Air Force strike was not reported in the Press, and so was a small naval trouble towards the last years of Ayub Khan but before Agartala Conspiracy. These were significant only in being indicative of a certain seepage of political dissatisfaction from the country to the barracks and ships. However, the ball remained in the top brass' court.

Ayub's devaluation of the political process coupled with his later failure to keep matters within his grips, made it easier for the ambitious and the unscrupulous among the Generals to scheme and to aspire to a permanent political role. It is now known how Yahya manipulated a situation which led not to the restoration of democracy but his own succession as the last President of united Pakistan. Some account of how Yahya and his court of Generals misruled and planned to continue to do so is given by General Fazal Muqem Khan in his recent book, *Pakistan's Crisis in Leadership* (National Book Foundation, Karachi, 1973). After the fall of Dacca, Yahya was not prepared to quit and if he would his deputy, General Abdul Hamid, was ready to step in. Mr. Bhutto's succession was made possible through the interference of Lt.-Gen. Gul Hasan and the Air Force Chief, Air Vice-Marshal Abdul Rahim. Those who opposed this were subsequently retired. Later both Gul Hasan and Abdul Rahim were sent out as ambassadors. At the same time were retired six senior Air Force officers—two Air Vice-Marshals, two Air Commodores and two

of a plot to overthrow the government. The Teheran report on a subsequent postponement of the President's April visit to Iran too mentioned the plot as the reason, but Islamabad said the postponement was because of the internal constitutional crisis. 'In order to obviate unwarranted speculations', the plot story was however disclosed on 12 May. The Defence Ministry said it was a 'wild conspiracy of a power-hungry group' who 'wanted to capture power'. It also announced that since 30 March 'some additional arrests of certain Army and Air Force officers have been made', but named only three Army Majors.

Be that as it may speculation has not since ceased. The number of officers implicated or involved has been variously quoted from 40 to few hundred. Motivations too are said to be assorted: from Right and Left-wing discontent to simple but overt unhappiness over the state of the nation. Some are said to be victimised because of refusal to oblige an important politician by allotting him military lands, or because of being related to certain opposition politicians, or over departmental jealousies, or sectionalism.

The involvement/implication of the Air Force officers seemed a newer element. Although tarnished somewhat due to bad leadership during the 1971 war PAF had the reputation of being a very disciplined and really fine striking force. The present discontent was not political. It is alleged the officer's felt frustrated over favouritism, sectionalism and rawness of leadership. Resentment had been building up against what the officers call, the "CAS trio"—PAF Chief Zafar Choud-

continued p5, col. 1

Survey

● AFRICAN UNITY

O.A.U. and the African realities

West Africa is experiencing its worst drought in living memory. Parts of East Africa, including Ethiopia and Somalia are also affected as are other areas in southern Africa. Livestock are perishing, crops fail for yet another year and people are in advanced stages of malnutrition. The crisis has assumed disaster proportions. For many it is the most immediate, literally life and death issue.

If ever there was a cause worthy of the concern of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU,) then this massive problem of drought and resultant famine is. But in its ten years of existence, the OAU has not evolved any type of machinery to handle such crises—crises indeed which have been far from, though not absent, from the organisation's preoccupations. Invariably in these cases, it is customary to look for help to, or for help to be offered by the former European colonial powers and by the new imperialists. This is often looked upon by some Africans as a right because of Europe's role in underdeveloping Africa. Little is heard of inter-African cooperation to relieve distress though some exceptions stand out, for example Nigeria's help to Senegal.

It is against the background of such uncomfortable and harrowing facts that the OAU has been celebrating its tenth anniversary in Addis Ababa, the capital of one of the poorest and most underdeveloped countries in the world. A few million dollars have been spent on the celebrations but in many minds the paramount question is not whether the money was spent on tinsel but on whether in fact there was anything to celebrate.

If one is to judge by some of the opening speeches and messages and the valedictory addresses at the meeting of heads of state, there certainly was cause for celebrations. In a message, the veteran Jomo Kenyatta said that the "events of the past 10 years have conclusively proved that the OAU is the only hope and the only instrument to safeguard Africa's political independence and territorial integrity, to promote unity, peace and harmony among the African states and to advance liberation of the remaining parts of Africa". In his address, President Sadat of Egypt said that the summit meeting was "proof of success over all obstacles" but he qualified this by saying that it was "true that the young organisation has not fulfilled all African aspirations for freedom, equality and progress" and that the "problems of colonialism continued to exist". President Nyerere of Tanzania, one of the most hard-working and practical of African leaders argued that the very survival of the organisation has been an achievement in itself.

"Survival" of course is not sufficient criterion for justifying the continued existence of a body which uses up almost five million dollars a year. This is not to imply that the money spent is too much. Indeed

much more money is needed if some of the specialist committees of the OAU are to successfully carry out some of their aid and development programmes. The fact is that the balance sheet has been painfully negative, that the OAU has had far more failures than successes and that, more fundamentally, its terms of references and its points of emphasis have been misplaced.

According to its charter, the OAU cannot interfere in the internal affairs of its member states and similarly member states cannot make a stand on the internal affairs of each other. This principle works to preserve the boundaries drawn up arbitrarily by the colonial powers in their scramble for Africa. In a sense this "fundamental" principle has to be accepted for some time yet because the alternative would certainly be widespread upheaval throughout Africa. Unfortunately, however, this principle of non-interference has caused African countries to turn a blind eye to some of the worst atrocities committed by member states of the OAU. In some of these crucial moments, the OAU has been reduced to a non-entity and to the outside world it presents a very jaundiced appearance.

Take, for example, the question of the white racist minority governments in Southern Africa and the continuing vestiges of colonialism on the continent. The OAU, as it behoves the Organisation, has committed itself to the elimination of these injustices of racialism and colonialism and indeed from its inception has devoted more time to this than to any other issue. The results are not very impressive mainly because resolutions at conferences have not been backed by up resolve. One can even argue that the results could have been obtained even without the presence of the OAU. The fact that the OAU condemns racialism and injustices in Southern Africa and fails to utter a reproving word against racist practices in other parts of Africa makes it easy for the organisation to be accused of double standards. Unfortunately there is truth in the assertions of the South African government that Africans in other parts of the continent are oppressed by their own governments and often live in more impoverished conditions than those obtaining in South Africa. But of course two wrongs do not make a right.

The attention paid to the liberation issue has become except in the case of a few countries like Tanzania, Guinea, Zambia and Senegal a matter mainly for declaratory statements. In the recent summit meeting other issues emerged or re-emerged to capture the limelight and to generate acrimony. Among these was Libya's attempt to boycott the meeting if the member states of the OAU did not break off relations with Israel and suggesting that the headquarters of the OAU should be removed from Addis Ababa because of Haile Selassie's collusion with the Zionists and the imperialists. The validity in

Libya's initiative was obscured by the crudeness of its presentation. Algeria, Tunisia, Uganda were among those who gave support to the Libyan move though President Sadat was reported to be embarrassed by it. On this issue, President Bumadyan said: "We feel somewhat embarrassed when we see a country (Ethiopia) which has resisted imperialism and experienced the worst kind of sufferings accepting the presence of Israel, the ally of the racist regimes." Ethiopia replied that Libya has the bulk of its trading relations with the "imperialist" America and therefore there was no substance to her outburst. In the end, the heads of state approved a special motion on the Middle East, demanding unconditional withdrawal by Israel from occupied Arab lands and hinting that OAU member states might take political and economic measures against Israel, "individually or collectively". This resolution is the most strongly worded yet, but like other OAU resolutions (for example on Rhodesia) it is unlikely to have much bite. For one thing, African States are said to be evolving a sophisticated view that contact with Israel cannot be construed to mean acquiescence in Israel's failure to follow the basic UN resolution.

The Libyan-Ethiopian dispute proved to be less serious than the Ethiopian-Somalian dispute over the province of Ogaden which raised its head after a few years in cold storage. Somalia is still insisting that the dispute is a territorial one. Ethiopia in agreeing to the formation of a OAU "good offices committee" to establish normal relations insists that not an inch of territory will be ceded. A reason for the dispute being raised at this time is because of the possible existence of oil in commercial quantities in Ogaden.

The OAU summit did have one important result in bringing together General Amin of Uganda and President Nyerere of Tanzania and laying down the basis for reconciliation. In the generally tense atmosphere of the conference, General Amin provided some levity speaking of African leaders and their personal imports from Europe. His down to earth speech contrasted with the highly cultured contribution of President Senghor whose ruminations on Homer etc seemed curiously out of tune with the problems Africa face.

What of the OAU's next decade? Would Bumadyan's complaint that "African co-operation (in the last ten years) did not achieve all the desired results" be rectified? The answer of course would depend on the level of education and development that individual African States achieve. It must be remembered that most African states achieved political independence only a decade ago and still, because of a variety of factors, merely possess "flag independence". The coming decade can only expect to see a few of these states—for example Nigeria, Algeria and Tanzania—

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● ISRAEL ● YEMENS ● INDONESIA-SINGAPORE-MALAYSIA

emerging as politically and economically stable countries. But the spectre of European and big power dominance and continuing presence in one form and another still casts very long shadows and it would be some time before some independence of outlook and policy is achieved.

From the individual states come regional groupings—The East African economic union, Maghreb unity, association of central African states and various schemes involving West African countries. It is in such regional groupings that co-operation could be more easily and effectively achieved. So far there has been little progress and even the comparatively long established East African scheme has lately been running into difficulty. One may ask if it is difficult to achieve meaningful regional co-operation, how much more difficult it is to achieve results on a continental basis?

Economic questions, as against the political, are likely to figure more than they did in the last decade, but Europe would continue to loom large. This is borne out by an economic declaration approved by the heads of state committing their countries to act collectively in multilateral trade negotiations, to co-ordinate policy in advance of all negotiations with the developed countries, and to maintain a united front in negotiations with developed economic groupings such as the European Community.

Numeiry's call for renewed support for the organisation's specialist committees could also taken as a hint that politicking might recede into the background and overtaken by a deeper concern for the human condition. An official on one of these committees recently spoke of several projects prepared which could not be implemented because of lack of funds. If the projects were implemented, he said, "we might have been able to rush emergency food to those who are dying of starvation today in the Sahara."

An Israeli indirect taxation

A recent Jewish National Fund appeal said "this blue money box is a symbol of attachment to Israel" and the money box seems indeed to have become the yardstick of measuring a non-Israeli Jew's attachment to Israel. Although artful propaganda would serve to divert from the fact that Israel has economically been an unviable state, yet the truth is that its survival and prosperity have remained dependent on contributions received from non-Israeli Jewish sources. In 1970 alone outside funds contributed \$670m. to Israeli exchequer—this covered more than fifty percent of the Israeli military expenditure.

Last week was held in Israel the "Millionaires' Congress", an annual event initiated after June 1967. This year's was the biggest ever gathering and brought in about 1200 businessmen from 27 countries. The largest

delegation of 450 came from the U.S.A. and included Mr. Henry Ford II; Britain sent 178; and there were delegations from Western Europe, Latin America, Canada, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand. The aim was to persuade these businessmen to invest \$1,275 million within the next five years in the Israeli industrial sector. Mrs. Golda Meir who inaugurated the Conference told the delegates that they aimed "at doubling Israel's GNP in the next decade" and needed an investments of more than \$2,550m. within the next five years. Apart from Zionist solidarity, as an added incentive Mrs. Meir told the Western capitalist that Israel also offered partnership to the investors. Israel is presented also as a model of humane socialism!

By a pure coincidence the Argentine Central Bank announced last week that it had discovered the local branch of the Israel Discount to be illegally holding tens of thousands of dollars. Argentine Bank alleged that many thousands of dollars had been smuggled out to Israel or New York and the police named 50 such persons who had a dollar account and had transferred money illegally. The two may not be necessarily related but the unofficial siphoning of non-Israeli funds to Israel was indeed a kind of international indirect taxation the true dimensions of which are not known.

Yemen self-alienation

The unity agreement between the North and South Yemen signed last year in Cairo had not otherwise proceeded well, but the assassination of the second important member of Yemen Arab Republic's Republican Council Shaykh Muhammad Ali Uthman in Taiz on 30 May must be seen as a grievous setback to any early reconciliation between the two Yemens. Although the Government statement on the assassination blamed it vaguely on "ignorant criminals and agents" San'a radio alleged that "the National Front Government in Aden has been continuously training saboteurs to operate against North Yemen". Aden, however, claimed that political unrest in North Yemen had begun several days ago.

Ethnically and culturally the two Yemens were one country, but their alienation started with two different types of experiences and response to British colonialism in South Arabia. While a withdrawn and indirect relationship helped North Yemen retain a certain degree of its Islamic social and cultural attitudes, this negativism also contributed its economic backwardness. More seriously was affected the evolution of a human infra structure capable in due course of meeting the challenges of change and modernity. The South Yemeni evolution on the other hand produced a class of half-baked intellectuals and rather illiterate ideologues who have graduated to Marxist radicalism through collaboration and nationalism. This alienation and polarisation, more than anything else, have made the area a hotbed of

foreign intrigue and internecine conflict, and there seems to be no ending to it in the near future.

Indonesia-Singapore development detente

The agreement between Indonesia and Singapore on the territorial waters boundary in the Straits of Singapore signed during last month's week-long state Jakarta visit of the Singapore Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew was a positive contribution towards minimising the points of conflict in the area.

As for the two countries whose relations have a history of distrust, fear and apathy, this was only a start. "A good start", as the Singapore Foreign Minister Rajaratnam put it. Indonesians have been distrustful of Singaporeans as people given "to making a fast buck and the unscrupulous pursuit of wealth associated with merchant bankers". Singapore suffered from or had developed a fear of Indonesian domination. So any togetherness now has to be slow and cautious. President Suharto underlined this when he said "that the birth of a new South-East Asia would take time and would require a sustained will and effort. Will was also necessary to adjust short-term national interests and long-term common interests, which would strengthen relations by removing historical and psychological obstacles". "The so-called psychological obstacles" said Lee Kuan Yew, "were caused by the difference in the State systems of countries which had governed the two nations for hundreds of years of colonial rule". He also hoped that "the last seven years might have given the Indonesians a better understanding of what the Singaporeans were like".

