

MUSLIM VIEWPOINT(S) ON CURRENT AFFAIRS

impact

international fortnightly

THE MORO FREEDOM STRUGGLE

■ The Chinese in Africa ■ Western Views on Islam ■ Not ugly, only Capitalism Jerusalem Planning ■ Pakistan Plea for Reconciliation ■ Brandt's Atonement ■ Anglo-Nigerian Relations ■ Tunis-Tripoli Accord ■ Soviet Islam ■ Azad Kashmir Aliens ■ Cento Sense ■ Libyan Spring ■ Subcontinent Jigsaw

Books New Spectrum News Brief

LONDON, 22 JUNE — 12 JULY 1973

Vol 3: 2

Last week's House of Lords' ruling that the U.K. Immigration Act of 1971 was retroactive would now have the effect of *making* an unknown number of immigrants in Britain illegal immigrants and subject to deportation. The first enactment dealing with Commonwealth immigration to Britain was passed in 1962. Under the 1962 act "an illegal immigrant", that is a person who entered Britain other than through an Immigration check-port was not liable to prosecution unless interviewed by immigration officials within 24 hours of his entry. He ceased to be a "prosecutable immigrant" after the expiry of this period, in other words illegal no more. In 1968 in deference to increased domestic racist pressures, and with a view to providing against the eventuality of having to receive non-English British citizens from East Africa and elsewhere the Immigration Act went through another rigourous exercise and the interview-liability period was extended to six months.

The contemporary concepts of nationhood and citizenship imply that no country is liable to allow anybody and everybody to take residence within its bounds except in conformity with its laws and discretion. If immigration is to be controlled then those who want to come in through means other than prescribed by law would have to be checked, discouraged and even punished. So far it was logical and reasonable. In fact it would have been perfectly legal and as "moral" as immigration control itself, had it been laid down in the 1962 Act that a person entering illegally would for ever stay liable to prosecution and deportation. Significantly this was not done in 1968 even after six years' experience of immigration control. Probably it was felt, and rightly so, that the number of those who would actually be able to slip the British immigration control cannot be so significant as to justify a kind of permanent witch-hunt. The second and perhaps more important reason could be found in the very psychology and nature of the successive Commonwealth immigration control measures in Britain. The various such enactments were dictated not by any economic or sound administrative considerations. In fact with a declining birth rate, a net outward migration and the growing manpower needs of the country's economy, the economic agreement should have dictated otherwise. On the other hand, being racist and colour-based in origin and motivation, both the Labour and Tory

Immigration: the retrospective illegality

governments have had to find a rather sneaky and gradual way of imposing a system of control which would in due course enable them admit the White Commonwealth citizens and at the same time keep out the non-White ones. The addition of the word "patrial" to English dictionary and introducing the new "patriality" concept to International law were inventions given birth to by such a need. Obviously it was this guilt complex and the corresponding desire to maintain a liberal and non-racist face in the comity of nations, that prevented the British government from taking a course which would have been *perfectly* legal and moral as far back as 1962. This was not done because the law-givers did not possess the confidence which comes only from being sure about the righteousness of ones position.

Such a legal bar to illegal entry was obtained through the 1971 Immigration Act. That it should apply to those who come after the enforcement of the Act was never controverted, but what is ugly about it is the desire to apply it retroactively and *treat* as illegal and liable to removal 'all commonwealth citizens who entered the United Kingdom in breach of the laws in force both before and after the new Act, even where such persons could no longer have been prosecuted for illegal entry under the pre-1971 legislation and have established themselves in the Community'. However, as in the previous legislation, even this retroactive power was not obtained in a straightforward manner. And that made it more ugly. At no stage was such an intention made clear either to the Parliament or the community. The enabling powers were obtained in what can now be termed a surreptitious manner.

Had this not been the intention, after the House of Lord's ruling, a simple amendment could have been made to clarify the intentions of the Parliament.

Despite appeals not only from the immigrant communities, but from a number of MPs, Trade Union and Church leaders, the Government now refuse either to amend the 1971 Act or declare an amnesty for those who may be so affected. The Home Secretary, Mr. Robert Carr does not believe that "the 1971 Act altered the status of those people". He said "my primary duty is towards those born here or those who come legally". As to Lord Salmon's dissent note wherein he describes the 1971 Act as a labyrinth of verbiage, and the Act's unclarified and retroactive nature, Mr. Carr replies that the members could have raised the question during the lengthy debate which they had but "reading the bill I am in no doubt that it was clear". What he offers is the assurance that there will be no witch-hunt and that he will take into consideration all circumstances—age, length of stay, the strength of connections in the country, personal history, character, conduct, employment, domestic circumstances, medical condition, and any representation made before ordering anyone to be deported. That personal compassion and discretion were no substitute for a clear and equitable legal situation, should be clear enough, but what would happen if someday such compassionate discretion was to be exercised by Mr. Enoch Powell?

The cruciality of the matter lies precisely in safeguarding the interests of those towards whom the Home Secretary's "primary duty" lay. The interests of "those born here or who come legally", can be best served only through such policies which are definite, dignified, and conducive to good community relations. The number involved has been put at as high as 10,000 which seemed a gross inflation. The issue in any case is not quantitative. Whether the number is small or as high as mentioned, it would certainly put an unnecessary strain on the police and the administrative machinery, but to no real avail. In fact as one pro-Conservative national daily admitted "no great protection for society has been conferred". While one may tend not to sympathise with those who by entering illegally have exposed themselves to blackmail and personal insecurities, the amount of social tension that may be so released is undesirable, but also avoidable.

Survey

● ISLAM & RUSSIA ● TUNISIA-LIBYA ACCORD ● NEW BRITISH ALIENS

Soviet Mufti's Disclaimer

Following the banning of a book on "The Qur'an, its doctrine and philosophy" in Indonesia and Somalia, Moscow radio has broadcast in Arabic an interview with Mufti Ziya ut Din Babakhanov (Chairman and Spiritual Administrator of the Muslim Board of Central Asia and Kazakhstan) which has rejected Soviet responsibility for the authorship and publication of the book. The book, according to the *Jakarta Times* is in Arabic and entitled "Islam Aqidatuhu wa Taalimatuhu". It is published by the Soviet Novosti News Agency, written by N. I. Mukhitdinov and was issued during the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad in 1973. It claims that the Qur'an is "a collection of lies . . . written during the Middle Ages", that its verses possess "hypnotic power" and that according to the remark of Soviet academician Kravoski "it is only good for a song" and is not clear. Its teachings are said to be "legalising the despicable deed of intimidating the people".

These views in themselves are nothing new. What is interesting is Moscow radio's disclaimer and Mufti Babakhanov's replies. The interviewer remarked that "the booklet grossly distorts the real position of Muslims in the Soviet Union (and) also portrays an erroneous image of the position of Islam in the Soviet Union. Babakhanov in turn was "amazed" that there should be "these people who slander Almighty God and His words by uttering absurd and malicious and false statements against the Qur'an". Although only asked about the book of Mukhitdinov he also referred to a booklet allegedly published in English by Novosti and written by R. N. Nishanov, Soviet ambassador to Ceylon (Sri Lanka). This was entitled "The Soviet Union and Islam" and was published in 1971. Babakhanov said, "I know that the authors of these two books have used the name of Comrades Nishanov and Mukhitdinov" but they "are not expert on the Qur'an nor have they fabricated or falsified the Holy Qur'an", neither were they experts in the two languages so they could not have been "the real authors".

One may go on to postulate then that maybe it was the CIA or a similar nefarious body which was responsible for any fabrication that might have occurred. Whatever it is Moscow must presume that its Arabic listeners are so ignorant as to believe that the type of views expressed in the book is not indeed the type of views which the Soviet union has held of Islam and the Muslims. Orientalists in the Soviet Union have always represented Islam as "a primitive and fantastic religion", "a chaotic mixture of Christian Jewish and pagan doctrines", founded by "a member of the feudal trading classes of Mecca with the object of providing a religious pretext for the plundering expeditions organised by the Arab aristocracy" and as a "foreign religion imposed on the

peoples of Central Asia and Transcaucasia by fire and sword".

The question is why, in spite of these Soviet positions, has Mufti Babakhanov said that "Muslims in the Soviet Union perform the rites of the Islamic religion in complete freedom" and that "the Soviet Union does not interfere in or apply pressure concerning teaching of the Islamic religion". Indeed, according to Babakhanov, Islam is positively flourishing in the Soviet Union. To be sure, there are a great number of Muslims even in the communist party who "are still practising religious practices and customs". According to a party official this is "intolerable". There is also no doubt that pressures of various sorts are applied but by and large anti-religious comments are aired mainly for internal consumption. One must remember that Babakhanov's interview was broadcast in Arabic and meant for external listeners to show that a liberal attitude towards religion is adopted in the Soviet Union. (See "Religion only for Export", *Impact* 1:24). It is also true to say that since the end of the Second World War, the attitude of the Muslim religious authorities towards the Soviet States has been one of complete loyalty. It is not known what, if any, sort of pressures are put on Mufti Babakhanov to be the faithful mouthpiece and emissary of the Soviet Union that he has shown himself to be. Perhaps it is his way of ensuring that whatever exists of Islam in the Soviet Union is left intact. But the Soviet Union must surely realise that its two faced policies on religious questions—one for home and the other for foreign consumption—are now seen as such and are therefore without much effective propagandist value. It is much better for them to recognise, rather than attempt to suppress, the positive mainsprings of Muslim life in Central Asia.