Thaw in Singapore-Indonesia relations dates since Lee Kuan Yew's meeting with Suharto in Lusaka about three years ago. But the real break-through is essentially a post Sino-American detente phenomenon. Indonesia as well feels more confident of taking on the Singaporean capitalists. Trade and economic relations between the two are to be strengthened and Lee Kuan Yew has expressed readiness to continue "participation in Indonesia's economic development particularly in the sectors of tourism and industry."

But currency split with Malaysia

Two weeks before Lee Kuan Yew's Indonesian visit came a break in the currency link between Malaysia and Singapore. The currencies of Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei had so far been separate but interchangeable, but with the international monetary system in a state of protracted flux, the currency relationships particularly, between Malaysia and Singapore had become difficult. Although during all the international revaluations the three currencies stuck together, the Malaysians felt that the Singapore merchant bankers

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gained more from all such adjustments. Even otherwise the Malaysians had the feeling that that with a solid backing of the exports of tin, timber, palm-oil and petroleum, theirs was a harder currency and should in fact be also free from outside controls. So on 8 May Malaysia's Finance Minister Run Tan Siew Sin informed his Singapore counterpart Hon. Sui Sen that the currency link was to be snapped half an hour later.

Also announced at the same time were new foreign exchange regulations and preparations for the separation of the joint Stock Exchanges of Malaysia and Singapore. In practical terms this meant independence not just to the Malaysian but to the Singapore dollar as well. Malaysian export proceeds which were so far diverted to Singapore or left in the U.K. banks are now expected/required to be remitted to Malaysia and Malaysian success would lie on the efficiency and capability of her economy and banking bureaucracy.

Podgorny in Kabul

President Nicolay Podgorny of the USSR Supreme Soviet can congratulate himself on the success of his last month's visit to Afghanistan.

According to the communique issued at the end of the talk on 25 May: "The Afghan side expressed once again its gratitude and appreciation for the *disinterested* economic and technical help of the Soviet Union in carrying out Afghanistan's development plans". (Both) side noted that the Soviet-Afghan agreement on economic and technical co-operation signed in Moscow on 11 July 1972 "is an important factor in boosting the economy of Afghanistan".

The Afghan obligingness in the economic and technical sector reflected on the "identity or similarity of the positions of the Soviet Union and Afghanistan on most important international problems". In a nice and subtle way identity and similarity appeared to contradict itself when the very following sentence of the communique reported the Soviet side declaring again "that it attaches great importance to Afghanistan's consistent policy of positive neutrality and non-alignment with military-political blocks". This seemed to imply that despite the Russian keenness and even a degree of goading and propagandising, the Afghan's were not willing, as yet, to go the whole hog with the Russian plan of establishing a security system in Asia.

The treaty of friendship and co-operation such as Russia has been able to sign with India and Iraq has not been signed during the visit. However, Afghanistan, like many other Afro-Asian states has not many options in dealing with a big and powerful neighbour to whom all sovereignty was subject to socialist necessity. Non-alignment, and saying hello to every body from Prince Philipps to Comrade Podgorny seemed the easiest way of living through and living on the problem. The successive leadership has failed to give the

country any economic or ideological viability and that has meant an increasing dependence on foreign aid. In a situation like this it is to Russia's advantage to the "disinterested" monopoly aid given. The total volume of Russian aid equals what is provided by all the Western nations put together. With the phased disengagement of the Americans lately, and the British earlier, Russia's involvement in Afghanistan has become deeper and significant. She is involved in a number of agricultural, industrial and constructive projects. Besides, most of the Afghan army officer corps are trained in Russia which also is the principal equipper of the country's army.

In face of these, the Afghan desire to maintain a semblance of non-alignment is commendable indeed. How long will she be able to sustain this is a different matter.

As for the Soviets the post-Khrushchev leadership seems to place a great value on bourgeois patience in international relations. Podgorny on arriving in Kabul on 21 May had referred to the notion that "one sometimes hears that the notion of time in the East is allegedly different than in the West and events in Asia are moving slower." Although he was polite enough to say that "this is not so", it seems the Russians are prepared to put up, for the time being, with an Eastern notion of time.

The Russians now explain peaceful co-existence with the capitalist or otherwise non-socialist reactionary world as but another form of "class struggle on the international plane". "Peaceful coexistence with States of different social systems . . . is a specific form of class struggle in the international arena". The object is to "transfer the centre of hostility of the two systems to peaceful, economic, social and ideological spheres, where socialism can more fully demonstrate its superiority over capitalism . . . Peaceful coexistence also creates more favourable opportunities for the struggle of the peoples for their national and social liberation". And then "the growing might of the Socialist Community and its coordinated policy, enable it to exert increasing influence on international affairs". (Moscow home service, 19 May).

That is to say that no matter how the Afghan leaders may try to assure themselves, there is nothing "disinterested" about the Soviet benevolence. Yet this was all fair and the Afghans too were welcome—if they so wished—to demonstrate and prove the superiority of their social, political and cultural system. If they don't they should expect to be called upon some day to pay back the Soviet compound interest.

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people

Prof. Innas Ali new Chief B'desh Atomic Energy Commission. Syed Qamrul Islam Salahuddin independent Bangladesh MP joined NAP (Bhashani). Zaid Al Rifai new Jordan Premier in place of Ahmad Lawzi resigned for ill-health. Indonesian Military appointments: Lt. Gen. Darjamoto CoS, Routine Operation (I), Vice Adml. Mubono CoS Routine Operation (II), Rear-Adml. Soebroto Yudono Defence Command (III) and Maj. Gen. Soewadji CoS Navy in Jakarta. U Nu Burmese Ex-Premier to go to USA instead of India. Pres. Bourgiba to be received in audience by the Pope on 16 June. Dissident Soviet Writer Andrei Amerlik, 34, reprinted not released at the end of a three-year sentence. Dr. Alice Rosemary Murray, 59, to be first woman V.C. of Cambridge Univ. in Oct. 1975. Mahendra Mohan Chowdhury new Governor of Indian Punjab. Engaged: Princess Anne and Lt. Mark Philipps. Erskine Childers, 68, second Protestant to be elected Fourth President of the Irish Republic. Sohrab Hussain Bangladesh Min. for Works etc. given temporary charge of Relief and Rehabilitation.

DIPLOMATS

Ma'an Abu-Nawar former Culture and Information Minister new Jordan Amb. in London. Dr. Omar Nabulsi transferred. Max Feller new Swiss Amb. to Indonesia. Surjono Derusman new Indonesia Amb. in Moscow. Col. Sanong Thamangraksat new Thai Amb. to Burma. Agha Shahi, Pakistan Amb. in Peking accredited also to the Cambodian government headed by Prince Sihanouk. Hamid Ali Noon appointed Pak. Amb. to Poland. Hsu Hsiang-Chien PRC special envoy to Sri Lanka. South Yemen New Foreign Minister: Muhammad Salih Muti, Cab. Aff. Abdullah. New N. Yemen Ambassador: Muhammad Sa'd al-Qubati to UAA; Muhammad Ali Ibrahim to Iran. Hamad Dalli al Karbuli to Morocco. Boguslaw Paszek, new Polish Amb. to Iran. Konstantin Nikolov Grigorov to replace Lyuben Georgiev Stoyanov as Bulgaria's Amb. in Peking. Mohsen Al-Ayni new N. Yemen Amb. in London. Saïd al-Attar appointed earlier returns to the UN. Arne Björnberg, first Swedish Amb. to N. Korea. William Matowo, Ugandan Amb. in Peking. Joseph Greene, Senior U.S. envoy in Cairo resigned going to Yale University. Abd al-Munim ar Rifai appointed permanent Jordanian delegate to the Arab League.

DELEGATIONS

Turkish Parliamentary to Israel. Czechoslovak Communist Party to Cairo. Chinese Medical to Kuwait. S. Yemen Journalists to China. Makerere University Teachers to Saudi Arabia. U.S. Agricultural to Russia. Iceland Trade Union to Moscow. French Atomic to USSR. Italian Scientists to USSR. Indonesian Parliamentary to USSR and E. Europe. Syrian Cultural to Hungary. To China: W. German Industrialists, World Meteorological experts, U.S. Scientists. Chinese Journalist to USA. Japanese TU to USSR. French SECAM television mission to Saudi Arabia. Indian Aviation to Burma. Albanian Trade to Greece. Swiss Protestant Churches to Poland. Indian Jurists in GDR. Egyptian TU to Romania. Algerian Military to N. Vietnam and China. Japanese Religious to China. Dutch Military to Indonesia. Iraqi Oil Industry and Iraqi Ba'th to Russia and East Europe. Spanish Pers to Nigeria.

VISITS

D. P. Dhar India's Planning Minister to Bangladesh. Romanian Dy. Edu. Min. to Rabat. Pakistan CoS Gen. Tikka Khan to Iran. Turkish FM Bayulken to Kabul. Mauritanian President Ould Daddah to USSR. French FM Joubert to Rabat. Shah and Queen of Iran to Yugoslavia, Bulgaria. Yugoslav Defence Secretary to Egypt, Ethiopia and Sudan. Krishna Menon, former Indian Defence Min. to Bangladesh. UN Refugee Commissioner Prince Sadruddin to Pakistan and Bangladesh. Kuwait Health Min. Dr. Adwani to GDR. Indian C.P. Chairman S. A. Dange to E. Europe. Patriarch Maxim Head of Bulgarian Orthodox Church to Israel. Chinese FM Chi-Pengfei to Iran. IMF Exec. Director Pieter Liefinck to Romania and Yugoslavia. Willy Brandt to Egypt. Muhsin Muhammad deputy Chief editor of Egyptian Al-Akhbar to N. Korea. Emperor Haile Selassie to N. Yemen in Aug. Maltese Premier Dom Mintoff to Libya. Kuwait FM Shaykh Ahmad as-Sabah to Syria.

DIED

Kenneth Allsop, 53 British TV journalist on 24 May from barbiturate overdose. Mohan Kumaramangalam India's Min. for Steel and Mine and Gurnam Singh newly appointed Amb. to Australia in aircrash. Nurul Huque, Bangladesh MP shot dead by "miscreants".

Qur'anic L.P. Records

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from page one . . . The Mirage Affair

hary, Abbasi and Saedullah. A number of senior base commanders are alleged to have been replaced by junior and less efficient officers. At Sargodha the commander, an Air Commodore reputed to be the best in the cadre was replaced by a very junior Group Captain whose flying record is very poor and who it is said had once failed his initial flying test. Similar allegations are made against the Group Captain in charge of the Mauripur base in Karachi. The two are said to belong to the same religious sect as that of the PAF chief. In January 1973, the Sargodha base failed to complete even 50 per cent of its flying schedules. At the Peshawar air base, one officer was court-martialled because he had zoomed again and again over the PAF chief's residence cracking its panes. One of the best pilots now a Wing Commander was transferred from Karachi to Sargodha. Two months later he was ordered back to Karachi. Hardly there, he was asked to go again to Sargodha. When he protested he was asked to resign.

No less serious cause of dissatisfaction was provided by the recent expensive purchases of Mirage V. While the earlier acquired Mirage III range included all-weather interceptor, strike and reconnaissance fighter capabilities, Mirage V was only a ground attack fighter. In fact Mirage V is an export version of Mirage IIIE which was an interceptor and meant for a ground attack role. Featuring 'simplified avionics' and not fitted with the necessary navigational aids, Mirage V was night-blind, and had thus a limited daylight use. The pilots resented this and eventually 'Tactical Aids for Navigation' (TACAN) had to be ordered. They cost a fortune, yet Mirage V remained less effective, it still lacked the Mirage III's Doppler system—a computerised system which can feed 12 stations at a time and the aircraft is guided automatically in order of priority.

This gave weight to the former PAF chief Nur Khan's suggestion that President Bhutto should talk individually to the officers who have been arrested for anti-government plot. Most of them were intensely loyal, patriotic and good officers.

Kayhan International had reported President Bhutto telling them that the officers were 'not politically motivated or aimed at the seizure of power. They reflected the divergence of views concerning the future of the Army.' This was subsequently denied: 'What the President did say was that the recent plot was aimed at toppling the political and military leadership of the country (but) interested parties were, as an afterthought alleging that the attempted coup only reflected a divergence of views concerning the future of the armed forces.' *Kayhan* might well have misunderstood, but in the same interview the President is reported as saying that 'the younger officers will be given more opportunity and a mammoth popular militia will soon be organised.' This was saying the same thing.

The interview also brought up the dilemma of choosing between a weak and a 'too strong' army. The former undermined national security and the latter carried the danger that the army might wish to seize political power. Mr. Bhutto replied that 'if the political and economic situation were in disarray even a weak army might stage a coup'. On the other hand 'if the nation lacked the will and the courage to defend itself (even) a very strong army might fail to safeguard the nation'. There could hardly be a more sensible approach to the question. The problem just now is not the involvement or implication of 40 or so military officers, but as to what really is the state of affairs and the serious repercussions that it might have on the future of the country. The sensible course to depoliticising the military is through getting out of the 'political and economic disarray', and at the same time attending to the genuine problems of the armed forces. This could best be done by an all party Parliamentary Committee headed by a Supreme Court Justice to go into the whole matter. Leaving things in secrecy and in the hands of those 'who know best' has already cost Pakistan dearly. To save Pakistan from going the Latin American way is the responsibility of both politicians and soldiers alike.

The Middle East Bourguiba Initiative

A. W. Hamid

Among Arab leaders, President Bourguiba of Tunisia has for long had the reputation of a political maverick so far as Israel is concerned. He has often criticised Arab war talk as being futile and dangerous and was among the first to propose openly a political settlement with Israel. Perhaps he has been able to do this because of Tunisia's safe distance from the arena of conflict. Other leaders like Hussain of Jordan and the late President Nasser have had to approach the same goal of settlement with Israel under an elaborate cover largely because of overwhelming Arab public opinion and concern for their own political survival. In the case of Nasser, it is known that he had had contact with the Israelis—with no less a person than Prime Minister Moshe Sharett—but this had to be clandestine. In the case of Hussain, there have been repeated rumours of his dealings with the Israelis and these rumours cannot be dismissed. Hussain's latest statement is that he would not be drawn again into a war against the Israelis which would certainly result in defeat. The alternative of course is a political settlement and Hussain has already made the bold initiative of proposing a Palestinian State on the West Bank federated with a Jordan on the East Bank. This was over a year ago in March 1972 but nothing has come of the idea though the West Bank continues to be put forward as the main bargaining counter in any future peace negotiations.

At present Egypt under Sadat has been making the most continuous and concerted attempts to reach some form of accommodation with Israel. Its diplomatic offensive earlier this year battered itself out against an unyielding Israeli-American wall. Undeterred, another attempt is being made with the Security Council of the United Nations in mind. Sadat's special adviser, Hafez Ismail, has been to Moscow, London and Paris to gain support for some pressure to be brought on Israel. Egypt's renewed faith in the Security Council has the backing of UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim who in his latest report on the Middle East has emphasized that the Security Council better than any other body is in a position to bring about a settlement in what remains one of the most important but explosive areas of the world. In this he has the backing of several European powers who have now realised the urgent

necessity of forming some sort of policy towards the Middle East. Following the Italian initiatives (which related in particular to a scheme for a new Suez Canal) the Germans are now showing a keen interest, the latest evidence of which is the visit to Cairo of the West German Foreign Minister Walter Scheel.

Kurt Waldheim in proposing a special role for the Security Council pointed out that it was the only forum on which Arabs and Israelis met and aired their views. This has been without any reference to such phrases as "face-to-face talks" or "proximity talks". Face to face discussions did take place in the UN border armistice commissions prior to 1967. "Proximity talks" did take place in Rhodes in 1948.

With this background, there may seem nothing particularly strange in President Bourguiba's latest suggestion, first outlined in a Milan newspaper interview and later developed in the French newspaper *Le Figaro*, of a meeting with Israeli leaders. The Israeli government, as Abba Eban announced in the Knesset on 31 May, has agreed to meet Bourguiba and was "interested in learning his views on the timing and the date". Part of the reason given for accepting the suggestion was that "by the end of 1973 the world would see that Israel was not prepared to accept definitions and formulae blocking the road to peace and imposing Israel's permanent rule on one million Arabs against their will". How far this would amount to discussing the "legitimate" rights of the Palestinian Arabs remains to be seen. Bourguiba has made this one of his preconditions for the top-level talks. He has said that a meeting would only be useful "if the participants are in agreement on a preliminary platform". As far as he is concerned this preliminary platform should be that Israel considers the Palestinians not as refugees but as a people having rights on Palestine territory, and that both parties accept the 1947 UN resolution that divided Palestine into two parts, one for the Palestinians and the other for the Jews". This latter suggestion might even be considered radical by those Arab states which have accepted UN resolution 242 which merely calls for Israeli withdrawal from Arab territories occupied in 1967.

The obvious questions to ask are why this initiative is being made at this time, what effect would it have on the diplomatic situation and is the meeting itself likely to be pulled off.

On balance it would be the Israelis who would stand to gain by such a meeting, the main benefit being the propagandist value to be derived from a shown willingness to negotiate with the Arabs. Although Abba Eban has in a major speech recently indicated some *crise de la conscience israelienne* over the question of "occupied territories", it is questionable whether actual Israeli policies towards the Palestinians would be affected at all.

There is of course no reason why the meeting would not be held. But its possible effect on Arab opinion and policies could easily be exaggerated. There is no doubting Bourguiba's stature in Tunisia itself. He is seventy years old and in his latest pronouncements on internal Tunisian affairs he seems to be more preoccupied with the question of his successor and a feeling of his own important place in history. Perhaps it is mainly with an eye on his role in history that his latest proposal for talks with the Israeli leaders has been made. That Tunisian policy is not actually proceeding on the lines of some accommodation with Israel was shown recently by the Tunisian stand on the Middle East debate at the recently concluded OAU summit in Addis Ababa Tunisia lined up with countries like Algeria in being quite uncompromising.

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Laos, as a country, has only been "independent" for less than two decades. Prior to that, the French governed the region with a colonial mentality and before them, the Thai exercised jurisdiction in the area. The economy of the country was never positively exploited, and it served both the Thai and the French in Vietnam as a monopoly market for their own produce. At the time of independence the treasury was empty and there were no means to generate income, but even two decades later the same condition exists.

Upon landing at Wattai Airport and driving into Vientiane one becomes aware of static poverty and gets a feeling that he has been moved back in time several centuries back. The only modern buildings in all of Laos are the USAID headquarters and the recently built US embassy. No new construction is visible anywhere in the capital city. Up country towns are equally inert and suffering from effects of the ubiquitous poverty.

The Lao government has proclaimed its desire to be neutral and unaligned with any foreign philosophy or doctrine. That the country is considered neutral, at least among the belligerents of the world, is evidenced by the cosmopolitan list of active embassies, consulates, missions, commissions, and other sundry bodies. The Lao government, itself, is a coalition composed of the Left, the Right, the middle, and perhaps even the upper and lower, in regards to class or family standing. A war is being fought in Laos, but mainly between soldier and soldier out in the countryside. The major urban centres, all seven of them, enjoy an immunity from harassment for reasons that are not readily apparent.

Since the national treasury of Laos has been barren for as long as the country has officially been a country, the government has relied on the generosity of the US government loan to finance its administration and the services it has to maintain. The Lao government, in its present situation, can evoke sympathy from any businessman who has ever experienced the dreaded condition of being asset rich and cash poor, and who knows that it is the banker and not the owner, who is or will become the master of the business.

Being the sole banker in Laos, the US government can and does pull the strings that move the helpless Laos government. Any and every law passed by the Lao government must meet with the indirect approval of USAID.

Any changes of policy and procedures in the Lao government must meet with USAID approval. All financial transactions with the Lao government must be formally endorsed by USAID. Internal financial programs of any size and any sort are invariably initiated by USAID. Imports and exports must be approved by USAID. The Royal Laotian Governments financial statements and budgets must have the signature of an USAID official.

Any changes in provincial governors and other key administrative officials can be initiated, or must be approved by USAID. All American personnel working directly for Lao government agencies must be cleared by a US government security check. All main-

The Art of the Invisible

Case in point:
Laos

From A Special Correspondent

tenance, spare parts, and POL for RLG vehicles must be authorized by USAID. Assigning a jeep from one department to another must meet with USAID approval or else support services are terminated. Ad infinitum.

USAID formulates departmental policies for the Lao government and forwards them to Lao counterparts for signature. Absolutely nothing happens in the RLG, outside routine paper shuffling, that does not come to the attention and require the approval of USAID.

That the banker in Laos runs the entire show is no secret, at least locally. No attempt is made to disguise the fact. USAID even has its standard answers for justifying such blatant activities: The Lao are incompetent, indolent, etc; the Lao are corrupt; the war effort demands or necessitates it; and USAID officials know what is best for Laos.

Those who work in Laos know that the US government, through USAID, has been pumping assistance into Laos over the past decade in rather sizable amounts relative to the land area and numbers of people involved. This assistance is civilian oriented and budgeted, by the way, and not directly connected with the war effort. The reason stated or assumed for this civilian assistance program is ostensibly to make up for the ravages visited upon the Lao countryside by American military actions.

We have all been told that Laos is being used as a supply route by a neighbouring belligerent in its design to dominate another neighbouring country. The US government, in its wisdom, has committed itself, its wealth, and its people, to preventing the culmination of these designs.

The indiscriminate bombing and other destructive activities being undertaken by this U.S. place demands upon the Lao government to condone or ignore this un-neutral behaviour. In return the US offers to support and otherwise assist the Lao people in becoming an independent and prosperous nation.

The formal objectives of USAID in Laos are quite clear in defining the US objectives. In order of priority, they are;

(1) *Stabilization* of currency and control of inflation, represented by the existence of the Foreign Exchange Operating Fund (FEOF)

which, we are told, has been designed to support the value of the Kip.

(2) *Security Assistance* to alleviate the effects of war, represented by a refugee program which has been in operation for over a decade.

(3) *Government Services* in paying the deficit incurred by the Lao government when it pays for salaries and other government services, represented by the US government's role as banker.

(4) *Social Infrastructure*, meaning the development of manpower resources and social institutions and represented by the existence of public health, education, public works, and other miscellaneous departments in the USAID mission.

(5) *Economic Development* assistance contributing to the increase of productivity, represented by a technical advisor to the Lao Development Bank and perhaps the Agriculture Development Organization.

With this impressive five point program, the Lao quite naturally have a great deal of confidence in the American government's intention to help them help themselves develop into a viable nation. This is in addition to total financial and material support the US gives to the Lao military establishment.

By feeding refugees, building schools, houses, digging wells, training young Lao scholars, and, by sending hundreds upon hundreds of US advisors into the ranks of the Lao government and to the sensitive hinterland posts, USAID, can lay claim to be the true friend and benefactor of the Lao people.

How valid is this claim?

"Jay" recently finished a four-year contract with USAID in Laos. Jay of course is not his real name but he was in a responsible position and what he says would appear to belie all such claims.

"Charles A. Mann, a German emigree, is the Chief of U.S. AID mission in Laos. He started his career as a warehouseman and then a corporal in the 1940s. High School Graduate, he rose through ranks even though he had no formal education, and became USAID Mission Director in Congo in early 1960s. Mr. Godley, currently the U.S. Ambassador in Laos met him in Congo and brought him to head USAID in Laos.

"Since assuming this position Mr. Mann, with the help of Harry Carr and Ramsey has built a very powerful organization. The organization chart shows a rising sun like the Japanese one. With Mann in the centre all the little circles emanate from him. They don't even try to hide that he is the central figure.

"During all these years USAID has hired only two very highly educated persons also of German descent. The rest of them are simply to follow orders and spend most of their time in planning vacations and 'Rest and Recreation' trips. They are neither professionals nor have even professional concern. Almost all of them are indebted to the AID chief who had hired them at very high salaries—like \$35-40,000 a year plus all the field benefits. They are rewarded not for helping local people—they are rewarded for following orders and not asking questions.

"Mr. Carr is the Assistant Director for Management. He is in charge of half of the American personnel in Laos or about 1,000 persons. This includes Air Force, Air Americana, C.I.A., etc. He has been there for over a decade.

"How USAID controls the country is not really subtle. A few years back the U.S. created an institution called Foreign Exchange Operating Fund, or commonly known as FEOF. It has \$25 million annual budget. Ninety percent of this amount is given as aid by U.S. government and the balance of 10% contributed by Japan, Great Britain and Australia. FEOF was set up to stabilize Kip (Laos currency), but over the years, it has assumed the role of the Central Bank. All foreign exchange transactions are tightly controlled by FEOF. Thus the U.S. instead of giving about \$22.5 million to Laos in direct aid so as to let the country support its institutions and build its economy, it puts these funds literally in its own portfolio through USAID/FEOF mechanism. This has retarded, for example, development of a Central Bank and banking institutions. There is a Central Bank in name only. It has no reserves to speak of. And even whatever small funds it has, it has no authority over them.

"Except for a couple of banks in Vientiane, there are absolutely no banks in the country. As a result the farmer in the countryside or in a small town has no means to benefit from any such financial institution.

"As a consequence the country has no manufacturing, construction, or transportation industries. Yet the land is full of riches and economy so basic that you don't need a Philadelphia lawyer to make a profit. In spite of all the handicaps and no-cooperation from other personnel in the Mission I was able to set up a few small agricultural based projects which provided 100% return on invested capital. This I was able to do without exerting myself a whole lot with a few thousand dollars of the U.S. money.

"USAID has followed and implemented certain policies during this last decade which systematically have been corrupting the people and local government officials alike.

"Refugees are brought from the war torn area (which is practically 2/3 of the country) and after clearing land in valleys the refugees are settled in new villages. Some are transported to the cities. This means that the farmers now have to grow their crops on the hillside instead of the flat land in the valley which is less efficient and cumbersome. These farmers are given rice, corn and other necessities three times more than they need. Naturally these refugees go to the market and sell the excess supplies at a cheap price for which they did not pay anything in the first place. The two chicken farmers I set up in business were feeding their chickens the best food—ground corn—at about a third of the price it would cost for kernel corn. The refugees don't use corn. It is obvious that in Laos USAID is feeding refugees not because they are hungry and cannot support themselves, for they went without USAID for thousands of years. Rather, a situation has

been created whereby people are forced to leave their natural habitat and instead of providing the right type of assistance to them so that they can become again productive they are given subsidies which have produced indolence and negative attitudes. Why should a farmer sweat on a difficult terrain and plant rice when he knows in advance that he will sell his crop only for half its value at the time of harvest and this money is not going to support him until he harvests his second crop. So, he does not work or goes to a city to qualify for refugee aid. Take away the economic assistance where it is badly needed such as building infrastructure, manufacturing facilities, agricultural development, socio-educational-political institutions, etc., and instead place it where it is not needed or use it in wrong allocations and you have a beautiful way to screw up any economy.

"Why is it that Laos Government does not do anything about it? The answer is really very simple when you come right down to it. In the early sixties when the U.S. committed its might to South Vietnam it wanted to control Laos which has the longest border with North and South Vietnam. The C.I.A. went to work and created a feud between Souvanna Phouma and Prince Sihanouk—the two half-brothers who ruled Laos at that time. In 1962 C.I.A. did succeed in bringing about the change in Laos. This forced Sihanouk into the communist camp and Souvanna Phouma to the U.S. side.

"The Prime Minister, Souvanna Phouma has absolutely no power. He acts according to what USAID tells him to do, because it pays the salaries of all Laos officials from Prime Minister to the lowest level. The country's annual GNP is hardly \$8 million and for all practical purposes USAID is the chief boss in the country.

"Before I left Vientiane I had a discussion with four senior Laos Ministers, namely the Minister of Defense, the Minister of Planning, the Minister of Finance and the Minister of Agriculture. One minister said to me: 'We are in a untenable position. Our country is divided. We have no treasury of our own. Our national civil and defence budgets are prepared by Mr. Mann and his people. Over the last five years USAID has removed all initiative and freedom from us. And because of this we cannot change the investment laws and the commercial and civil business codes which are designed to prevent foreign investment and economic development as well as discourage exports. And because of this, although there are other reasons, International Monetary Fund has to date refused to help us in our foreign exchange problems. How do we fight these people to free our country? If we plan anything it will get back to USAID and we will be thrown out of our jobs and possibly out of the country.'