Tunisian-Libyan step forward

With the memory still fresh of Bourguiba's 'snub' to Qaddafi during the latter's official visit to Tunisia, the signing of a wide-ranging economic agreement between Tunisia and Libya must have come as a surprise to many.

Last December Qaddafi went to Tunisia to propose union between the two countries. He was proclaiming his ideas in a fiery speech in a Tunis cinema to an audience of dignitaries when Bourguiba stepped in and stated publicly: "Qaddafi came to me and proposed unity, and even to become the president of the two states." "But unity on paper," he went on, "is worth nothing. It is mentalities that must change. One must create the factors of unity but this can take years and even centuries . . . In Libya, there are certain areas like the Fezzan where one is not in the middle ages but in the age of the

creation of the world . . . It is not enough to say we are one Arab people, we have achieved union. We must first of all achieve progress . . ."

These blunt remarks might have had the effect of putting the Libyans off any form of co-operation with Tunisia for a long time and so it is significant that the new agreement has been reached.

Basically the agreement deals with economic integration between the two countries. According to a Tunisian commentary, it is "a step towards an economic merger, and even towards economic unity (and) it is worth pointing out in this respect that Libya has not so far concluded similar agreements with any other party".

The details of the agreement concern free trade, encouraging the investment of capital in both countries, allowing Tunisian contracting firms to operate in Libya, free movement of labour and the provision of vocational training.

Both parties stand to benefit considerably. The Tunisians would gain mainly in financial terms. Libya has agreed to contribute to the completion of Tunisia's new four-year plan. This would be of help since Tunisia has had practically to go with a begging bowl to the USA especially for help. Libya would supply money for developing and utilizing water supplies in the South of Tunisia, for tourist schemes and for setting up a joint Tunisian-Libyan bank (with initial capital of almost \$4 million) to be based in Beirut. On the other hand Libya would gain mainly from the expertise that the Tunisians can offer with their 5 million population compared with Libya's 2 millions. Tunisia would supply vocational training for a Libya desperately short of trained and competent manpower.

Inevitably, the expectations aroused by the agreement have been couched in terms of hyperbole. According to Abdus Salam Jallud, the agreement "drew the main course of the two peoples' struggle in the sphere of unity and cohesion and laid down the details of the educational philosophy of the two countries on the foundations of Arab civilization and proper history and on the adoption of scientific and technical methods to save the Arab nation from the weakness and feebleness it had fallen into". There is no doubting, however, the need for emerging countries to set up "a significant economic bloc", as he saw it. As such, the Tunisian-Libyan agreement is a substantial step forward.

Azad Kashmir aliens in Britain

There should be no regret in Pakistan or among Pakistanis over the bill introduced last month in the British Parliament "to make provisions in connection with Pakistan's withdrawal from the Commonwealth". Accordingly Pakistanis who have completed five years residence in Britain at the

Survey

● CENTO ● SUBCONTINENT ● NIGERIA ● JERUSALEM

date of enactment of the Bill will be eligible to register as British citizen six months after the enactment; others who complete five years residence later will have a similar six-month period to register. Those who do not register and those who came to Britain after 30 January, 1972 (the date Pakistan withdrew from the Commonwealth) would be treated as aliens; be subject to usual disabilities in the matter of civil service, voting, property, etc.; liable to register with police; and acquire citizenship only after going through the tedious process of naturalisation.

Apart from the fact that compared to the South African precedent, the bill is far too inconsiderate in the matter of providing for a smooth transition, serious difficulty seems to have arisen over the position of the resident of Azad Kashmir. Kashmir being legally and morally a disputed territory. Pakistan unlike India has been scrupulous not to merge territories on her side of the ceasefire line within the country's bounds. The Azad Kashmiris accordingly carried Pakistan Passport but were not described as Pakistani citizens. On 2 February this year, Pakistan amended its law to accord them the status of Pakistani citizens but as this date fell after the Commonwealth withdrawal date; Britain's "Pakistan Bill of 1973" had the effect of making them aliens. In order to remove this difficulty Pakistan has through a later enactment conferred upon Azad Kashmiris citizenship with retrospective effect. Surely it could not be the HMG's intention to make Azad Kashmiris aliens at all cost, yet the matter is causing justifiable anxiety among the Azad Kashmiris because the position remains unclarified, authoritatively. The Azad Kashmiris have indicated determination to go to the European Human Rights Court at Strasbourg but why at all should there be any difficulty on the point? These people seem simply to have become innocent victims of a deteriorating Pakistan-British relations. Similar lack of correspondence can be seen on the question of a mutually acceptable procedure for the implementation of the Pakistani enactment enabling its citizens to hold both Pakistan and U.K. citizenships. Britain accepts dual citizenship, and a British citizen can carry both British and the Israeli or Lebanese Passports, yet it is now a year that Pakistan-British consultations over the dual citizenship issue have been going on but to no result.

Cento Sense!

Last week's five nation CENTO meeting in Tehran ended by identifying (Communist) subversion in the Gulf as the main threat to the security of the region. Iranian Foreign Minister Abbas Khalatbari said, "The Persian Gulf faces many threats, and these threats are increasing." Mr. Nassir Assar, the Secretary-General of the Organisation emphasised that the danger of insurgency in the Gulf was "real and tangible." In Pakistan too, he said, the Government believed "there is Soviet-inspired insurgency in Baluchistan and the North West Frontier Province".

Judging from the inaccuracy of what Mr

Nassir Assar reported about Pakistan, it would seem the Gulf threat too was blown up out of all proportions. In so far as Baluchistan and the NWFP in Pakistan are concerned, talks of insurgency related more to the exigencies of the country's internal political feuding than anything real or tangible. Surely, Russia is not and would not remain disinterested but just now she had only negligible cadres, if any to work with. The threat, in fact, was internal and a regression of the country's own power politics.

The Gulf no doubt was important for two simple reasons. First, it produces 86% oil needed by the West. Second, the enormous purchasing power it has come to acquire through its oil wealth. The desire to ensure an uninterrupted flow of the oil line is legitimate and understandable, but as it would seem, it was sought to be achieved through negative means. The bulk of the "Communist" threat in the Gulf is more Western rather than Russian inspired. By creating and playing upon this sense of threat and selling a huge amount of war junk, a large chunk of the area's wealth is being siphoned back to the Western nations. As for the communist threat no one in his senses really believes that with all that arms and armament that America has sold and proposes to sell to Iran, for example, it would deter the Russian's from pursuing their imperial ambitions. On the other hand whenever in the past, a member's security was threatened, the alliance did nothing to justify its existence.

The continuation of the alliance was a measure not of its success, but of the deprived nature of the Third World politics. Deprivation posed a more serious threat, it was an ally of communism.

Tashkent-Washington Jigsaw

Last month President Bhutto told *Keyhan International*, that the PoW's may be repatriated by autumn if not earlier. The threatened war trials made "the task of moving towards recognition more difficult", he said. Pakistan Law Minister said recently that some civilian PoW's are going to get back soon. State Minister, Aziz Ahmad, informed NA that the PoW's return was the only hitch in normalizing ties with New Delhi. (In Kashmir, the "line of control" is demarcated already). Baluchistan governor Bugti has suggested a confederation with Bangladesh, India, Iran and Afghanistan. However, it is not Bugti but the editor, acting editor, printer and publisher of the opposition daily *Jasarat* have found themselves arrested under the Defence of Pakistan Rules.

The Aid Consortium has been giving friendly advice to both Pakistan and Bangladesh. Bangladesh is ready with its secession invoice and claims having the financiers approval too. Last fortnight, within a span of four days, *Tass* twice flashed statements by the Bangladesh Communist Party and pro-Moscow NAP calling upon the Bangladesh people "resolutely to reject the reactionary movement for the establishment of the so-called Muslim Bengal". One Big Power is understood to have guaranteed the PoW's release and only a token war trial if Pakistan recognises Bangladesh. Pakistan's constitution, still to be enforced, envisages appropriate amendments "so as to enable . . . East Pakistan as and when foreign aggression in that province and its effects are eliminated, to be represented in the affairs of the Federation." (Art. 1(3)). President Bhutto wants the NA to authorise him to recognise Bangladesh. He is going to Washington on 17 July.

Anglo-Nigerian Relations

The state visit of General Yakubu Gowon, the Nigerian Head of State, to Britain has as expected given a great boost to Anglo-Nigerian relations. These relations were at a low ebb following the Nigerian Civil War. Nigerians, chastened by the

lack of support from Britain, generally felt that the time had come when the phase of "looking up" to the British had ended and given rise to a new one of "facing up" to Britain. That there is still considerable anti-British feeling in Nigeria was shown by the vocal opposition to Gowon's state visit, his first outside Africa after coming to power. One Nigerian commentator, with a stiff regard for protocol, said that Gowon was being slighted by being welcomed at the airport not by the Queen herself, but by her relation Princess Alexandra and Mr. Angus Ogilvy.

The British themselves may cast a cynical eye on these objections because they know that British involvement in Nigeria has hardly suffered and in fact has kept on increasing. What Gowon's visit has done is to revive the goodwill and so put British involvement on a more secure basis. This is important for Britain which is now beginning to attach a new importance to Black Africa of which Nigeria is the largest and potentially the most powerful country. Moreover, General Gowon is the current Chairman of the Organisation of African Unity which is indicative of his enormous standing in the continent as a whole.

Through getting at Nigeria, Britain hopes to convince the African Commonwealth countries to give up their opposition to some form of association to the EEC which Nigeria used to believe was merely a form of neo-colonialism. Moreover, Britain has a large stake in the country's oil industry and in other sectors. Nigeria has shown itself willing to employ British experts at all levels from the reorganisation of the Civil Service to the work of the Voluntary Service Overseas which has more workers in Nigeria than in any other African country. In this sense, Nigeria still "looks up" to Britain.

One of the most crucial questions for the future is whether Britain's estimation of the importance of Nigeria and black Africa would lead it to reconsider its attitude and policies towards white southern Africa. On his visit Gowon has made it clear that there should be no Anglo-Rhodesian settlement that is not fully backed by a majority of the Rhodesian African population. Perhaps Nigeria despite its unprecedented growth and stability, is not yet strong enough to exercise any lever in this regard. Indeed the relaxed nature of the new relationship may rule out thinking along these lines.

Jerusalem Planning

A kind of subdued town planning controversy is raging in the Holy City of Jerusalem.

The city's chief town planner, Professor Nathaniel Litchfield of London University, "a British Jew married to an Israeli" wants the municipality to restrict the height of the buildings in the city: up to eight storeys in the central areas and four storeys in areas close to the wailing wall. This is opposed by zealots and fanatics—whatever it may mean in the Israeli situation—who prefer an open policy with regard to Jerusalem. There are other Jews—the common citizenry—who do not feel much enthused over the prospect of getting suffocated by majestic apartment blocks. There already has been a reduction in the open and green spots. The old Jewish residents do not relish the idea of a megalopolis dancing to the tunes of an international tourist market. The "hay-making" since 1967 has already strained the city's schooling and health services. Arthur Kucher, an American Jew, formerly on Jerusalem's town planning staff has accused the authorities of trying to turn the city into "a kind of religious Disneyland". "The city's visual and symbolic heritage is being sold for ready cash and rubbish dumped into valleys so as to prevent protest when they are later turned into housing estates".

There is unanimity, however, on turning Jerusalem into an "overwhelmingly" Jewish city. Six years of occupation have already changed the city's character. While everywhere in the world the cry is about population control and reducing population pressure in the big cities, in Jerusalem

Survey

the population has gone up by 20 per cent. A Greater Jerusalem Plan to include the Christian towns of Bethlehem and Ramallah was drawn up in 1968 but has not yet been "officially" approved.

Apart from the aesthetic sense of some, behind this planning controversy lies actually the conflict of various private and establishment property interests. Besides individuals, the labour confederation, Histadrut and the National Religious party have come to acquire such interests during the past six years. But the more notable clash is between the municipality and the Israeli government. To the government the prime consideration is military and strategic, but the municipality is faced also with the more mundane task of running a city, and the need to house the city's Arab labour force.

There is no controversy as yet on the wisdom of putting so much stake on a city which is illegally occupied. Just now the United Nations Organisation may not be in a position to enforce its virtually unanimous resolutions, but the World conscience is something which cannot remain defied for ever. It is bound to wake up, before tomorrow.

Middle East Sine Die

The debate on the Middle East dispute in the U.N. Security Council—the first full debate since 1967—has been postponed.

Egypt attached the most importance to the debate as part of its continuing attempt to get a political initiative started. Opening the debate, the Egyptian Foreign Minister called for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israel's forces from all the occupied territories and for acceptance of the principle that Israel's borders could not extend beyond those of the former British mandate in Palestine. Also, the Palestinian nation should be recognized with the right to secure and recognised boundaries the same right "being sought by the Jewish state and accorded to her and all the peoples of the area" The postponement leaves the situation substantially as it was.

Herr Brandt's Atonement Visit

Over the years West Germany's relations with Israel has generally been based on a policy of appeasement to atone for Hitler's sins against the Jews. This has made the relationship both special and delicate and made it that much easier for the Jews and Israelis to have their way with the West Germans. This is well illustrated by a story told by Terence Prittie former correspondent of *The Guardian* and now of the Jewish Chronicle:

"A few years ago an Italian correspondent working in the Federal German Republic took a bet that he would drive through the streets of Cologne at 75 miles per hour until stopped by the police, but would neither be charged nor forced to pay an on-the-spot fine. He would wear a Star of David on his jacket and fly a small star of David pennant on the car bonnet. He won his bet. The police did stop him and were very angry indeed. When he showed them his Star of David they went into a huddle. Then the senior policeman told him very politely that he was guilty of an offence but would only be warned this time. All the police saluted as he drove off".

The visit of the West German Chancellor, Willy Brandt, to Israel earlier this month can also be seen essentially in the light of this

policy. It is the first time that a Chancellor has paid an official visit to Israel. The visit represents a high point in a process aimed at keeping and using the growing power and influence of West Germany on Israel's side. It is seen as particularly important at a time when Germany has shown itself capable of adopting an independent foreign policy by opening up relations with the Soviet Union and East European countries, by calling for closer ties with France and a policy of "equilibrium" towards the Middle East as a whole. Moreover West Germany is to be admitted into the United Nations later this year and Israel attaches some importance to having more than the one firm overt ally (U.S.A.) that it has at present.

On the face of it, the Israelis have no reason for thinking that Herr Brandt would upset the special relationship. He is an anti-Nazi of "unimpeachable credentials", the head of a party that drew much of its pre-war inspiration and leadership from German Jews and, together with the Israeli Premier, Mrs. Meir, is a stalwart of the Socialist International. Strangely enough, it is precisely for these reasons that many Israelis once seemed worried about Chancellor Brandt. In their view, he does not bear the burden of having to prove his bona fides constantly towards the Jews and might therefore be less inhibited about adopting a more independent line where Israel is concerned.

These earlier fears have so far proved unfounded. On several occasions during his visit he has had to reassure the Israelis of German support both in political and economic terms. The Israeli Deputy Premier Allon expressed the value of this support in clear terms: "Germany is an important market," he said, "Germany's attitudes and positions and votes mean a lot in Europe and the world."

Thus Brandt reaffirmed the "special character" of German-Israeli relations. This was different from "normal" relations between states since in the eyes of many Israelis to normalise relations would in this case be to downgrade them. Brandt emphasised that Bonn's improving relations with Arab states would not mean worsened relations with Israel. He also spoke of increasing economic and scientific co-operation.

It is particularly in the economic field that Israel expects a great deal from West Germany. German commentators realise this. They point out that Israel's survival would not have been possible without reparation payments and Bonn's annual aid of £20m. It was the first Chancellor Konrad Adenauer (who when out of office went on a 'pilgrimage' to Israel) who signed the State aid agreement in 1952, promulgated the law for restitution payments and organised clandestine arms deliveries to Israel. These commentators realise that this visit was more important for Israel than West Germany—an idea which could hardly have been aired a year ago. Israel is hoping that Germany would continue to

play its part in getting special tariff agreements with the EEC. It not only wants custom reductions for its exports into EEC countries but also a transit period for the lowering of Customs duties on imports into Israel, a period sufficient for taking into account the development of Israel industry. This would enable Israeli industry to expand to an optimum size. The agreement is expected to come into force in January 1974.

Apparently to secure these advantages, there seem to have been persistent attempts during his visit to remind the Chancellor of German guilt and Jewish suffering. Brandt's first act was to visit the "Yad Ve'shem" memorial to Jews who lost their lives in the Nazi holocaust. The visit ended with a trip to evoke the spirit of Masada.

It was noticeable, however, that Brandt was trying to get away from a relationship based on feelings of guilt. Brandt said: "The young generation enjoying the freedom of being unbiased, cannot take from us the burden of experience." This was perhaps a direct reference to Israeli disquiet about anti-Zionist trends among German youth, particularly the youth wing of Brandt's socialist party—trends which are inevitably interpreted as being anti-semitic.

Barring the talk of guilt and the invoked memories of the past, relations between West Germany and Israel can undoubtedly be considered as exemplary so far as Israel is concerned. But the Israelis would not admit this mainly because there is some leverage in holding on to the view that their relations with the Germans could never be normal.

PEOPLE

Former Bandung Mayor Col. Djukardi to be tried for involvement in Communist coup of 1965. Husni Salih, new Director-General of the Libya "Arab Revolution News Agency". Colonels K. M. Safullah amid Ziaur Rahman Chief and Deputy Chief of Staff, Bangladesh Army promoted Brigadiers.

DIPLOMATS

Alexander Yakovlev new Soviet Amb. in Canada. Jan Krzywicki Poland's Amb. to S. Vietnam. Moses Oyetola Adefope new Nigerian H.C. in Uganda. Lt-Gen. Rakhman Gul new Pakistan Amb. to Libya. B. K. Nehru former Indian Amb. in Washington, now Assam Governor, mentioned coming as High Commissioner in London.