One could not but sympathize with the Minister. The inside working of the Mission is something like this. The C.I.A. research team finds such persons from minority groups who do not possess any scruples. The minority could be religious, ideological, ethnic or interest groups who have no real affiliation

with the masses or majority population. Such a person(s) is then given power, position and money and he in return does whatever the master wants him to do.

Where does it all begin, in the field, or in Washington? "I really don't know for sure. It seems to me that the pressure groups, the military and bureaucrats in Washington find common grounds to perpetuate and expand their area of power and influence through mutual cooperation. They all know that the U.S. public does not have the true picture of the culture, values, religion, economy, etc. of the developing countries and therefore it is easy to manipulate the situation to suit their own interests. The Washington bureaucrats do not see beyond their nose.

As I have seen in Laos, the whole exercise is designed to foment hostilities, to start limited wars, and then come in with foreign aid: guns and give-aways. They can do this easily because there is no accountability. Expenditures are buried under the heading "secret" or "research". On the other hand, the Navy, the Army, and Air Force intelligence do about the same thing, but on a monitoring basis rather than an active or aggressive basis.

Does the U.S. tax-payer really approve of this? The question would arise only when he comes to know of it."

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Professor Zaghoul Raghieb El-Naggar teaches Geology at the University of Kuwait. When he gets time off from teaching and his research he tours the Muslim world advocating Muslim unity. Here he talks to Zia Sardar.

With undergraduate memories of his work I expected Dr. Zaghoul Raghieb El Naggar to give an in-depth account of his work. Instead he preferred to talk about the undergraduates of today and their work. When I complained, "I am here to interview you", he modestly disclosed that he got his first degree from Cairo University in 1955. Later he received his doctorate from the University College of Wales in 1963 and stayed there for two years on a post-doctorate research fellowship. In 1964 he went to teach at the University of Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, and in 1967 he moved to the University of Kuwait where he now occupies the Chair of Geology.

Despite his long stay in the English academic idyll he has remained very much an Arab. He wears a perpetual distinctive smile on his face and shares the amazement that most Egyptians show at finding themselves hailed as such hospitable and modest people. His modesty extends to his work too. "My work mainly concerns stratigraphy i.e. dating and correlating rocks by analysing its organic content, especially remains of micro-organisms or microfossils." A man with appetite for physical as well as mental activity he often comes to Britain for lecture tours—he gives a very radiant lecture on 'Islam and Science'—and has several other interests: Arabic literature, Islamic studies, Islamic *da'wah*—and these keep him quite busy.

As someone who has taught on both sides of the mediterranean what does he think of the educational standards in the West compared to those in the Middle East? The main difference seems to be the fact that science is taught in the Middle East in English. "This hinders the scientific progress of the student as for most of the time he is struggling with the language." This affects the students' understanding of the subject and their ability to carry out original work. He has always called for teaching at the undergraduate level in the mother tongue. The syllabi are very much identical and the standard of research in some Middle Eastern Universities is "probably higher". He notes that most students who come here from the Muslim countries "have much higher standard than their European counterparts. This may be because only bright students are able to come to educa-

tional establishments in the West, but whatever the reasons it shows that Muslims are quite capable of scientific progress." What then is holding them back? Perhaps they have failed to get their priorities right. "They should concentrate on research which is relevant to their needs", he says forcefully. He is very much against sending students to study in the West. This deprives the Muslim community of their brightest young men. When a student comes here he tries to battle with a problem which, in most cases, has nothing to do with the needs of his community. When he returns he cannot put his specialized knowledge to any use. That is provided he does return! He cannot find proper laboratory facilities or relevant literature. Result? A frustrated intellect which is of little use to the community. "If he is forced to work in his country, as a research student he will choose a problem which is relevant to the needs of the community, will devise his own apparatus according to the available resources, collect his own literature, and finally will see the fruits of his research." This, of course, does not mean that we should not learn from the West. "Ideas", says Dr. Naggar, "must be shared and developed or discarded". It is of vital importance that our people come to international conferences and eminent gatherings of scientists, visit major laboratories of both the West and the East, but there is no need for them to come here to do research for a degree on a subject of which their home environment has no need. Higher research, emphasises Dr. Naggar, should be directed towards the goal which concerns the country, rather than following effective research in 'fashion' subjects—subjects which the developing countries regard as signs of 'advancement' and therefore they are to be followed at all cost, even if it becomes a great burden on country's economy. In doing so a developing country pays a heavy price in terms of the loss of its most original young scientists to the West because they can hardly hope to do significant research in these subjects in their own country. "Muslim countries at the present time lack the right atmosphere in which a scientist can develop", he says forcefully. "And why is this? Because our best brains are manning the institutes and laboratories of the West."

Talking about the progress of the West he quotes Herzen as saying: 'Slavery is the first step towards civilization. In order to develop, it is necessary that things should be much better for some and much worse for others, then those who are better off can develop at the expense of the others'. The West has developed by applying Herzen's law of development. But they had another great ally: Scientific Method—something the Muslims gave them. Are we not using this Scientific Method? "Well, if we are why are we in such a state of scientific and technological backwardness?" Scientific Method involves observing, experimenting, deducing and then drawing conclusions from the observed phenomena. It's the first of these steps where the Muslims have slipped. I place great emphasis on observation. It is a creative

art and we are in danger of skipping the whole observational phase. When you observe, you hypothesise and then things begin to happen...". But Muslims today are mere *tabula ras'a* for learning theories and get dazzled. Their predicament is that they have failed to observe, observe themselves, their needs, their resources, and the environment.

Dr. Naggar nurses a great passion to see the Muslim world united. "I spend most of my time advocating this", he says with enthusiasm. Can science be a basis for unity. Why not? But he emphasises that the prime basis for Muslim unity is Islam. "I think if the Muslim world would cut itself completely from the outside world for a period of 25 years it would really serve itself. It will learn to stand on its own feet, rely on its own resources and will eventually become self-sufficient. "Muslim countries share many common scientific and technological problems. If they pool their resources and put joint effort in solving them they will be much better for it. Irrigation for example: we have vast areas of arid land—Sahara and the Sudan, to mention only two—which can be irrigated with joint efforts. "The gap between the undeveloped Muslim countries and the developed countries is quite fantastic. The Muslim countries are making quasi-static progress while the developed world is progressing at an exponential rate. So, you see, the gap is widening all the time. The Muslim countries must realise that only by pooling their resources they can hope to catch up; science and technology are no magic potion to be sprinkled on a poor country to transform it into a rich one..."

Having discussed the problems of the Muslim countries shall we dwell on the predicaments of the world: 'population, pollution, elimination of human dimorphism...'. While there is no doubt that these problems exist they are problems to be solved by the West for these are West's own creation. "But, I think, Muslims too should pay attention to them because some of the solutions offered by the West are even worse than the problem. It's like taking arsenic for a violent headache. For example, the solution now being advocating to over-population is not just distasteful but positively harmful to harmonious social and scientific progress. Even if birth control is a solution to over-population, you cannot reach a zero-population growth. But you do create another imbalance: between the active and in-active members of the population. What need be done is to apply modern technology to reclaim the deserts, the Tundra regions, Siberia and the like. What about harvesting the sea and even living on sea? These surely hold a great promise. As regards feeding the much sympathised teeming millions, the problem is not of any world scarcity. What is lacking is equitable distribution and a true concern for those who suffer. I think we must see this problem in its true perspective: as a political problem which is what it actually is. They talk of economic growth: What economic growth? Muslims have no need to lose any sleep over it for their economy has remained quasi-static for the last three centuries."

Dr. Naggar does however agree that Western technology has got out of hand and it needs to be disciplined. "A way out may be 'alternative technology'—a technology which is in harmony with nature and human environment and strikes a happy balance between automation and manual work."

Prof. Naggar is also against over-specialization. "Specialization only creates little machines" he says, "with narrow outlook. If you specialize you may add to your particular branch of science but you cut yourself from other branches of human knowledge which may be very important for building your personality as a human being. If you work in just a small circle, you may be able to go deep, but you cannot look around or look out! You know, that most wonderful discoveries of science have been made by scientists probing in fields other than their own, simply because they looked at things from a different angle."

The material development of the West has not been accompanied by spiritual development. We know that man has spiritual as well as material needs. And the development of one at the expense of the other create an imbalance in both the spiritual and the material sector. This is why one detects a constant unrest in the scientific spheres of the West. "It is very common to come across a capable scientist who has no idea of his purpose in life; or death; what happens to him when he dies? He is not sure of any thing. He disbelieves everything except his own work. It is a state of agony and perpetual unrest, particularly when he comes to find that his work too was not irrefutable. This situation did not arise in one day. At the time of Newton, it was thought that mechanistic determinism could explain everything. But the rise of Quantum Mechanics shattered this illusion about a determinist god. The determinist god was now replaced by a new idol of indeterminism. The present state is a state of utter confusion. The statistical gods have failed too, and the western scientist has no one to turn to. I think the Church is also responsible for such a situation. Most scientists do not have anything against religion. In fact they cannot have, but you have to be consistent and plausible yourself. That's where I think Islam stands on its own."

Muslim viewpoints on

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Nota Bene

'SCRIBE'

The recent "disclosures" about the sex lives of certain British ministers and the resulting media fuss have been explained by some as a certain periodical fit of morality which the British according to Macauley are supposed to undergo from time to time. One may not fully agree with the explanation, but the fact that someone tried to explain pointed out that an explanation of the fuss was really called for.

An explanation is also called for in respect of the other contemporary scandal—The Watergate. Not because all that lying, bugging and cheating that have been going on under the instruction or acquiescence of President Nixon were any less criminal or ignoble. But does not the contemporary value-system believe only in the ends and not the means? Here you have a self-righteous and self-inspired person who in the course of his first term of office was able to achieve a disengagement from Vietnam and yet able to maintain a more masterly presence in the region. This is something which his liberal predecessors had failed to achieve. Has he not been able to play the two Communist big Powers, China and Russia, against each other and yet develop and maintain a relationship of benefit with both? And has he not been able to maintain peace in the Middle East through an "even-handed" policy of arming one party and consoling the other?

Obviously all these grand achievements involved doing all those things (and more) that are cited in the Watergate affair. Why can't a person with such a blemished and brilliant record overtake upon himself the duty of staying at the helm of the nation's affairs through all possible means. If it involved bugging, lying or cheating, so what? And once elected, you cannot deny him the "right" to rule the rest of the term. Anyway what James McCord and/or Nixon have now been discovered doing in the U.S., the U.S. itself has been doing all these and more all over Asia, Africa and Latin America. While Watergate was a secret until it exploded, the U.S. doings in the Third World were no secret. Why could there not be a Pulitzer Prize for the Third World Watergates?

The problem arises basically from a duality of standards and values: between national and international, and between personal and public. In one of the children's tales, there used to be a mother who felt very happy when her boy brought some apples plucked from the neighbour's garden. So encouraged, the boy went on from pilfering to stealing, to robbery, to murder and finally to the gallows. The mother felt very angry when in his last statement, the boy—now a grown-up man—blamed it all on his mother. She could not really understand how?

While the Americans must themselves have started to get bored over this political pornography, explanations on Watergate seem to have been ventured from two quarters: Soviet and Arab.

To the Soviets and East Europeans this represented some sort of 'conspiracy by powerful forces in America who are opposed to detente with Moscow'. To have been able to conduct such investigations was beyond *Washington Post* or any other paper or journalist, and so they must have had powerful forces supporting them. In any case, it is doubtful if the Russians have anything to lose because of Watergate. On the contrary they should be able to deal better with a demoralised Nixon.

The Arabs on the other hand seemed to be propounding an allied theory of conspiracy and powerful forces.

Issah Nakhlah, Chairman of the Arab Higher Committee's delegation at the UN has sent letters to important Americans and others that "this vicious and libellous campaign by the Zionist-Jew controlled press, television and radio networks" was aimed at blackmailing Nixon. The Israelis, he wrote, were "unhappy that in view of the emerging crisis and the dependence of the U.S. upon Middle East Oil, U.S. leaders will not blow up their bridge with the Arab World". Golda, however, was sad about Watergate because after Truman, Nixon has been the most pro-Israeli American President. She was also confident that whatever the outcome of the Nixon and Brezhnev meeting, it will not be adverse to Israel.

Today in Britain neither prostitution, nor extra-marital relations nor even homosexuality are considered a criminal offence, that is something that offended the parliamentary if not the national morality. Then what was really offensive about the behaviour of two ministers Lords Lambton and Jellicoe? National security? That is what Nixon and/or his White House aides were trying to invoke to prevent the Watergate disclosures.

But do people expect a man to be disloyal to his wife and family and yet be loyal to the country? Not really, but if people get caught, some prudery is to be shown.

Like Watergate, the important question in the call girls affair too is, why. But unlike Watergate neither the Arabs nor the Soviets have tried to hazard a theory.

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"Islam in the Community" was the theme of a conference organised by an Anglican order, "The Community of Resurrection" at Woodhall Pastoral Centre, Linton, Nr. Wetherby, Yorkshire on 4-6 May. Sarwar Rija, who teaches at Kesteven College of Education, Peterborough couldn't "help admiring the spirit of goodwill in which the whole conference was conducted." Here, he reports on the conference . . .

Respect, Curiosity and Islam

The conference arose from a 'Christian' desire to understand Islam and the Muslim community in Britain. Fr. Bernard Chamberlain of House of Resurrection, Mirfield, Yorkshire was the motivating force behind the conference and he was assisted by the Rev. Peter Hawkins, the Bishop of Bradford's Community Relations Chaplain. About 50 men and women, committed Christians, working in fields such as teaching, police, clergy, social work attended the conference with four Muslim men and one Muslim lady.