VISITS

British Air Chief Marshal Sir Dennis Spotswood to Jakarta, 6 June. Burmese Premier Ne Win to Indonesia and Malaysia, beginning 11 June. Pakistan Agri. Min. Raisani to Gulf States, from 8 June. King Faisal to Morocco, Italy and Algiers, 6-12 June. Bangladesh Commerce Min. Qamruzaman to Delhi, 4 June. Yemen Dy. PM Ahmad Noman to Jeddah.

DIED

M. S. Golwalker, 67, leader of the Hindu Rashtrya Swayem Sevak Sangh party of India. Maulana Lal Hussain Akhtar, 70, Pakistan religious leader, on 10 June.

Lonrho Affair

Not Ugly, only Capitalism

A. W. Hamid

The shareholders' massive vote of confidence for "Tiny" Rowland as managing director and a handshake from his inveterate enemy Sir Basil Smallpiece signified that the crisis in Lonrho's directorship was over. The Company is now free to get on with its far from tiny or small dealings in Africa and beyond.

The acrimonious dispute while it lasted served to draw attention to some of the wheeling and dealing of this huge international conglomerate and to expose what Prime Minister Heath in the House of Commons called "the unpleasant and unacceptable face of capitalism". All the ugliness could have been covered up if only no less a person than the Governor of the Bank of England had got his way in his attempt to keep the wranglings out of court by proposing that Rowland "continue to use his influence to reassure people in the African and Middle East countries".

While Rowland's influence remains undiminished and has perhaps been strengthened, the people in the African and Middle East countries do not seem to need much reassuring. Apart from some Kenyan and Ghanaian opinion, there does not appear to be much awareness of the ramifications of Lonrho. In the words of the *Legon Observer*, an organ for Ghanaian dons, Africans instead of "taking a cool look at our relations with the company in general . . . are creating the absurd impression that Mr. Rowland is the newly-found patron saint of African economic emancipation". On the other hand, it has also been said that "surprisingly few of Lonrho's West African employees seem to realise that they belong to this great international organisation". In either case Lonrho and Rowland remain on top. Lonrho—the name derives from London and Rhodesia Mining and Land Company—started in 1909 in Rhodesia and remained small until 1961, when Rowland was appointed managing director. Since then the company has grown into the big giant that it is now with an annual turnover of £200 million and 100,000 employees. It has extensive mining and agricultural interests in several African states—Ghana, Nigeria, Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Zaire, Zambia, Malawi, Kenya, Tanzania, Swaziland and others. For example, it controls 45 per cent of the Ashanti Goldmines in Ghana. In Nigeria Lonrho's main interest is the John Holt group which it took over in 1969 and which owned such concerns as the port of Warri and the Kano tannery. A bid to get a stake in Nigeria's oil industry through operating giant tanker ships failed but participation in groundnut crushing and textile mills has been achieved. The company has entered into major sugar growing contracts with the Ivory Coast and Dahomey. The company's latest scoops are in the Sudan where it is planning a £40 million sugar industry and has become the sole agents for Sudanese imports from Britain. Sudan as a link between North Africa and the Middle East is especially important for the firm's expansion.

Rowland has stated in a letter to shareholders that he believed Lonrho could achieve in the Middle East and North Africa as much "if not more", as it has achieved in Africa. This is a clear indication that a bid would be made for Middle Eastern oil. Here, Rowland has the backing of the influential Sudanese, Dr. Osman Khalil Osman, who is head of the Kuwait-based Gulf International Group and who was mainly responsible for giving Lonrho the monopoly over Sudan's imports from the U.K.

In the year ending September 1971, Lonrho's pre-tax profits stood at £15 million, £10 million of this came from East and Central Africa (Kenya, Malawi, Rhodesia, Tanzania, Uganda, Zaire and

Zambia) and £4.7 million from West Africa (Ghana, Ivory Coast and Nigeria). Despite the large turnover and the large profits, the company underwent a liquidity crisis and the firm of Peat Marwick Mitchell and Co. was called in to investigate. They found that "substantial sums" advanced by the company for the development of the South African mine, Western Platinum, were "the main cause of Lonrho's liquidity problem". Almost £8 million has been invested in these mines and a further £2 million investment is expected.

In effect this has meant that "the labour of Ghanaian goldminers, East African sugar cane planters, the workers in Northern Nigerian textile mills and the employees of Lonrho's numerous other enterprises has generated the finance for developing South Africa's mineral wealth—the basis of apartheid's economic and political strength". This of course was not the unpleasant face of capitalism which Mr. Heath wanted to draw attention to. Neither was it the fact that Lonrho's subsidiaries in Rhodesia and South Africa were engaged in an effective busting sanctions against Rhodesia by selling its copper and getting hard currency into the country. Heath's remarks concerned mainly the possibility of tampering with British company and taxation laws and as such a Department of Trade and Industry inquiry has been set up.

One might have expected however, that for African leaders Lonrho's South African connection would be an important element in determining the company's freedom to operate in their countries. So far they seem to show no misgivings about this. It is not as if they do not know. Tiny Rowland secures his deals mainly at the top, from the heads of states themselves and this is considered an essential part of his 'flair' in dealing with Africans. Rowland, according to Udi Gecaga, a son-in-law of President Kenyatta and Managing Director of Lonrho East Africa, understands "what makes Africa tick". Gecaga was one of the many Africans who in the directorship dispute expressed "support for Mr. Rowland, what he stands for, his policies and his breadth of vision".

It seems strange that Lonrho should be described as "virtually unique in being the only UK company in Africa which does not have the usual imperialist overtones". With the channelling of its profits to South Africa, with Duncan Sandys, a former Colonial Secretary and opponent of sanctions, as its Chairman said to be receiving fabulous "perks", and with its whole attitude to investments in black Africa, it is difficult not to see Lonrho as part of the vast imperialist network which has grown fat on Africa. The arguments for having alliance with powerful enterprises outside have not applied so far in the case of Africa and Lonrho. Only as late as 1971 did the annual report of the company speak of paying "more attention to bringing on local management in African countries" and of seeking "to identify ourselves with our host countries". They may have provided capital for development in some cases but the huge profits came from take-overs on established enterprises like the Ashanti goldmines, much of these profits of course were siphoned out of the various countries.

One of the only places where the policies and practises of Lonrho came in for strong criticism was in the Kenyan Parliament. On 9 May, the Assistant Minister for Tourism, Mr. Kariuki, warned that unless the Government took a decisive step to control Lonrho, "the firm will become such a formidable octopus that it will virtually exert a stranglehold on every economic aspect of this country". He gave an example of a

local Lonrho firm which had raised £30 million in Kenya to entrench its business without investing even a single pound from its huge resources overseas. He further expressed the fear that unless the activities of Lonrho was brought into check, there was danger because there was a fear that such an organization was planning to infiltrate Africa and plant future leaders of their choice. He quoted reports in *Newsweek* magazine to support claims that Lonrho was involved in bringing about political change in certain regimes to secure support for its activities.

There is no question that the activities and methods of Lonrho in Africa (and now in the Middle East) need examination. But Lonrho is by no means the only conglomerate in Africa. Only its boardroom wranglings have brought it to light. Its story appears to be so bizarre as to resemble fiction. This is well expressed by Forsyth, the journalist turned novelist and now known for his *Night of the Jackal*, an incredible story of a plot to kidnap and murder De Gaulle. Of Lonrho he said: "If you'd written a novel using those facts last year, everybody would have said 'Come on this is a bit bloody melodramatic'. Do it in five years and they'll say, 'This was how it was'."

impact international fortnightly

Muslim viewpoints on current affairs

Ordinary Post/U.K. & Overseas £3.50 \$10.50
Airmail: Far East £6.00 \$17.00
Other Countries £5.25 \$15.00

Single Copy (By Post)

Ordinary Post: UK and abroad 15p
Airmail: Zone 1, 25p; Zone 2, 22p

Please enter my subscription for

- 1 year Six months (Students and new subscribers only)
- New Subscription Renewal

Name..... (block capitals)

Address

..... (Post Code)

Field of work/study

Commencing (Issue No./Date)

Cheque/Draft/P.O./M.O. for £stg..... enclosed.

Please make remittance in net amount and payable to
News & Media Ltd.,
33 Stroud Green Rd, London N4 3EF
Phone: 01-263 1417
Grams: Newsmedia, London N4

I was last in Libya in 1956, before the Suez War when the fledgling university was just beginning, and housed in an old royal palace downtown in Benghazi. A former Catholic school is now an annexe because the children educated there had seldom been Libyans, and "even if they had been, their religion would have run the risk of being perverted", a professor observed to me as we were leaving this annexe. There are now many Egyptian and Pakistani professors here. The student body consists of over a thousand men plus two hundred girls, who must wear pantsuits since the government disapproves of miniskirts.

The new campus lies along the seashore about five miles west of Benghazi. They hope to move in by September 1973. British architects and engineers and Yugoslav contractors are building it.

The university library is housed downtown in the old provincial assembly building which used to serve the province of Cyrenaica or Barqa. Five hundred manuscripts had been brought in from the old Sanusi centre in the oasis of Jaghub to the east near the Egyptian border. Down the street the USIS has been disbanded, and that centre is now a public reading room. Some Italian books on the shelves described the Italian occupation. The Italians were cruel and blind, and contrast with the scornful pride of the French in the rest of North Africa.