The first talk on Friday evening (4 May) was given by Clive Handford who had been an Anglican Chaplain in Beirut for five years and is now at St. Augustine's College, Canterbury. Speaking on "The Background to Islam", Rev. Handford said, "Islam is what Muslims say it is". Defining it as 'submission to Will of God', he pointed out that Abraham (peace be upon him) practised Islam (with small 'i'—no such distinction being in the Arabic language!) and so did all the prophets before and after him. However, Islam with capital 'I', is the religion of a distinct community which practices and actualises 'Islam', the submission to Will of God. Islam really begins with God. The very core of Muslim belief 'there is no god but God' is an absolute denial of all idolatries, of any pseudo-deity. The concept of Divine Unity is fundamental to Islam, so much so that the Muslim word for God, i.e. Allah, is incapable of having a plural. God is greater than anything else in your life. Islam is concerned with response to God rather than discussion about God, with action rather than analysis.

Explaining the second part of the creed 'Muhammad is the apostle of God', Rev. Handford said "For Islam, Muhammad is unique. He is the seal of the Prophets". He added, "Muhammad was born at a time when religious life of the Arabian peninsula had degenerated into idol worship and all kinds of social evil were rampant. Moreover both Jews and Christians were people of Scripture. Hence, Muhammad felt called to bring an Arabic Scripture to these Arabic people. This Arabic Scripture, the Qur'an is the last of the scriptures. Muslims believe that Muhammad was himself unlettered; he was merely the mouthpiece of a pre-existing scripture, which was revealed to him regularly piece by piece over a period of nearly two decades. To understand the Qur'an, its chronology is important. Roughly, the short *suras* given at the end of the Qur'an, were the earliest. Most of the early *suras* revealed in Mecca before Hijra are concerned with God's Unity (oneness), Judgement, some controversial issues and warfare. The later *suras*, revealed in Medina (about 24 in number) deal with the social aspects of the community of Islam. Muslims believe in the Scriptures that preceded the Qur'an; the Law (Taurat) was given to Moses, the Psalms (Zabur) to David and the Gospel (Injil) to Jesus, peace be upon them all. In as much as a scripture does not fit into the pattern, it is in error", the Rev. said.

In the end the speaker threw some light on the significance of the so-called five pillars of Islam. Zakat is 'money loaned to Allah'. The practice of fasting has great power to build a community. The Hajj too imports a great sense of solidarity. The Rev. Handford concluded by saying that the most dominating concept in Islam was summed up in the oft-repeated statement, "Allah-O Akbar—God is Great." The talk was received with great reverence and solemnity and seemed to direct the conference to a respectful curiosity about Islam.

Second speech of the conference was delivered on Saturday morning by Mr. William Weaver, a lecturer in Comparative Religion at Leeds University. Mr. Weaver said that in his study of Islam he had been influenced by Iqbal's *Six Lectures on Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*. He said Islam regards itself very much as a 're-

vealed' religion, along with Judaism and Christianity. He regretted that the common history of Islam and Christianity have been largely one of mistrust. He added, "In the U.K. growth of multi-religious and multicultural society is having a stimulating effect on 'Religious Studies'. We are involved in an exciting feeling that something needs to be done. However, centuries of misunderstanding and controversy cannot be undone overnight". In Mr. Weaver's view, the meeting point of Islam and Christianity was man himself. The challenge which is facing Islam is also facing Christianity, i.e. man is threatened by a loss of spiritual dimension. Islam sees man as God's Khalifa on Earth, invests him with this tremendous sense of dignity. In saying certain things about 'man' Muhammad was fighting against contemporary dehumanising forces", Mr. Weaver pointed out that writers on Islam are often mesmerised by the strong emphasis on Divine Unity and the absolute otherness of God and, hence, they conclude that there is a doctrine of rigid predestination in Islam. "But, actually, in Islam man holds a very privileged position; he is the trustee of a free personality", he said.

The third speaker, Dr. Farrukh Hashmi, Consultant Psychiatrist in Birmingham, speaking on "Islam as an Indigenous and as an immigrant religion" argued that it was not impossible to be a Muslim in the West. Rituals are difficult to observe, anywhere. However, the basic principles of Islam are so simple and straight forward that it is not difficult to follow them. There is room for slightly varying interpretations of cultural aspects of Islam. The Qur'an gives principles; details are worked out by practising Muslims. Islam does not ask one to believe "what is in conflict with science and reason. A large number of practices and customs of Muslims in this country is based not so much on religion as on culture. A peasant moving from the foothills of Himalayas to Bradford in 16 hours faces inevitable conflicts". In answer to a question, Dr. Hashmi said that Pakistani families often feel frightened by the sex situation in Britain. "In seeking advantages of education for their children they run the risk of younger generation becoming alien to their cultural values", he said.

Rev. David Brown who has had 20 years involvement with Islam spoke next on 'The Relevance of Islamic Spirituality'. Rev. David Brown at present Vicar of Herne Bay, Kent and Rural Dean of Reculver was formerly with C.M.S. in the Sudan and Middle East. He is author of the S.P.C.K. series 'Christianity & Islam'. First of all, he explained, the concept of *Ibadah*—including the meaning of *Salat*—the prayer-act. He said, "when a Muslim is saying his prayers he is not doing it for merit, but because man is made for it. Performance of the prayer-act is a vital part of Muslim life. In prayers, a Muslim's whole personality is directed towards God. Body plays its part too. Emphasizing further the spiritual significance of *Salat*, the Rev. Brown mentioned the Muslim claim that, if performed properly it illuminates the heart and polishes the soul; it is like a stream of sweet water flowing past your door." He referred to fasting as a 'communal attempt to purify the life of community'. Another aspect of Islamic spirituality that has impressed David Brown is a Muslim's attitude of acceptance, which, he said was mistaken by Western observers as 'fatalism'. This attitude grows from the picture of God as the Great Sovereign Disposer. But, he added, Sovereignty is not arbitrary. God is also Merciful, Just, Compassionate. A Muslim dying of cancer can still say "Praise be to Allah". David Brown noted there is no division between sacred and secular. This integration was desperately relevant in our world today.

In Open Forum on Saturday evening, some highly important questions were raised. A teacher

of Muslim children was advised to be aware of an ordinary Muslim's extreme respect for the Holy Qur'an and of the 'folklore' surrounding the Holy Book. Caution may also be observed while discussing Islam with the Imams of the mosques in Britain, as some of them may not know very much about the real spirit of Islam and may consider the ritual to be its *entire* sum and substance.

On the question of inter-faith action for world peace, the panel seemed to agree that if international relations were conducted in the true spirits of Islam and Christianity, the world would move towards a lasting peace very quickly.

The last and perhaps the most significant talk was on "Muslim Objections to Christian Belief and Practice" by David Brown. He started by saying that there was need for Christians to restate their theology in terms which are relevant to a multi-faith society that Britain has become to-day. "Christianity is part of World Church. Hence we must get a world outlook and criticism of our Faith", he said. "Barely Islam teaches deep respect for Christian and Jews". Muslim antagonism against Christianity is largely political economic and based on resentment at colonialism by the 'Christian' West. Brown said, there are, however, three basic Muslim objections to Christianity: First, we do not take Sovereignty of God seriously enough. We associate creatures with the Creator. The whole mission of Muhammad was against *shirk*. Muslims reject the doctrine of Christ's Divinity. Also men are servants of God, not children of God. Muslims admit that God has an eternal desire to express Himself in the Holy Qur'an. We are too Christo-centric. One of the great tasks of our day is to clarify our doctrine.

Second objection is somewhat related to the first. To Muslims we appear to glory in the defeat of God. In showing God to be broken, Christians compromised God's Sovereignty, again. A Muslim believes that the prophet proclaims, is persecuted but, in the end rescued, because God's Will will not be thwarted. Muslims do not understand the Christian belief that God is utterly vulnerable because He loves.

Thirdly, Muslims tend to equate Christians with Western world and the U.S.A., and say that we lack integrity. We fail to take 'peace' seriously. With the message of 'peace' we have many wars. This lack of integrity in Christians is also evident from our attitudes towards sex. We are very occupied with gaining forgiveness but do very little about it."

In conclusion, Rev. David Brown said that Muslims and Christians share together an adventure and crusade. Muslims show the world the Sovereignty of God, Christians show the world Love of God.

The talk aroused a good deal of amicable discussion. The Muslim members of the audience felt satisfied over the fact that well meaning Christians were making a sincere effort to understand Islam and Muslims. A Muslim promised that he would certainly consider the Christian reply to these objections. This being the last session, the participant were asked to think about the possibility of another conference of this kind—may be a 'dialogue conference' between Christians and Muslims—about the same time next year. Everyone welcomed the idea.

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Briefing

The Hilton Assignment by Patrick Seale and Maureen McConville, *Temple Smith*, £2.25.

Shalhi spent all Tuesday, the 23rd of March 1971 drinking champagne at Frankfurt's Airport Hotel. But he was not celebrating, he was trying to extinguish his grief by pouring glass after glass of that fiery liquid. Things had gone wrong, grievously and perhaps forever.

Only five days later, on the 28th March, Umar al Shalhi was to have entered Libya and head a counter-revolution. He had hired and equipped a team of French mercenaries at a cost of something around \$600,000. A motor boat "Conquistador III" was to have collected the necessary Czechoslovakian arsenal from the Yugoslav port of Ploce and sailed to a rendezvous in Mediterranean sea with another boat bringing the mercenaries via Tangier. Proceeding then towards Libya and anchoring off the Tripoli coast, the job of the mercenaries was to raid the Tripoli prison—the inmates call it the Tripoli Hilton—free the political prisoners held inside, hand them over the arms, and get out or shoot out of Libya to France and collect their bank-certified cheques. This would have triggered off a newer revolution and Shalhi would be there to proclaim it.

In fact Shalhi always so close to the ageing King Idris and responsible for many corruptions of the court had himself been planning such "revolution" against the Libyan monarch. Except for the date it was all settled and certain. When Qadhafi's revolution came eventually and Hassenain Haykal arrived at Tripoli airport with revolutionary greetings from brother Gamal Abdel Nasir, the first question he put to the protocol officer who came to receive him was to ask about the health of "Shalhi Bey". But the answer he got must have been most embarrassing. Till then the names of the RCC members had not been announced but Haykal had no doubt that it was no one else but Shalhi who had made it.

Shalhi who had British blessings in planning and perfecting his coup now expected Britain to assist him militarily. But he was let down. Again when "Operation Hilton" got going the British intelligence intervened and told the British mercenaries to get out. Shalhi had counted on the British at least to turn a blind eye over the possible deposition of one who had displaced them from Malta and (now) made no secret of sending arms to Ulster. Anyway the plans were reformulated and French mercenaries were brought in. But as "Conquistador III" was about to sail off on its mission, the Italian police came in and impounded the ship.

"Who was protecting Qadhafi and why?" Patrick Seal and Miss McConville put this question and put it rather crudely that "both British and Italians were prompted to an action by a greater Power". The Americans had told their allies that they would not tolerate an attack on him. The authors say that before the revolution, the CIA had penetrated "not only Qadhafi's free officers group" but also Shalhi's and other left-wing radical groups. With Qadhafi having succeeded, the task was to "slot" him into the U.S. global plans: use the Islamic backlash in the Arab World to halt Russian influence in the Middle East. "The policy has been to let him get on with the good work (and) not to cramp his style by backing him too publicly . . ."

The book is in the "Game of Nations" style and should interest all those who are interested in both fiction and politics.

Nixon in the White House by Rowland Evans and Robert D. Novak, *Davis-Poynter*, £5.00

Written and published much before the unfolding of the Watergate scandal, the book presents an informative account of Nixon's first term. One gets a fair glimpse of the inner workings of the American System, rather the Nixonian court. There we have the powerful "German" John Ehrlichman and H. R. Haldeman (since sacrificed

to Watergate) and a host of small men who may not have power but influence the System greatly. Mr. Nixon himself emerges as a kind of unscrupulous reformer: believes that he is a conservative but also aspires to achieve liberal reforms. It is all very tight rope walking, but Nixon has continued to keep walking—so far.

Immigrant Workers and Class Structure in Western Europe by Stephen Castles and Gondula Cossack, *IRR/OUN*, £5.50

The colour problem resulting from the presence of about 10 million immigrants in Western Europe is in fact a "White problem", as the authors call it. Not prepared to take less paying and more demanding jobs, they find themselves playing unwilling "hosts" to a large number of "different" types of people, who no doubt, largely docile and subservient, do represent a demand on the affluence they have also contributed to build up and sustain. Tolerance and accommodation sound good in the text books, but become difficult when it comes to actual implementation. Many then, want to assure their liberal sensitivities by saying that it is not really the colour, it is the smell of curry.

Although "labour migration is a form of development aid given by poor countries to rich countries", the Western European society is not able to see it as such. There is no gratitude and no acceptance of the mutuality because "Western European societies are class societies based on the ownership and control of the means of production by a small minority, and on the concomitant domination and exploitation of the masses". "Social relationships", the authors say, "are characterised not by harmony and free will but by conflict and coercion." Nothing could be more true about the nature of West European society and the mechanism designed to control it. The solution to the problem—indeed many others—would lie in viewing and dealing with man as a man and not a pre-destined member of this class or that caste. Marxian classification failed, because this too was based on "conflict and coercion".

The Muslims of British India by Peter Hardy, *Cambridge U.P.*, £4.90, (Paper £1.90)

A Western view of how and why the subcontinent had to be partitioned: first into two and later, three. The coming of the British rule had not as much affected the Muslims economically as it went to destroy their way of life. While one may not agree with the first part of Dr. Hardy's contention it is certainly true that the basic motivation for freedom was cultural and political and not economic. What Hardy terms as Muslim nostalgia for an imperial past was both positive and qualitative, rather than any romantic reaction to subjugation and deprivation.

T. E. Lawrence: A Reader's Guide by Frank Clements, *David & Charles*, £3.50

Since after the June 1967 War, there has been a greater recognition of Lawrence's role in the opening up and re-shaping of the whole region. Lawrence has since been "discovered" to have been a pro-Zionist and there is a stream of books on and about Lawrence and his exploits. The latest, *A Reader's Guide*—not complete by any means—is a useful addition to Lawrence bibliography.

Riot and Revolution in Singapore and Malaysia, 1945-1963 by Richard Clutterbuck, *Faber*, £3.95

A description of the Communist urban and rural guerilla insurgency, the pattern of its organisation, its ideological flux, and how it came to be contained.

Mirza Malkum Khan: A Biographical Study in Iranian Modernism by Hamid Algar, *University of California Press* \$13.50

Mirza Malkum Khan, a 19th century Iranian

scholar, freemason and diplomat was an important westerniser in Iran and Dr. Algar's study helps to clarify the Iranian modernist background.

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Books

Aid not liberation

Aid and liberation: a Socialist study of Aid Policies by Judith Hart, *Gollancz*, 288 pages £3.80

In contradistinction to the anti-aid intellectuals who call aid a "... fraud, a method to maintain capitalism's stranglehold on the impoverished people of the underdeveloped nations" (*Socialist Worker*, 1 May 1972, p.224); or "simply one more weapon in the struggle of the capitalist classes to capture more and more markets for their goods and to dominate the whole world"; Miss Judith Hart's conclusion is different: Aid is not, in the nineteen-seventies, an essential instrument of Imperialism... aid of the right kind can be genuinely helpful and useful to the Third World..." (p.235).

The treatment of the subject matter is untraditional. Miss Hart deals with the issue of aid, neither as an academician concerned with the methodology and logical consistencies, nor as a politician justifying aid on political or ideological grounds, but as a 'l'homme social'. It is the last adjective which seems to underlie the whole 'le grand combat'.

The first chapter uncovers the age of imperialism and all that it defended or stood for. "What we now call the Third World was a profitable adjunct to the industrialised societies of the West, making possible their wealth—our wealth—and their economic power" (p.19). Even the granting of assistance was motivated "to provide some relief to the mass unemployment at home, rather than any new selfless regard for the poverty of the colonies." (p.20). This was the case of Great Britain. Other colonial powers weren't holier either. The promotion of certain branches of economy were again motivated not so much by any desire to extricate the 'native economies' from stagnation but to assist the British investors and settlers to earn more profit. (p.21). After the World War II, when many countries became free and colonial empires dissolved, the relationship-equation established during the hey days of imperialism did not change. On one pretext or another, the older colonies were kept under the influence of the colonial powers. Miss Hart quotes Roy Jenkins on this post-colonial relationship: "With neo-colonialism, the previous colony remains as an economic and social appendage of the old imperialist nation, having a socio-economic structure that is totally dependent on the imperialist power..." (p.224).

The United States is also blamed for using economic aid as a "gimmick in the Cold War" (p.25). "Her criteria used in determining the size and allocation of aid did not give priority to need. They were related to American cold war strategy, and were strongly influenced by an economic relationship which had itself grown out of a new military imperialism" (p.27).

Judith Hart tests the various criteria of aid in the chapter on Criteria for the Seventies. Here she questions the growth criteria, vehemently. She asks again and again, alright, if growth, then "whose growth"? "whose development"? "It is increasingly understood and accepted that growth, whether measured in terms of GNP or per capita GNP, is susceptible to factors which may be unrelated to the general improvement of standards of living; that the figures of growth tell us little about the degree to which the mass of the people in a developing country are escaping from poverty; that those things which are most important for development may not yield early results in the statistics of growth..." (p.45). So the best criteria will be those which take into consideration the need and the equality content of aid.

The 'role of profit' too received scathing criticism. In her view, foreign private investment has no place in international aid, and she gives four reasons: "First, that much private investment in the past distorted development, and rendered a disservice to the developing countries, and that some private investment still does; second, that private flows as they are measured for the purposes of assessing national and international aid performance include an element which is merely a balance-sheet exercise and make no development contribution whatever to development; third, that private financial flows take place because they are profitable, offering benefit to developing countries only incidentally; and fourth, that the reverse flows of private capital from the poor world to the rich world are greater than the inward flows of private capital to the poor countries" (p.65).

Miss Hart gives enough data and information to prove the validity of her theses. For instance, there is the exploitative role of United States private investment in Latin American countries. Almost all the data indicate beyond doubt that foreign investors get many times more money back than they had invested in the poor countries; that the rate of return is far greater in the poor countries than what the rich countries' investors can aspire to obtain at home. She blames also the DAC (OECD) data which she says does not account for the profits which flow back to the rich from the poor countries (Compare p.71). As this is the crude reality of the actual state of things, then why, she asks are investments included among the aid transactions? "I find it difficult" she writes "to comprehend the logic of including as 'aid' functions which exist to serve the 'donor' rather than the recipient; whose purpose is to make profit and not to provide assistance..." (p.71).

Though claiming no special competence in the field of economics, Hart doesn't share the view mostly held by Western economists that "the way forward for poor countries follow the path of the industrialised economies of the West: that increased industrial investment would have the same consequences as it did in the nineteenth century in Europe, and would generate an increase in effective demand which would lead to a spiral of increased investment—higher incomes—increased demand to produce steady and self-sustaining growth." (pp.101-102). This type of thinking based on Rostow's take off theory, in her view is not likely to help the poor nations to get out of underdevelopment; instead, she is strongly in favour of promoting development at the grass root. "Emphasis on the rural sector of developing country economies serves a dual purpose. In the first place, it can maximise potential food production; and this in itself is a priority objective if growing populations are to be fed. In the second place, it can maximise effective demand to create the pre-conditions for investment and growth" (p.106). She seems to be greatly impressed by the impact of the Green Revolution triggered first by the high yield strains developed at CIMMYT, Mexico, and IRRI, the Philippines. A degree of mechanisation doesn't offend her, as, in her view, a resort to mechanisation 'is as much a response to labour shortage as a cause of excess labour' (p.109). In order, however, to make the new agro-break-through subservient to the smaller farmer, Miss Hart makes a strong plea for social reforms in the agricultural sector, because "scientific innovation cannot substitute for social revolution" (p.112). The present social order in most of the Third World is nothing but an "arbitrary exercise of economic power" (quotation: Tawney, p.244) and as such, it "is a major barrier to ending of poverty. Whichever approach is taken, what is clear and can perhaps be generally agreed is that the economic and social institutions of the rural sector of poor countries cry out for radical change" (p.127). To achieve this what is needed is not a mere "eye-wash Western reformism", but a more radical one... one that affects the basic economic relationships in society (p.128). She finds the FAO, the leading United Nation's agricultural organisation unnecessarily devoting too much of its attention to aspects, such as the setting up of co-operatives etc., while ignoring the

most essential of all, namely the land reform. She cites the FAO study "Provisional Indicative World Plan for Agricultural Development" as a proof of this neglect. What good is going to come out from the enormous data, if the architects of the Plan are suffering from the self-deception "that food production, marketing and consumption occur within a structural vacuum; and that the development specialist in agriculture is a political enunch, expected to be neutral in any value judgments which involve the need for changes in economic structure" (p.133). Another pertinent point raised by Miss Hart is: Why "those countries which contribute most towards their (multi-lateral agencies) budgets tend to regard capitalism as neutral and socialism as political" (p.133).

While reviewing German aid Hart isn't as harsh as she is while examining British aid. She mentions one or two points on German aid which to her are important. One is its concentration on the setting up of vocational training institutions in the Third World. Another point which has come up in her analysis is the emerging criticism from amongst the Left-wing parliamentarians against the linking of aid with foreign policy or private foreign investment (p.175).

Like Teresa Hayter, whom she quotes extensively Miss Hart is also critical of the World Bank: not being neutral on the ideological front; favouring industrial development as against domestic-resource oriented economy; and considering growth to be the main goal of development. She is, however, optimistic: With McNamara at the top, the Bank is likely "to move more and more into a philosophy centred on the needs of the people" (p. 221). Foreign private investment, she can't tolerate because "it is a complete nonsense to regard private investment as aid" (p.242) but on World Bank's lending activity, she pins a great deal of hope!

The most important chapter is the one entitled Aid and the Highest Stage of Capitalism. Though the authoress seeks to prove the existence of a link between aid and western imperialism, the analysis proceeds only half-way towards meeting the requirements of the title. Most of the critique advanced to prove the Highest Stage of Capitalism isn't however her own, but quotations from other authors. The weakness of the chapter lies in Miss Hart's defence of aid. She blames aid but in too aggregative terms, it is almost a matter of faith with her that all aid *per se* can't be bad.

The last chapter 'Aid and Liberation' repeats many earlier remarks and trail of thoughts, and serves as a summary overview of the whole book.

Miss Hart has made many recommendations to reform aid and improve its qualitative content, viz: (i) de-emphasising of Rostovian (capitalist) theories; (ii) Promotion of income-redistribution and equality; (iii) Energetic development of the rural sector, and (iv) Creation of a socially acceptable relationship between the majority (poor) and the minority (rich).

The book as a whole is a good publication on aid and tells the reader of the older relationship patterns as well as those now likely to emerge in the near future. The title, "Aid and Liberation" is, however, too lofty for the effort input of the book. While liberation cannot necessarily be linked with aid; Aid can negate it all. The People's Republic of China achieved economic breakthrough almost without aid but India despite so much aid from both Russia and the West remains bogged down in "large-scale poverty and marginal affluence". The two examples do little to support the aid concept. Why, therefore, choose the aid-way rather the self-help way?

There are a number of minor errors. For instance, the name of two scientists have been misspelt—Haq instead of Haq (p.226), and Borlaugh instead of Borlaug. The first research into new strains of wheat in Mexico was financed not by the Ford Foundation, but by the Rockefeller. Present area under high strains is about 25.0 million and not 17.58 million hectares.

Dr. M. A. Hussein Mullick

Dr. M. A. Hussein Mullick, formerly at the University of Kiel has now joined as Director of Research at Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, Islamabad.

The Islamic Da'wah in Europe

Impact summary of the speeches made at the Conference of Islamic Centres and Organisations in Europe, held in London for 17—19 May, 1973

The Complete Religion

● It is the first Conference of its kind, and therefore, it should set an example to be followed by other future conferences, an example, God Willing, of unity and solidarity, and example of coordination and organisation, an example in the adoption of practical resolution in the interest of the Islamic da'wah in Europe, and in the Muslims whom you represent.

Islam is the complete religion, the religion which He has chosen for mankind. Islam is not merely a faith based upon the fact that God is one, and has no partner, but it also provides a spiritual and ethical guidance, and basis for political and social reforms. Islam teaches that God is one, the origin of Mankind is one, people are equal, all the peoples and the nations are equal, religions brought by the Messengers of God are one, and do not differ in their reality and concept.

When the early Muslims fully understood this religion, they believed in it and adopted it in full as God revealed it to His blessed Messenger, Muhammad... as a belief, a law, a religion and a state... This religion when understood as revealed and followed accordingly, then the nation of Islam and the State of Islam came into being and attained the greatest and most magnificent achievements ever effected by any nation or state. Indeed, the nation of Islam has carried out its civilization and civilizing role in the best way ever. It established a civilization on three principles: *First*, the belief in God and the obligation to obey Him; *second*, humanity with all its high ideals; and *third*, consultation and democracy.

Under the aegis of such a civilization, the Muslims established a state free from class conflicts, free from fanaticism and colour discrimination; and a state in which only piety gave a man precedence over another.

This religion is capable of bringing about today for the Muslims what it achieved for them in the past, might, glory and prosperity. But the Muslims then truly believed in it, and faithfully acted according to it.

(**Sheikh Abdul Rahman Al-Helaisi**, Saudi Arabian ambassador in London and Chairman, Organising committee; Address of Welcome).

Not on a Missionary basis

● The idea behind the holding of this conference is not to propagate Islam on a missionary basis but to consolidate the many cultural centres that are already in existence in many countries in Europe, to help them carry out the various roles they have undertaken for the good of Islam and the followers of Islam who live in these countries. In

Islam there is no organisation for missionary work. Any work to propagate the religion is done by the men on the spot themselves and as best they could and without ready support from outside. They have to collect whatever money they can and with whatever resources they can muster to carry out their good work. Let us hope that as a result of this conference the eyes and ears and the minds of the Islamic people throughout the world will be focussed on the object and achievement of this conference. Let them resolve to organise themselves and prove their trustworthiness, and the Secretariat will see that funds for these organisations could be made available.

For many hundreds of years Muslims carried out faithfully the commands of the Holy Quran and followed religiously and obediently the example of our blessed Prophet Muhammad. Islam is very much alive and the intelligentsia among us are aware of it. It is for the good Muslims to revive it so that they will not stagnate but instead gain strength. We cannot go far wrong if we use the Holy Qur'an as our basis and code, the teachings of our blessed Prophet as our guide and our heads as the pointer.

The Islamic Secretariat has mapped out many projects for the progress of Islam. All it needs is the response from the Muslim countries to make them operative. I place on a high order of priority the Islamic Banking project. It is now proposed to set up a Development Bank on the same working principle as those that are operating with great success in Europe, Asia and Africa. The Islamic banking system which has now been put forward for the consideration of Islamic countries should, if approved, be the method for the operation of the Islamic Development Bank. There is no interest charged for loans but there are other benefits in lieu of interest by way of reward and in this way the investors will get their share of the profit as shareholders in proportion to the amount invested. I recently visited the Heads of State in Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Qatar, Arab Emirates, Oman and lastly Libya to brief them on the Development Bank. Each and everyone of them expressed so much enthusiasm that I have no doubt that before the year ends the Development Bank will be launched.

The principal aim of the Islamic Secretariat is to provide for a get-together of Islamic nations and bridge the gulf of difference between one member country and another. But it grieves me to have to say that while Muslim leaders were prompted by this laudable and noble aim some leaders seemed to forget their undertaking and went on merrily with their old ways of having it out among themselves without any reference to us. However, the political role has to take time to mature.

Concurrently with these conferences of cultural and religious centres (in the U.S., South America and Africa) there will be conferences on economic development and banking as I have already mentioned earlier. Islamic Nations will learn to depend less and less on the Powers-that-be but more on our own Islamic resources.

I would like to see a co-ordinating body formed in Europe drawn from representatives of the Cultural Centres of Europe. Their duty is to organise Cultural Centres and bodies to coordinate activities and take such steps as are necessary to ensure continuity of the good work we began today. There will be no difficulty about getting help so long as there is a well-constituted and active body prepared to carry out the work.

Lastly, let us cast our minds on the unhappy events which are taking place in some less happy circumstances... In the Middle East violence among our own people has caused a great deal of suffering and loss of lives to Muslims and by Muslims. In the face of the humiliation we have already suffered at the hands of Israel and with the loss of so many lives and vast territory, including the holy city of Jerusalem, we should make peace among ourselves so that we will be better prepared to face the enemy.