The college students were eager and argumentative, especially the ones worried about Jewish expansionism, and who insisted upon my personal responsibility as an American citizen: they seem to fear a new invasion when their energies will have to go into expelling this fresh danger (and as they reminded me, as Cyrene suffered in 115 during the time of Emperor Trajan). They suspected the next objective would be Cairo, although recently Beirut was hit instead.

Now seventeen years after their university was founded, the Libyans are in control of their educational system, except for recruiting teachers and purchasing books, and making sure that neither will be traitors to their aims.

The main hotel in Benghazi had been called the Royal but it is now the Omar Khayam. The old name can be seen on the china and silver in the dining room. The hotel had previously served wine and liquors, and the smiling Egyptian waiters were apologetic for the lack of these now. There were broken doors and windows at the entrance too, from the anti-Egyptian riots following the funeral for the airliner victims who were shot down over Sinai late in Feb., "with American arms" as I was occasionally though politely reminded. The glass was replaced before the foreign ministers' conference which was held in the same hotel at the end of March.

Mexican music was played over the loud-speaker system in the hotel dining room,

Libya in Spring 1973

Colonel Mu'ammr, as the President is called here, has a good name: It means the 'builder' or 'developer' which is what he is attempting to accomplish

T. B. Irving

music which was popular twenty or more years ago, with Pedro Vargas, Tito Guizar and similar stars. They played boleros and some pieces had a sweet trumpet, as one looked out over the harbour with its animation — not the dead scene it had been in 1956, when so many sunken ships needed removal. With the Islamic foreign ministers' meeting at the end of March, the music changed: It was not Islamic, but Arab, yet somewhat more in keeping with the region.

Two million Libyans exist, but three million now live in the country when one includes the Egyptians, Tunisians and other technical personnel and engineers who have entered the country since the oil boom. They are better workers, or at least they have been trained in modern industrial methods and for the new industries. On the other hand, the Libyans are fearful of tourists now, as they are in Algeria, because these can bring them both trouble and adverse criticism; so they have decided to exist for the moment as they are. This is different from Tunisia and Morocco, who are overrun with foreign visitors.

There was an old-fashioned dust storm the second day after my arrival. It was 60 degrees, and everyone was wearing sweaters and overcoats because of the "cold", as they called it. The wind was the *qibli* or from the south, off the desert. The clothes in the shops came from Europe or Japan, although I was told that tailoring here was not bad. In the bazaars, one heard jingle bells on the dray horses and the few carriages that are left. There had been more in 1956, when I was last here. There were also fewer buildings then for it was closer to the second World War when the Germans and British tore North Africa apart for their own games.

There are 235,000 people in Benghazi and 300,000 in Tripoli, although the latter city feels as if it had more. There is money for

planning and building, and they are beginning to know what they want and need. There are few slums, but many housing projects which are being planned with mosques and schools. There seems to be little shoddy building either. Machines are imported from Italy especially because they can get parts more easily and quickly; parts from America give them trouble, especially as manuals are never published in Arabic. There is much Italian marble from Carrara, onyx wainscoting on many buildings, and terrazzo floors. Concrete architecture is pseudo-Islamic style looked strange at Bayda', with its pointed arches halfway between Persian and Gothic. In Tripoli some stone buildings are going up, with limestone brought from the mountains to the south. They still have budgets though, and nothing comes automatically, for things must be planned first, and then built carefully.

The former Italian churches are put to many uses. In the rest of North Africa, especially in Algeria, these arrogant structures were set in the heart of every town, and now they stand abandoned, empty symbols of imperialism. In 1956 there were few mosques to give them company, even though most of the people were Muslim. The Byzantine-style cathedral in Benghazi with its twin domes has been whitewashed, and is now the meeting-place for the official party, the Arab Socialist Union. In 1956 it had dominated Benghazi, while there was only the small Old Mosque down by the city hall. Other churches are put to different purposes. The French and Italians left an atrophied culture in North Africa, especially for schools and modern technicians, since they hoped to build their own exclusive class on the basis of modern needs.

The call to prayer can now be heard again. There was a well-dressed congregation at the Friday prayer, with some of the foreign ministers' staffs and Tawariq ("Touaregs" in the barbarous French spelling) from the desert, wearing their long blue cloaks. Islam is a religion for men. Friday is now the weekly holiday in Libya, and so the new week begins on Saturday, as it does in Baghdad. This mosque was a new one housed upstairs above some shops, as some are in Baghdad too.

The Italians were hated, they were so cruel: their cemeteries are being wrecked by village boys; the one in Susa or Port Apollonia had most of its tombstones desecrated. One people causes depredations in the name of religion and civilization, only to have these lead to counter-depredations. The Turks, as I learned, are not remembered here for being cruel: they protected Libya from the predatory Spaniards, Italians and the Knights of Malta. I remember a tower made from Spanish skulls on the Island of Jarba in Tunisia, not so far away.

Bayda' had been the royal federal capital, in a country which could scarcely support one such city; its name means "White (Town)" but it is not so gleaming as Marj was.

Bayda' looks a trifle like the French part of Maknas in Morocco, for it too is built all over a hill. The boys from the secondary Institute attached to the Bayda' College came from all over the Islamic world, especially Chad, which had the greatest number. Because of the civil war there, and the French-style discouragement of Islamic institutions, Libyans felt a need to help train their new leaders. There were five girls from Ceylon of whom they were proud, especially in the way they managed to settle them into student life. It reminded me of Iraq which also was generous with foreign students.

At Bayda' most of the professors come mainly from the Azhar university in Cairo. A Palestinian teacher had been trained in Beirut, but he did not know the Arabic terms for many of the words occurring in Spanish history; on which my lecture was based. Later I noticed the name "Seville" being crudely transliterated on a shop in Tunis, when *Ishbiliyya* makes such a beautiful Arabic word. The term *Tulaytula* however is likewise unknown in the mosque in Toledo, Ohio, where they write it as it sounds in English.

They have much money in Libya, and the oil people are tough men who must now buy their Scotch at prices of up to ten pounds a bottle; it is smuggled in on Greek ships. My guide again knew a trifle too much about these matters, as if it were an obsession with him. The dead bars in this recently dried-up country make one wonder what outsiders know besides their thirst. It reminds me of the same type of foreign colony in Bogota just after the second world war who were so out of touch with the Colombians; their worst fear was to be forced to smoke the local Pielroja cigarettes. Or the oil people in Dhahran, obsessed with their clandestine production of alcohol. Libya is inundated with salesmen from all parts of the world. The Japanese look the most professional of all.

Corruption in Libya was controlled in the old days through the king and his nephew, as it was in Iraq during the 1950's. The old king was benevolent, even with crooks and drunks (a drunken boy on the plane coming out of London disgracefully downed a fifth of Barcardi on the way). This benevolence angered the Libyan puritan element and lost support for the Sanusi. It is ironic that they did not revive the religion but that Col. Qadhafi now enjoys this opportunity; no wonder that the colonel now represents reform, although he also risks the same fate as met Romulo Gallegos when he was president of Venezuela in the late 1940's, and likewise tangled with the oil companies.

Colonel Mu'ammarr, as the President is more commonly called here, has a good name: It means the 'builder' or 'developer', which is what he is attempting to accomplish. He is young and is learning, and above all "does his homework", sitting up late hours of the night and attending meetings most heads of state would delegate to others. President Qadhafi tried to pressure Britain

by expropriating British Petroleum when the British turned the Persian Gulf islands over to Iran as they were leaving that area; but he could not sell BP oil to the other oil companies. The Russians would buy it, but at a 20% discount. This reminds me of the problems of the Mexico of President Cardenas' in 1939, and one hopes that Qadhafi's fate will be more like Cardenas than Gallegos. A *ma'mal takrIr* or refinery is being built at the port of Burayqa or Brega for marketing the oil; the Saudis have the same problem concerning their share of crude.

The Italianate cathedral with its square campanile dominates the central city of new Tripoli; but the high points are now tipped with bronze crescents. Here I visited the new offices of the Islamic Propagation Society. It is ambitious and assailed with requests for help from all over the world.

The Italians were arrogant, but now the Italian embassy hides its entrance on a side street, although its garden faces the Corniche along the sea. This change in its wall has been obviously following riots. There is a proliferation of ministries and government departments in the new villas, and these display beautifully chosen modern Arabic terms to describe themselves on their facades. The market in Tripoli is clean and more picturesque than the one in Benghazi, and it resembles the one in Tunis a little more, especially with the handicraft, much of which is actually brought in from Tunisia. However Benghazi was terribly bombed by the Germans and British, much more than Tripoli.

In Tripolitania the people look and act more like Tunisians, although some have Turkish features too. There is also a Berber streak in southern Tunisia, as there is in Libya too. The name Zelten at various places on the map and with various spellings shows this in several forms, as do the tattooed women you see both here and in Morocco and Algeria.

Many ships lay in the harbour: Tripoli is a busy port but it has few warehouses. Eleven ships were riding at anchor one evening, with several score safely inside, waiting their turn to be unloaded. Port operations are conducted without any railway; it is all handled by truck.

They were decorating Tripoli as I left, to celebrate the evacuation of the British and American bases some years before. There were prickly "figs", not pears, along the highway to give a New World appearance to the desert.