In the Philippines thousands of Muslims have lost their homes and their lives as a result of the persecution by the Christian fanatics. Their massacre is due not to any other reason but to the

tenacity of the persecuted to cling to Islam. Their case was taken up at the last conference in Benghazi but unfortunately the decision was weak and all that we were asked to do was to plead with the Philippine Government to intervene and protect the lives of these people. The report for March this year, shows that more than 1000 had been killed. We pray that Allah in His infinite mercy will grant them relief from their terrible sufferings. May the people of the world give their sympathetic attention to their plight and bring pressure to bear on President Marcos' Government so that these atrocities against them will cease and their lives and property protected.

(**Tunku Abdul Rahman**, Secretary General, Islamic Secretariat; Opening Speech).

A void to be filled

● In Islam as taught by the blessed Prophet Muhammad we have the culmination and perfection of God's solicitude and care for the welfare of His creatures. So it behoves us to proclaim far and wide that we Muslims have the assurance that our religion is the most perfect which has lighted the world. Hence it is the duty of each and everyone of us, high and low, to do everything in our power to show an example to the world and especially to the non-Muslim World in which so many of us live in our everyday behaviour so that God may once again look on us with favour and elevate the Muslim nations to that moral world leadership for which God intended them when He chose for them Islam as their religion.

Slowly but surely the World of Islam is waking up to the virtue of hard work and diligence, returning to the devotion and assiduity which put them and others in the van of world civilization. No longer are Muslims content to follow in the train of Western civilization, picking up a few crumbs here and there. No, the Muslim World is firmly decided to take its own fate in its own hands under God's guidance and to work out its own destiny. This does not mean that the Islamic World, in spite of the grievous wrongs it has suffered is inimical to the Western World. No, most of the thinkers and men of action of Islam who are today building the destinies of their peoples have a sound appreciation of what is good in western civilization and a desire to incorporate that, and only that, into their own way of life.

In this new Renaissance let the watchword of every Muslim be: I shall not waste one minute of the time God has allotted to me on this earth. All work, no matter how humble, must find favour with us as it finds favour with God. Have we not before us the personal example of our great Master, the blessed Prophet Muhammad himself, who, even at the heights of his power used to patch his own shoes! The material and spiritual well-being of Islam, especially in those countries in which Muslims are a minority, perhaps very small number, can only be achieved by the efforts of everyone of us and this is a personal responsibility. If we are sincere in our desire to spread the light of Islam this must be our guiding light and constant aim. The brotherhood of Islam must become, as it was in the time of the Prophet and his immediate successors to the temporal power of the Islamic State, a reality and shining example to the rest of the world.

It ill behoves me, an outsider, to give you advice on how to conduct your deliberations. The brotherhood and internationality of Islam is truly exemplified in you, who all have the prosperity and wellbeing of Islam at heart and who are working in your various spheres to spread the light and message of Islam throughout the world. I would just remind everyone who may have doubts that it was not the military power of the Arabs or the Ottomans which spread Islam to the far corners of the Earth but rather it was Islam which welded these peoples into an irresistible force. And again it was not force of arms which took Islam to the farthest East and to the distant parts of Africa, Europe and the Americas. No, it was the example of traders, scholars and professional men, men like yourselves, who carried the ideals and values of Islam to the remotest corners of the globe. It

..... The Islamic D'awah in Europe

was their example, their goodness, kindness, piety and compassion for their fellowmen, Muslim and non-Muslim alike, which fixed the roots of Islam in those distant lands. So let it be in the many countries of Europe from which you come.

As western man turns away from organized religion as he has known it yet he feels a void, a need of something which he cannot put into words. This need is felt most strongly by the young people who, are everywhere in rebellion against their fathers' values. I feel that this void can be filled only by Islam and so I would hope that you would concentrate your efforts and endeavour to contact and influence the youth of your several countries. At the same time let us (also) pray that a real Islamic renaissance of the Muslim World, a blossoming and re-emergence of all the true Islamic values, will make your tasks in Europe that much easier. For should the youth of Europe see in the Islamic World those ideals which they are seeking then truly the future of Islam in Europe will be assured and you will reap the well-deserved rewards for your devotion and love of Islam.

(Al-Haj David Cowan, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London: Da'wah Islamiah-Theory and Practise).

All modern means

● Muhammad (peace be upon him) started the call to Islam. Once a group of people accepted his call, he perfected his message as a legislator, organiser and a ruler. This historical fact along with that clear truism of the nature of Islam set for us the course we should adopt today for inviting people to adopt Islam. They both tell us to strive for the forming of the true Muslim individual. Once this is formed he instinctively starts working for the realisation of the Islamic way of life. But our steps along the road of *da'wah* are still, very regretfully moving in the same traditional way of the past centuries.

Islam has never been a religion of backwardness. The gap between religion and science arose because of ignorance on the part of the preachers and their own backwardness. It is a result of the imperialist intellectual and cultural invasion. The Qur'an calls for contemplation and for the study and observation of nature, the collection of data and the deducing of laws.

It is a religion of unity and co-operation, and brotherhood in Truth. It is not one of division and abuse, and splitting into groups and factions as is the case with the Muslims today. It is, moreover, a religion of inventiveness, industry, preparedness, strength and equipment.

The Islamic *da'wah* must utilise all modern means; must be aware of all that is new in the scientific and intellectual fields and must know all the questions that trouble the minds of the youth.

The *da'wah* should also enlist the support of the Muslim ladies. We must have women presenting Islam in the same way as we have doctors, engineers, lawyers, agriculturists and scientists, etc. who do Islamic work. There must also be preachers who master the European languages and speak them fluently, so that they convey properly the Islamic message everywhere: "This is the path of your Lord, a straight path."

(Sheikh Hussain Al-Siraj, Director-General, World Muslim League, Mecca: The pillars of the new Islamic *da'wah*)

In the Next Issue

"Western Views on Islam" by Prof. J. D. Latham and Presenting Islam in the European Environment by Dr. Mujahid Al-Sawwaf

What matters is quality and example

● The general aim of the *da'wah* is to win new converts (and) increase the number of the Muslims in the world. If this is the point I am expected to tackle, I am afraid I shall disappoint those whose point of view differs with mine. If we consider ourselves i.e. the Muslims of today, not true Muslims, and want to go back to the true Islam, then in this case, it is alright, indeed, it is our duty to try to increase the number of those supporters who support and sympathise with Islam and try as much as possible to win over most of them to Islam, which, in our opinion, is the ideal path for the mankind.

The Muslim youth living outside the Muslim world, being young and inexperienced tend to fall easily under the influence of various ideologies, spiritual or intellectual. They acquire sceptical tendencies regarding the eternal values of Islam and its usefulness for any age. The number of these young Muslims, who not only break away from their own kind but also from their cultural roots, is going up at alarming pace, especially after they have reached the age of majority. These convulsions that distort the true religious values (are to be found) even inside the Muslim world, where the various missionary organisations, as well as the materialist atheistic and amoral movements, find a fertile ground, (but) where the authorities are engaged either in purely material development, or in petty squabbles. The young, in both cases, tend to succumb either to the massive propaganda that manifests itself in various shapes and colours, or to those who call openly for the Christianization of the Third World instead of concentrating on the problems facing their own followers, or to those who call for an earthly paradise while their peoples until now have had only a scanty view of it.

For this reason we should concentrate on two kinds of Islamic centres: an internal one, i.e. in the Muslim countries themselves, whose main function would be to protect its youth; and an external one wherever Muslim communities exist, with the purpose of protecting its younger generation, whether in Europe, America, Australia or in the Afro-Asian countries.

Islamic *da'wah* today, should first concentrate on its youth before giving any attention to converting others. Many a Muslim gets excited when he hears of new Muslim converts or meets them; while he is not concerned about the fate of hundreds and thousands of those lost through the migration to Europe and the Americas; nor are they concerned about the fate of Muslim youth in the Muslim World, who are exposed to various ideologies aiming at their disintegration.

What matters is quality rather than quantity. It is better for us to put our own house in order, before looking into other horizons. The "Donema" threat is not far from us and our wretched nation continues to face numerous problems and conspiracies. Islam is not our property; it is Allah's religion; we have no right to close its door to anyone; but it is not in the interest of the Muslim Nation to grow in number through artificial means which may prove to be more harmful than beneficial.

What we should really do is to refute and demolish the objections raised against Islam by different quarters; to present Islam's cultural and spiritual values; and remove barriers which are responsible for our cultural backwardness, and which imperialism had created through missionaries, (secular) ideologies, Zionism and others. This, in itself, is a tremendous undertaking which requires hard work, coupled with planning and co-ordination, to cover every aspect of Islamic thought and culture. These efforts will rehabilitate the belief of our youth as well as help those whose understanding of Islam is no more than of some meaningless customs and practices. In order to show some of the ways with which the goal of the

da'wah could be achieved, we should adopt the following methods:

(1) Organisation of preachers: The preachers of Islam must equip and prepare themselves in every possible way, even in the Muslim World. Only the new methods can produce positive results and can convince those who are not fully convinced and bring them back to the right path; especially those young people who regard themselves as cultured, while in most cases, they are hardly educated rather than cultured.

(2) Concentrating on the youth: By going to their clubs, cafes, camps, centres, and wherever they could be found without looking down at them, as it is the custom of our imams and preachers. They should adopt an educational approach. Not to scare them with taboos and prohibitions but win them over by making them realize how their mistakes could damage their own future... regarding alcohol... the frightening consequences resulting from the unnecessary mixing of both sexes...

(3) To improve the state of the Mosque so that it can play an active part in the education of both the young and the old who have not been able to study.

(4) The establishment of universities along the lines of Al-Azhar in its present form and role and Louvain in Belgium, and the Catholic University in France, where all modern sciences along with religious studies, ethics and humanities are taught. (At the present, Algeria is building its first faculty along these lines in Qassantina, as a first step towards a more comprehensive Islamic university, which will embrace all fields of study, including medicine, engineering, agriculture and so on, beside other secular universities).

(6) The utilisation of the mass media for the purpose of educating the public mind, which up till now, have not been used effectively in the Muslim world.

(7) We should attend meetings of the learned bodies especially outside the Muslim world, as much as possible, so as to present the true picture of Islam and to refute the lies which are told against Islam.

(8) To establish universities, institutes, primary and secondary schools in the Muslim world with the purpose of shielding Islam from the external threats that it faces.

Let Algeria, or Morocco, or Tunisia individually or jointly establish bilingual secondary schools in Paris for the Muslim community and if possible for other interested in Islam. The same can be done by Egypt, or Pakistan, or Malaysia or Libya in London. Let Saudi Arabia or Kuwait build universities in Conakry or Noukachott. Syria can also build secondary schools in Sierra Leone or Yugoslavia, mosques and primary and secondary schools can be built in Spain or Chad and so on. Why not open the door to benevolent societies, individuals and other organisations. A person from Kuwait or Afghanistan should be able to establish a primary or a secondary school, say in London, Djibouti or Canada.

(9) Shall we talk about building hospitals where medical services are (presently) used to make people deviate from the right path.

(10) The best and most successful means is the good example: The good conduct of a Muslim or a Muslima in an Islamic society or otherwise, no doubt would attract Muslims and non-Muslims alike to Islam. This would put forward Islam as the best order securing to Mankind, especially in the world of today, the two happinesses—material and spiritual.

Are we as individuals, peoples or states within the Islamic nation, being fully aware of this, and are ready to work for its achievement?

(Mr. Moulud Qassim, Minister of Original Education and Religious Affairs, Algeria: Modern approach to *da'wah* Islamiah)

new spectrum *Jamadi al Awwal 7 — 20, 1392*

Azad Kashmiris may take Case to European Court

The Pakistan Bill was introduced after Pakistan's withdrawal from the Commonwealth to deprive them of their former status as Commonwealth immigrants. Pakistanis who came to Britain before 30 January 1972 have the right to opt for British citizenship but this excepted the Azad Kashmiris. This technical problem has arisen because Kashmir being a disputed territory Kashmiris in Pakistan were not declared full citizens by Pakistan until 2 February this year—almost 13 months after the withdrawal of Pakistan from Commonwealth. That was taken to mean they were also not commonwealth citizens before 30 January 1972 and thus not entitled to same option as allowed to other Pakistanis.

The Bill effects some 50,000 to 60,000 Kashmiris in Britain who are now in danger of becoming aliens. An Action Committee on the Pakistan Bill has been formed and it intends to take their case to the European Court of Human Rights if their campaign to have the Bill altered at committee stage fails. A number of MPs have given promises of support to get the legislation amended. Mr. Gerald Kaufman, Labour MP for Ardwick, who supports the Action Committee thinks that the Bill has been carelessly drafted. "Its surprised a lot of people", he says, "after taking a year and a quarter to draft, it should be such a slovenly Bill."

(Impact News).

PWA, Peterbrough: Two Years of Community Service

Pakistan Welfare Association of Peterbrough held its Annual General Meeting on Sunday 20, May. It was an occasion to look back at two years of community service and plan ahead for the coming years. Mohammed Zia Arif, Peterbrough's 16 years-old Hafiz-i-Qura'n set the pace with recitation from the Qura'n. In his presidential address, Mr. Muhammed Sarwar Rija explained the continuing need for the Association and described how the solidarity of the Pakistanis in the city has given them a good reputation with the host community and the local press. The advice and 'form-filling' service provided by the Association has meant that many Pakistani residents of Peterborough have been able to sort out their passport and related problems. Mr Rija drew the attention of some two hundred participants to the contrast between two newspaper reports about the city's Pakistani community: one item published about five years ago carried the heading 'Pakistanis Eat Cats', and the other, an editorial comments on the recent POW's Protest March, advised the 'home-grown' demonstrators to 'take a tip' from Pakistanis on 'how to win sympathy'. Through the efforts of the Association Pakistanis in Peterborough are well represented in the city's political, social and cultural life and all possible efforts are being made to protect their rights.

The meeting elected an executive of 13 which elected from amongst themselves M. S. Rija, President; Abdul Malik Chaudri, V.P.; Abdul Maqaddas Chaudhri, Gen. Secretary; A. T. Bashir, Joint Secretary and M. Hussain, Treasurer. (Impact News).

African Liberation Day in Washington

On 26 May the second annual African Liberation Day ceremony was held in Washington, D.C. and major cities across the U.S. After protest marches past the embassies of South Africa, Portugal and Rhodesia a major rally was held in Malcolm X Park in Washington, D.C. Speakers highlighted the responsibility of Afro-Americans and all people of African descent to assist physically and financially Liberation Movements in Africa. Several speakers denounced Israel as a settler state in the Middle East which would become "the base from which the U.S. will attempt to frustrate African liberation" and give support to the white colonialist powers. They said that political sophistication of Afro-Americans requires acknowledging (Muslim) North Africa as a part of Africa joined in the struggle against colonialism, and viewing Israel as a tool of the U.S. imperialism. (Impact news).

Arabs held in German Prisons

The Palestine Liberation circles based in Iraq have alleged that over 40 Arab students and others were still being detained in German prisons where they were subjected to the most horrible acts of torture.

Algeria wants France to implement agreement on housing and training of Algerian workers

A discussion between France and Algeria is expected to start soon regarding the 25,000 Algerian workers and the conditions relating to their work in France. Algeria seeks an increase in the quota of workers as well as wants to discuss the problem of honouring the agreements already made, particularly as regards to housing and professional training. (Impact News.)

Barcelona Sit-in: Palestinian and Arab students studying at Barcelona's medical school staged a sit-in in Barcelona in protest against the refusal of the local authorities to allow them to observe a "Palestine Week".

Israel and the Prophecies of the Holy Qur'an
by ALI AKBAR

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Letters

Non-Pakistani East Pakistanis

Please permit me to refer to the letter you published from an "East Pakistani" who is stranded in the Middle East (Impact, Vol 2:23).

My own brother-in-law, an "East Pakistani" has been hiding in the Chittagong Hill Tracts and we do not know anything about him. His family is now in (West) Pakistan and naturally they are both worried and helpless.

I shall appreciate if you can publish my name and address so that if my brother-in-law or a friend of his happens to read it, he may get in touch with me.

Please also send my name and address to the "East Pakistani" stranded in the Middle East. Perhaps he may like to contact me, I would only be too glad to be of any assistance to him.

DR. MARINA HASHEM (PANNI)
P.O. Box 2812, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia

Hagar: Slave or Servant?

A. M. Nuruddin's comments on new translations of Qur'an are very interesting, as usual, but relative to the status of Hagar (Hajar) the mother of Ismail, according to the Bible, one cannot really make the distinction, as he does on p.7, that she was "the servant (and not slave) of Sarah". Just as the Arabic word 'abd means slave as well as servant and 'abdash means slave girl as well as maidservant, the corresponding Hebrew word in Genesis chapter 16, which comes from the exact same consonants 'ayn-beth-dalet and pronounced 'ebed and 'ebedah (fem.) means both slave and servant. In most ancient societies, including that of the Hebrews, there was little practical difference. Nor was there much difference, so far as the law was concerned, between the status of a wife and that of a concubine, a wife's treatment depending primarily on the mercy of the husband. The Bible says that Hagar became the 'ishshah of Abraham. Like the Arabic word nisaa, 'ishshah fundamentally means "woman" ("women") and is applied both to wives and concubines. The only point is that one cannot be dogmatic about it, Biblically.

S. S. MUFASSIR
Washington, U.S.A.

Cybernetics and Islamic Culture

I have read with interest Impact (Vol 2:21) report on Cybernetics. The report gives a wrong impression about the area of study which is currently known as Cybernetics. According to Professor D. Gabor, Nobel Prize Winner in Physics, Cybernetics is the science of purposeful actions based upon information. He and Norbert Wiener, founders of Cybernetics, in their writings take the view that in this area of study we should seek a theory of messages rather than of control which govern purposeful actions. The study of a general theory of control belongs to a subsidiary discipline in Cybernetics called General Systems Theory. Modern Cyberneticians such as Professor Beer have used successfully the principles of Cybernetics to develop Political and Economic Systems for progressive governments.

Al-Ghazzali, the muslim scientist-philosopher-theologian of the tenth century in his Revival of Religious Sciences tried to develop a theory of messages which govern purposeful actions and in my view he may be considered as the fore-runner of this modern and most important science of our times. The word Cyber (Greek: Kuber) is very close to the Arabic word Khabar (meaning: message) and the word 'netics' is very close to the Arabic word Natiq (meaning: rational).

DR. HANIF FATMI
University of London, London SW3

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

AFRICAN AFFAIRS. Chinese Vice Minister of Communication said the construction of the railway line connecting Tanzania and Zambia would be in full swing by the end of 1973. ● The All Africa Church Organisation donated \$10,000 to the OAU to strengthen the efforts being made to bring further understanding between ZANU and ZAPU freedom movements of Zimbabwe.

BAHRAIN. The Government denied any plans to conclude a military agreement or alliance with Iran or any other country.

BANGLADESH. Foreign Minister, Kamal Hussein said efforts were being stepped up to bring the Pakistani PoWs to an early trial. A legislation is likely to be brought before the Parliament in its current budget session. He denied having committed earlier to any specific date for the commencement of the trials. ● Four persons were killed when "miscreants" attacked the residences of two ruling Party MPs in Bogra and Narsingdi. Awami League organising secretary Mr. Abdul Razzak condemned these attacks and said at other places too the miscreants had raised "objectionable slogans" and attacked his partymen. ● The Supreme Court Bar Association demanded a complete separation of Judiciary from the country's Executive as stipulated in the Constitution. ● In four bye-elections held last month the Awami League won two, independent one and JSD one. ● The Pay Commission submitted a 1000-page report. ● Egypt agreed to recognise Bangladesh.

CYPRUS. Makarios said he was not prepared to accept Turkish demands on local administration because that would mean creating a state within a state. ● A "Voice of Cyprus" commentary in Turkish said they shall never allow anyone to touch their inherent and de facto rights. ● A Cultural Cooperation Agreement signed between the USSR and the Republic of Cyprus.

EGYPT. An agreement on scientific, educational and cultural exchange during 1973-1975 has been entered into with Romania. ● 400 volumes of Egyptian text books presented to the Ghana Institute of Languages in Accra. Negotiation between Egypt and representative of an eight-nation West European Consortium on the Suez-Alexandria Oil Pipeline (Sumed) broke down when Egypt refused to agree to the constructor's demand for a rise in the original \$280m price negotiated in July 1971.

INDIA. Mrs. Gandhi said India's basic attitude was one of friendship with all countries including China. India and the US did not agree on several matters but this should not stand in the way of the policy; at the same time the existence of the Indo-Soviet treaty did not mean that the two countries had identical views on all matters. ● India's first self-propelled and diesel powered offshore drilling platform is to start drilling at a point 150 Km. from Bombay in the Arabian Sea. ● Foreign Minister, Mr. Swaran Singh said in Baghdad that Iran's huge armament programme exceeded her domestic requirements and that Iran

was pursuing imperialist expansionist aim. ● India-Japan communique after eighth regular meeting in Tokyo said that they had agreed to continue close contacts at all levels to solve their common problems.

INDONESIA. Brig. Gen. Yasir Hadibroto OC 7th Military Command said communists cells were still at large in several government and public institutions and that warnings of communist danger were not idle talk. ● Information Minister Saleh Mashuri said the people should seek to prevent upheavals which would only invite an interference from the Super Powers. He said the Soviet fleet was deployed everywhere and would enter Indonesia's territorial waters. The US Navy would certainly follow and Indonesia would then become a terrain of conflict of the two Super Powers. ● Australian Army and Air Force to survey 24,000 sq. miles of Sumatra and adjacent islands this year. Australia's Defence Minister said the operations began in 1970 and would continue till 1975. Indonesia needed up to date maps for economic developments.

IRAN. On 28 May at Ahvaz military garrison, eight persons were executed for having committed espionage and sabotage. ● Iran has expressed willingness to buy 5000 tons of the surplus Common Market butter at 8p a pound. ● Romania is to work out a plan for expanding the Tabriz tractor works to produce annually 30,000 tractors and also expressed willingness to buy increased quantities of Iranian industrial and traditional goods.

ISRAEL. Commenting on the UN Sec. General's Middle East Report to the Security Council the Israeli papers said the recommendation that the Security Council should continue to serve as a body to bring peace to the Middle East was unrealistic and naive. ● The Labour Party decided to admit to party membership Israeli Arabs who are willing to identify with its principles.

KASHMIR. After a wave of strikes and protests in Srinagar the State government banned Arthur Mee's Book of Knowledge Children's Encyclopaedia published in London by Hall and Thompson because it contained several derogatory references to Islam and a photograph of the prophet and the angel Gabriel.

LIBYA. Soviet Union, Spain, India, Malta, Chad, Niger, Somalia and Mali have agreed to use the Arabic language on their passports. ● The first police conference held in Tripoli called for ending the "obvious" shortage of vehicles in the force; arming the police with proper light-weight weapons; conscripting the local force to guard oil establishments; providing radio and other equipments; and to set up a centre for the training of the guards. Other proposals included increasing the strength and equipment of Central Security Force at Ports and Airports; establishment of Care Centres for female delinquents with no source of income; programmes to occupy the free time of students and youth during the summer holidays; and asking foreigners and Arabs

wishing to work in Libya to produce good conduct certificates for their own police force. ● The Eritrean Liberation Front congratulated President Qadhafi for the courageous Libyan stand in exposing Ethiopian collusion with Zionism, colonialism and imperialism. ● Libya accused the US Sixth Fleet of conducting irresponsible and foolhardy missions, and complained to the Security Council that the US aircrafts were violating Libyan air zone.

MALAYSIA. Vigilante Corps in Sarawak are being expanded to assist the security forces in defending villages and loghouses from the terrorists. ● Oil in commercial quantities struck in the South China sea 150 miles off the coast of Malaysia.

MAURITANIA. Mauritania introduced its new national monetary unit called Ougiya. One ougiya is equal 10 French centimes.

MOROCCO. The People's Central Bank will give a 10-year loan at 4% interest to Moroccans who participate in the Moroccanization of the country's economic sector.

NIGERIA. The Federal Commissioner for Establishment and Service Matters Maj. Gen. Hasan Katsina appealed to Nigerians to work hard and show a sense of honesty so as to ensure a smooth hand over of power in 1976. ● The Federal Commissioner of Finance expressed concern over the smuggling of crude oil from Nigeria.

NORTH YEMEN. Sheikh Mohammad Ali Usman, member of a three-man presidential council was killed in a hail of bazooka and machine gun fire while he was going for morning prayer in his home town of Taiz. Yemenis said they suspected the agents of the Marxists South Yemen were responsible for the terror.

PAKISTAN. Baluchistan government asked the civil armed forces and the army to restore order and communications in all parts of the province. The government said a number of incidents of lawlessness recently occurred in the Mengel and Mari tribe areas. ● Justice Abdul Hamid, Chairman of the National Industrial Relations Commission said the hospitals run under the Social Security Scheme had failed to provide proper medical cover to industrial workers and he found workers unanimous in their opposition to the Scheme. ● Asghar Khan, Istiqlal leader, said his Party would not become a part of the United Democratic Front but co-operate with UDF for a full introduction of democracy. ● Law Minister Pirzada called for a 3-year moratorium for all sorts of agitational politics in the country. ● President Bhutto told *Kahyan International* that it should be clear to India and Bangladesh that recognition of Bangladesh could not be expected from Pakistan under pressure. He also said that Pakistan was more than ready to forge the best of relations with Russia provided Pakistan's dignity and integrity were respected. ● A new division set up with the Ministry of Works to look after problems relating to manpower and to encourage emigration. ● Permission given to serve alcoholic

drinks in some NWFP hotels. A ban on alcohol was placed by the JUNAP government.

PALESTINE LIBERATION. A new Fatah office opened in Riyadh by the Governor of Riyadh Province. The committee caring for the families affected during the recent clashes between the Palestinians and the Labanese Army reported a total of 108 killed, 234 wounded, 70 widows and 230 orphans left, and 1150 houses damaged.

PHILIPPINES. President Marcos said he is satisfied with Chou en Lai's statement that Lin Piao elements will no longer interfere in Philippines domestic affairs.

SAUDI ARABIA. A number of American Universities have been asked to organise economic and public finance courses for Saudi graduates and officials. The number of scholarships for Muslim students from Saudi Arabia at the Islamic University, Medina, has been increased to 320. At present there are 1407 non-Saudi students who came from 80 countries. ● Saudi Arabia is to participate in the Asian International Fair in Tehran later this year. ● Saudi Arabia donated 100,000 francs to the Pasteur Institute in France.

SOUTH YEMEN. Soviet Union will build a 300-bed children and maternity hospital in Aden.

SUDAN. President Numeiri resigned when leaders of mass organisations and popular establishments demanded cancellation of the recently announced increases in the price of sugar, petrol and cigarettes. There were "vociferous and tearful shouts" from the people and in response to appeals from party leaders and ministers Numeiri decided to withdraw his resignation. ● American Export and Import Bank has authorised a loan of \$10.3m to buy two Boeing 707.

SYRIA. Diplomatic relations with Britain resumed. ● In the country's first election after 10 years under the new Constitution the ruling Bath Party won 122 out of 186 seats.

TUNISIA. Pres. Bourguiba told an Italian journalist that the situation in the Middle East was delicate and if the efforts to reach a peaceful solution failed war or some action dictated by despair would probably take place. War, he said was not the solution; irrespective of the outcome the Arabs would always be there and the Israelis would always live in fear of war and the Arabs. He said the interest of all would be maintained if the Americans and the Israelis thought about the future, overcame the present and tried to create a permanent situation suitable for all and accepted by all.

UGANDA. Pres. Amin appealed to the Chief Qadi to take immediate steps to see that he has well educated people who can advise him on planning for the Uganda's Supreme Muslim Council. The President said that some schools like the Agha Khan's private school which was given to the Uganda Muslim Supreme Council was not operating and grass was growing all over the place. The General said if Muslims are not available, non-Muslim staff can be recruited.