CHANGING ADDRESS

If you are moving, please advise soonest possible. It may take four weeks before you start receiving *impact* at your new address. Enclose the address portion of the wrapper, write the new address clearly in capital letters, and the postal code.

Where to?
GLOBE

offer first class, trouble-free and bargain-full travel service. Call Globe next time, anytime!

GLOBE (UNIVERSAL) TRAVELS LTD.
11 Brompton Arcade, London SW3
Tel. 584-7487/9102

QUALITY KNITWEAR FOR ALL PEOPLE AND ALL CLIMATES

In Lurex, Tricel, Orlon & Nylon

Export and Wholesale enquiries only

KNIGHTON KNITWEAR LTD.
15-A Fleetwood Road, Leicester LE2 1YA, England.

LAGOS EMPORIUM SPECIALISING IN AFRICAN AND INDO-PAK GROCERIES

Fresh Halal Meat
68-D Blackstock Road, Finsbury Park London, N.4 Tel: 01-226 0427

Mail Order Book Service for readers of *Impact* ANY TITLE

NEWSMEDIA BOOK SERVICE
33 Stroud Green Road, London N4 3EF

Qur'anic L.P. Records
Recitation by Sheikh M Al-Husarie
£2.00 + 15p Postage & Packing
MINARET HOUSE
9 Leslie Park Road, Croydon, Surrey CR0 6TN.
Ask for complete list

To those who look upon Chinese motives with suspicion, the Chinese reply that they condemn hegemony in any form. This is why they have not encouraged Mauritania and others to break off relations with France and have encouraged "caution" instead. They say that African countries are free to co-operate with whoever they think fit. "What we do for them," the Chinese add, "is provide them with an additional possibility to diversify their relations". This is certainly so, but does it mean that China has abandoned altogether any hope of serious ideological gains on the continent? Or has it just postponed these hopes while laying the groundwork by establishing a substantial presence. Or is it that realization in insistent revolutionary propaganda both at home and abroad has meant some fading away of revolutionary zeal, some watering down of ideological purity. Perhaps, but it should always be remembered that Chinese communism has been of a particularly nationalist type, where Marxism and Leninism has been "adapted to the Chinese reality". Does this mean then that Chinese revolutionary experience has no exportable value?

THE CHINESE IN AFRICA

A. H. Majid

Last month a high-powered Chinese delegation headed by the Vice Minister of Communications went to Zambia to witness the opening of a new transmitting station for external broadcasting. The station will broadcast in Afrikaans, Portuguese, English, Xhosa, Shona, Ndebele, Shangan, Mbundu, Chokwe and later in French and Swahili. It will be used to "fight colonialism on behalf of Zambia and support the Zambian struggle for Justice". At the same time the important Chinese-built Lusaka-Mongu road was opened. A little later, on 26 May, a free Chinese grant of US\$ 10 million was announced to assist in Zambia's struggle to beat the Zambia-Rhodesia border blockade. All these acts of beneficence prompted President Kaunda to say: "Despite the vocal and ferocious warnings to the contrary by ready ill-wishers, Zambia has found in practice that Chinese assistance was as uncommitting as it was simple and human-oriented."

Kaunda's attitude and Zambia's experience seem to sum up pretty well the reaction of a growing number of African countries which receive assistance from, and have various trade and other relations with, China. There is no doubt that there has been a radical change in Chinese-African relations as compared to the situation obtaining in the late fifties and early sixties. At that time, China firmly believed that "Africa was ready for

national revolution". It gave support in the name of militant ideological solidarity to various groups which claimed to stand for revolution. Many of these groups, like the Union des Populations des Camerouns (UPC) lost out in the struggle for national independence and Peking's continued support for them gave China a reputation for subversion. The reserve and suspicion of many African governments to China are well summed up in the remarks of President Bourguiba to Chou-en-Lai when the latter visited Tunis as part of his 1963-4 African tour. Bourguiba told the Chinese Premier: "You are the object of great esteem, mixed with anxiety . . . We do not agree with all your views".

Chou-en-Lai's African visit brought about a change in Chinese attitudes. China realised then that the continent was not all that ready for revolution against the neo-colonialist regimes which remained under the protection of the former metropolitan powers and afforded opportunities for active "collusion between American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism". Moreover, the Organisation of African Unity had come into being in May 1963 recognising that African states were a reality and pledging support for their integrity. China was quick to note the change and by and large shifted its support to the de facto regimes in the independent states. This new emphasis was implicit in the eight principles which Chou-en-Lai announced as the basis of Chinese aid to Africa. These were:

1. equality and mutual assistance
2. respect for recipient's sovereignty
3. granting of loans at low interest rate, if any
4. assistance aiming at the development of an independent economy based on the recipient country's own resources
5. priority to projects requiring small investment and likely to bring about the fastest results
6. supplying of high quality Chinese manufactured equipment at world market prices
7. ensuring training of personnel in the working of technical installations, built by China
8. living conditions of Chinese experts to be similar to those in the host country, no special facilities to be requested.

In the ten years since these principles were first announced, there has been nothing to warrant a further change and China has stuck by them. There has only been one major additional proviso—that African states should establish diplomatic relations with, as a condition for the granting of loans by, Peking. The principles are not that altruistic as is sometimes made out but they are, and are meant as, a challenge to the type of aid that is given by former colonial powers and by the "Soviet social-imperialists." To this extent at least they do have a political motivation though perhaps in the new international situation possibilities of increased trade could be more prominent in the Chinese minds.

It is only in the last two years that these principles have achieved any significant breakthrough, to the extent that China is now being hailed as "Africa's new friend". There

are now twenty-nine African states which have diplomatic relations with Peking most of them doing so in 1972. And there are many indications that the Chinese are winning the respect, admiration and gratitude of Africans. This is mainly because of the hard work, the efficiency, the equality which the Chinese insist on and the speed of their assistance which is given without the normal "strings" attached.

Apart from their manner, it is the type of aid the Chinese give which is proving so attractive to the Africans. Most aid goes to well-defined projects on which careful studies have first been carried out by experts from Peking. Moreover, most credits are intended for projects involving fewer costs and which can soon become profitable for the countries concerned. These are often agricultural projects aiming to improve production (by irrigation schemes for example) or to introduce new crops, mainly cereals, in order to put an end to the one crop economy introduced by the colonising powers. This is true of aid granted to Mali, Mauritania, Guinea, Zaire, Somalia and lately to countries like Chad and Ghana. The Chinese, following the visit of a Ghanaian delegation to Peking, have agreed to help in an irrigation canal scheme from the Volta Lake to the Accra plains so that rice and vegetables can be cultivated. At the rate things are going it seems that rice will soon become the staple food for many Africans and they will have to thank the Chinese for this. In the industrial sphere, projects are mainly concerned with the construction of textile and food factories such as sugar, palm or groundnut oil refineries—as in the Congo, Guinea, Mali and the Sudan.

Apart from these there are the very large-scale projects such as the Tanzam railway which would link Dar-es-Salaam and Uzaahna—a distance of 1,589 kilometres. For this Zambia and Tanzania have been granted assistance of over \$1,000 million and 10,000 technicians. This is clearly a project from which the Chinese stand to gain a lot by way of influence in eastern and central Africa. It is the biggest aid project ever undertaken. There was a certain amount of expediency involved in taking it on as there was in others like the building of a deep water port for Mauritania at Nouakchott. No major power wanted to hear of these projects and China without much ado stepped in and agreed. Many African countries have remarked on the speed of Chinese assistance. At the conclusion of an agreement involving a loan of 18,000 million CFA francs to Cameroon during President Alhaj Ahmadou Ahidjo's recent visit to China, one Cameroon minister commented that with other countries "we would have had to negotiate over many months, even many years, to obtain finance for such projects". Of the African countries receiving aid, Zaire, Mali, Egypt, Sudan, Guinea and Algeria come at the top of the list. (Incidentally, in the Chinese parties welcoming delegations from Muslim African countries, members of the Muslim Association of China are included).

It is also the terms under which the aid is

given which are so appealing. These terms were devised in order to show up the "harsh terms" of Soviet aid usually given at an interest rate of 3 per cent, but tied up with complicated commodity barter agreements which tend to work out in the Soviet Union's favour—as has been the Egyptian experience in particular. China has given its aid on strikingly generous terms. It is invariably given interest-free and is repayable over 10-12 years after a grace period of usually ten years. Others are very long-term loans with up to 30 or even 40 years to repay with a very low interest rate.

Apart from loans there have been some free gifts (Zambia and Somalia) but lately bilateral trade is also entering some of the agreements signed, for example in the case of Ghana. This is seen as the thin end of a Chinese export drive. Already Tanzania's imports from China are considerable and there is some criticism that China is palming off second-class or useless goods (for example, toys) on the Tanzanians. However, one of the major advantages of Chinese aid is that it provides on-job training for Africans and goes some way in making the recipient country self reliant. Also the Chinese provide equipment and experts at a price "beyond competition": their equipment is very cheap and their exports are paid according to the same rates as their African colleagues.

To those who look upon Chinese motives with suspicion, the Chinese reply that they condemn hegemony in any form. This is why they have not encouraged Mauritania and other to break off relations with France and have encouraged "caution" instead. They say that African countries are free to cooperate with whoever they think fit. "What we do for them," the Chinese add, "is provide them with an additional possibility to diversify their relations." This is certainly so, but does it mean that China has abandoned altogether any hope of serious ideological gains on the continent? Or has it just postponed these hopes while laying the groundwork by establishing a substantial presence? Or is it that a realization in insistent revolution propaganda both at home and abroad has meant some fading away of revolutionary zeal, some watering down of ideological purity. Perhaps, but it should always be remembered that Chinese communism has been of a particularly nationalist type, where Marxism and Leninism has been "adapted to the Chinese reality". Does this mean then that Chinese revolutionary experience has no exportable value?

Whatever the answers, it is probably correct to assume that for some time hence the Chinese influence will run much less deep than has the influence of European settlers and administrators. But the rapid pace of events—for example, the speed with which the Chinese have replaced the Russians in the Sudan—shows their ability to press home an advantage wherever there is a loophole. At the moment China is enjoying unprecedented diplomatic successes and international popularity and, providing there is no major crisis—like internal upheaval, will continue to exude that relaxed confidence which now characterises its external policies.

Muslims in the Philippines

The Moro Freedom Struggle

From A Special Correspondent

"The tyrant and blood-thirsty Marcos government" is employing the full might of its armed forces to crush and suppress the freedom movement of the Moro people of South Philippines—Mindanao, Basilan, Sulu and Palawan, says a statement issued by "The Moro Freedom Fighters", an underground front of the South Philippine Muslims. The statement alleges that the Manila government is using jet-planes, Naval boats and heavy ground artillery including Howitzer without any regard or concern for civilian life or property. After the Army failed to subdue the Moro freedom fighters, Marcos brought in the Air Force which throughout the month of April pounded a number of towns and villages using even 500-lb bombs. Bombs were dropped at Tayungan, Batu Lawangan, Mamibung, Adjid, Baunoh, Batu Puti, Mt. Ukan, Tiis, Talipao and Pata bringing almost untold devastation and disruption of communications. The municipal town of Maimbung proper now presented picture of a war-ravaged city. On two consecutive days, 21 and 22 April, it was subjected to constant bombardment, by both the Air Force and Navy. Helicopters were brought in to spray bullets over the town. Yet they have not been able to crush and cow down the freedom spirit. The "enemy" has no guts to patrol the Moro territory. It's using spotter planes, helicopters, jets and Naval fire.

The statement entitled "General Report on the Revolutionary Situation in Sulu" is addressed to "all freedom loving people". It begins: We, the Moro revolutionaries respectfully and earnestly call the attention of all freedom loving peoples of the world to be aware of the truth behind our struggle and sympathize with our cause. We seek self-determination and freedom from the bonds of the Republic of the Philippines. We want to establish a separate and free State of the Moro people of Mindanao, Basilan and Palawan. It is the only rightful alternative to the injustices and oppression we have been subjected to.

We appeal to your fair judgment to listen (to our plea), know the truthfulness and sincerity of our intentions and be on your guard so as not to be deceived by the lies, clever propaganda and misleading accusation being spread by the Marcos government, branding the Revolution in Mindanao, Basilan, Sulu and Palawan a communist insurgency. All these are calculated to suppress and confuse the reality and significance of the Moro People's struggle.

"However, there are some fundamental contradictions in the Marcos' propaganda against the Moro revolutionaries: It brands us as communist insurgents aiming to overthrow the Philippine Government, yet it declares at the same time that we are directly supported by several Muslim countries like Libya and Malaysia which are non-communist.

Marcos' government also says that we are financed by Pound Sterling funds. The Pound is a non-Communist currency, still why can't present a single evidence to prove the participation of Communist countries in The present Moro Revolution? President Marcos cannot present such evidence because he knows the reality: that we seek self-determination and we are not communists. He actually wants to hide this so as to preclude any realisation as to the international significance of our cause and be able to maintain that the present situation in Mindanao, Basilan, Sulu and Palawan is an internal affair of the Republic of the Philippines."

Now, being the standard bearers of the Moro People's cause . . . we want to make it clear that it is far from our intention to overthrow the Philippine government, our fundamental objective is to achieve self-determination.

The fact is that we together with the masses of the Moro People are the major participants in the situation now raging in the hills, plains, and jungles of the Moro land. It is the forces and arms of the Philippine government together with some fanatic Christian armed bands financed and backed by the government that we are fighting against. A revolutionary battle is going on and this Revolution is staged by the oppressed Filipino Muslims against the Philippine government, a revolution not to overthrow the Manila government but to carve out a separate Moro destiny.

The declaration of Martial Law on 21 September last year was the most clever instrument through which the despotic Marcos government wanted to isolate our freedom movement. Through Martial law it wanted to control all communication channels and present a false and one-sided picture of the Moro situation. The declaration of Martial Law for such purported objections like "Green Revolution", "New Society", "New Filipino", etc. was meant to draw international applause, thereby cloud the basic realities and prevent the freedom loving nations of the world from sympathising with the Moro cause and becoming aware of the international nature of the Moro struggle.

The main objective of the Marcos regime is to grab full control over the vast untapped resources and wealth of the Moro lands. To fulfil this he must either be able to completely coerce the Moros, make them obey the Filippino Laws or reduce them to an insignificant number, and virtually exterminate them as a race.

President Marcos and his men know well that it is impossible to coerce and subjugate the Moros. He is therefore launching massacre movements like the Corregidor massacre, the Manili massacre, the Tacub massacre, the Wa-o massacre, in order to eliminate the Moros gradually and finally.

The Pakistani Scene

A plea for realism and reconciliation

Sharif Al Mujahid

Pakistan is today sliding back towards the politics of confrontation. Not only is the political atmosphere dominated by mistrust, mutual recriminations, uncertainty, violence and increasing polarization between those in and out of power, worse still, the body politic is more acutely rent asunder by divisiveness and dissensions than at any comparable period in Pakistan's career—except during 1971. Even the tragic results of the political polarization between the East and the West have failed to goad the country toward the politics of survival.

It is time to ponder whether or not Pakistan is following the same tragic course which eventuated in its dismemberment in 1971. Is history repeating itself?

The only solution to the present situation seems to lie in Pakistan opting out for resilient politics—for toleration and charity, for politics of national reconciliation. Instead what is there, is an inflexible partisan approach to issues and problems. Party gains seem to be the only consideration with many leaders who ignore the basic prerequisite of democratic politics that party interests, however informed by lofty goals, must on all accounts and on all occasions be subordinated to national interest.

Because power is sought after as an end in itself, the means through which the end is sought to be achieved become unimportant and secondary, thereby denuding politics of its moral tone. And without political morality, politics becomes a dirty and disastrous business. The history of Pakistan since 1953 when Ghulam Muhammad took the first fatal step of injecting authoritarianism into Pakistani politics bear this out. The end result of all this was the dismemberment of Pakistan.

Now, what have the characters who have contributed toward this tragedy since 1953 really gained? A fleeting moment of power, prestige, and adulation? But what does the Pakistani nation think of them? How does history rate them? These are questions for the protagonists of "power-for-power's sake" to consider.

Partisanship and inflexibility in politics are sometimes erroneously equated with consistency although as against the latter, an inflexible approach leaves no elbow-room for compromises and rapprochement even on minor details, leads to crystallization and hardening of attitudes, rules out pragmatism in politics, and, for that reason, betrays a thorough misunderstanding of the art and requirements of politics.

An inflexible, unyielding approach is explicable and perhaps desirable at times—for instance, during an election campaign. But an extension of the election posture in the post-election period is bound not only to tell upon the nerves of the nation, but also prove extremely suicidal. Unless a nation gets a respite from slogans and symbols, rallies, processions, demonstrations and meetings, from being harangued, hypnotised and harassed all the time by partisan propagandists and professional demagogues, the nerves of the people continue to be raw and taut, if the nation cannot settle down to constructive work.

The post-election period is the time for statesmanship rather than political campaigning. It is the time for parleys, reappraisals, for national consensus and for building up a "we-feeling". Unfortunately though much of the present discord, dissensions and divisiveness in the Pakistani politics can be traced to a continued electioneering even in the post election period.

Politics, it is rightly said, is an art of the possible. If that be so, political compromises, when arrived at, not for the sake of power and as a matter of political expediency, but in the interests of the nation and viable politics, should not be misconstrued as a betrayal of one's principles. On the contrary, they are the only ways to aggregating the diversity of interests. A fragmented political culture such as Pakistan's consists of a con-

geries of subcultures whose interests have somehow got to be accommodated into a widely acceptable pattern of policy alternatives. These cannot be done without being informed by a spirit of give-and-take, and without toleration and pragmatism.

Tolerance and charity are called for at least for two other reasons. First, politics is an unpredictable game; and, second,—and this represents a corollary of the first—today's "villains" may as well turn out to be tomorrow's "heroes".

It is extremely unpredictable whom politics catapults into prominence and power and whom it pushes into the abyss of political wilderness and oblivion. It is also unpredictable when it does. Who would, for instance, have predicted that Churchill would be given "the boot" (to use his own phrase) by the electorate just at the time when, despite tremendous odds, he had successfully led his nation to victory.?

In Pakistan who would have imagined that Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan who commanded a 32-mile long procession in the Punjab in October 1958, would be driven into political wilderness for the next eleven years? And that he would stage a come back in 1970? Or, that in the context of the charges levelled against him at one time by the PPP stalwarts, he would be accommodated in the power structure of a PPP regime? Or that, of all persons, Air Marshal Asghar Khan would emerge in November 1968 from among the then power elite to work for the erosion of that power elite? Or, that Bhutto would make a complete round-about, become a revolutionary, and campaign relentlessly for Ayub's downfall and a new social order? Or, that Bhutto who campaigned vociferously for the lifting of martial law in the second half of 1971 would justify its retention in early 1972?

Second—and this follows from the above—there are no "innocents" in politics. And, as there are no angels, so there are no full blooded villains either.

This is true of political parties as well, none of which could be dismissed as having made no contribution to the country's political development. Bhutto and the Pakistan Peoples Party, for instance, have made a significant contribution toward quickening political consciousness among the masses, bringing to them an awareness of their inalienable rights, bringing about their active participation in the country's politics, and, above all, toward laying the foundations of a new social order based on egalitarianism. Bhutto also initiated a new style of mass politics which represents a step forward toward participant politics and developing grass root democracy, although in a significantly illiterate, volatile and undisciplined situation it also carried the risk of mobocracy. Bhutto's and PPP's espousal and advocacy of socialism have also forced other parties to profess a more egalitarian social order.

The Muslim League was not only solely responsible for the creation of Pakistan, but, during the Ayub decade of central authoritarianism, along with NAP and Jamaat-i-Islami, it kept alive the feeble flame of democracy and helped significantly and consistently to build up anew the democratic temper in the country. The NAP likewise, has played a significant role in the struggle for democracy, and democratic and civil rights and in espousing the cause of socialistic principles. Apart from strengthening the democratic forces, Jamaat-i-Islami can take a legitimate credit for accelerating and reinforcing the Islamic consciousness of the country, for popularizing and making the demand for the incorporation of the repugnancy clause in the future Pakistani constitution so irresistible as to force all parties (including Awami League, PPP, and NAP) to include it in their manifestoes, and for keeping the nation reminded of its Islamic commitment and the particular Islamic context of Pakistan's emergence, thus forcing other parties to opt for

and at least profess adherence to Islamic principles.

Thus, it may be seen, almost all the parties have contributed to Pakistan's political and democratic development. Likewise, a good many of our present political leaders.

Besides, one never knows as to whom politics would bind or unbind in the coming years. Changing roles in midstream has not been the fate of Qayyum alone; such examples may be multiplied almost *ad infinitum*. Daulatana who was once derided and called names has become respectable and acceptable to be named the envoy to the court of St. James. On the other hand a former colleague (Kasuri) has turned into a bitter critic and the former Sind PPP Chairman and Governor (Talpur) has hauled down the PPP flag from his Hyderabad residence.

Likewise, Bhutto's initial honey-mooning with the NAP and Wali Khan has long ended, and the regime has gone out for Qayyum's support and influence in the Frontier.

To explain these contradictions as clash of personalities would be a rather simplistic approach; they are the result of much deeper causes, one of the more important among them being mistrust. Ideology alone is not the sole or the over-riding cause of Pakistan's current political feuds and controversies. In 1971, the supposedly socialist oriented Awami League and PPP took up opposite political postures, and now PPP and NAP, although swearing by socialism, are at daggers drawn. It augurs well that the ideological conflict is neither so acute nor so basic to the present day controversies and dissensions. The adherence of almost all the parties to an Islamic constitution for Pakistan shows, *inter alia*, that whatever parties and politicians may profess, the ethos of a nation cannot be changed overnight, nor can the inexorable course and logic of history be controverted.

Actually, a close scrutiny of the manifestoes of the main parties shows a marked similarity in their respective programmes, although the measure of emphasis on various points differed according to their orientation.

Nor do the ideological differences seem to have had any relevance or bearing in the practical realm as well. The Pakistan Peoples Party could not work out a *modus vivendi* with its eastern counterpart, the Awami League, because whereas the latter was dominated more by a Bengali ethnocentrism than by any genuine belief in socialism, the latter professed to stand for the rights of West Pakistan, and especially Punjab and Sind. Similarly, despite their socialist orientation and their initial chumming up, the PPP and the NAP have fallen foul of each other because of differences over centre-province relations.

Thus, events have forced the leftist PPP to accommodate the Qayyum League as a junior partner in the PPP government at the centre, and the NAP to collaborate with the once derided Jamaat-i-Islami.

All this shows that there are no eternal friends and no eternal enemies in politics; that politics bring strange bedfellows together; that the exigencies of politics determine the policies and programmes of parties and leaders.

Hence it would seem essential for the Pakistani politicians to avoid taking up inflexible postures. Who knows, there may come another change in the present roles of the in and out-groups, or the ruling group might have to seek the cooperation of some of those who are now in the opposition? That meant it was futile to cast aspersions on the sincerity of this or that party, this or that leader. What was needed was a national mutuality and reconciliation and a togetherness to work for the greater glory of Pakistan.

SHARIF AL MUJAHID is Professor in the Department of Journalism, University of Karachi.

What do we mean by "Western"? Does the term relate to western European? Or does it relate to Western Europe and the American continent? By what period are we concerned? If we are to concern ourselves with medieval and pre-modern Europe, the next question to suggest itself is: On which part of Europe should we concentrate our attention? Here again the matter of dates is important since the Reformation in the sixteenth century split Western Europe in two and created the worlds of Catholic and Protestant with the consequence that, politically at least, there were often two different attitudes to Islamic states. If, on the other hand, it is the contemporary Western world that interests us, the question then is: Whose particular views do we examine? Those of the Christian—or so-called Christian—majority? Or those of the influential Jewish minority? Or those of almost equally influential adherents of the political religion of Marxism-Leninism? Or those of the other constituent elements of Western society? I do not raise such questions in order to fill in space or to create unnecessary difficulties; I pose them with all sincerity with the intention of demonstrating that when Muslims speak of "Western views on Islam" it is essential for them to have a clear idea of the implications of the expression with regard to time, place and religious, political, intellectual, social and economic groups. This is all the more important because, as we shall see in due course, Western Christianity poses no great threat to Islam. Those who believe that it does—and indeed there are many of the older generation who are pathologically haunted by the spectre of missionaries—are living in the past. Men of the future will discern that the threats to Islam come from entirely different quarters.

WESTERN VIEWS ON ISLAM

J. Derek Latham

The main idea which Muslims normally associate with the words "Western views on Islam" is the distorted image of Islam which was developed in medieval Europe and which survived to a greater or lesser extent into modern times . . .

The formation of the Western Christian attitude to Islam has as its starting point the attitude adopted by Syrian-Greek Christians in the early years of the Arab conquest. What is remarkable about this attitude is that it condemned all Muslim beliefs despite the fact that some of those beliefs were, and still are, also shared by Christians.

The major figure of this period was the Syrian Christian St. John of Damascus, whose birth dates from about half a century after the Hijra. John of Damascus is an important figure in more than one respect. His arguments and technique of argument stimulated the growth of Islamic theology. He dwelt on a number of ideas about Islam which were developed by later generations of Christians. In particular, he focused attention on such matters as the Zayd and Zaynab affair and used material of his kind in support of his case that Muhammad sought to justify himself by claiming that he was divinely inspired. Similarly it was John who gave currency to the idea that the Prophet had invented the Qur'an by drawing on the Old and New Testaments on the basis of advice and instruction given to him by an Arian monk.

The notions of Islam which Eastern Christians first formed as members of a religious minority under Muslim domination perhaps resulted from their psychological need for a weapon with which to combat what they considered to be a danger to their religion and also from their sense of inferiority as *dhimmis*. Whatever the truth of the matter, they laid the foundations on which the

edifice of anti-Islamic propaganda was to rise. As the number of Christians in Muslim territories diminished and the tenets of Islam became better known Arab-speaking Christians gradually developed a corpus of literature of which one main feature was denigration of the Prophet's life and character. At a later date all these early ideas were borrowed, assimilated and expanded by the Christians of Western Europe to create an authoritative guide, as it were, to what they held to be Islamic faith and practice . . .

To present Christianity as a superior and indeed the only religion was the aim which dominated the thinking of Western Europe between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. The picture they painted of Islam and the Prophet is such that I cannot bring myself to relate the details of it for fear of scandalizing my Muslim audience. I shall therefore confine myself to taking only a few main points which I cannot avoid mentioning. It was insisted firstly that Muhammad was a false prophet and deliberately perverted the truth; secondly, that he was a licentious character and notorious evil liver; thirdly, that he was an ignoble schemer who aspired to, gained and maintained power by simulated revelation and extended his domination and religion by violence and the sword; fourthly, that Islam encouraged polygamy, divorce, sexual licence and immorality and that the pleasures of Paradise are purely carnal; fifthly, that Islam prefigured Antichrist.

At this point we must ask why the Christian theologians of medieval Europe misrepresented Muhammad and Islam and continued to misrepresent them even when they had gained authentic information on the subject. At the spiritual level it may be suggested that, starting from an unshakeable belief that Christianity was the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, the theologians believed that whatever was false became true as soon as it was used to uphold truth. The Prophet was vilified and denigrated, slandered and libelled, because it was essential to show that his character was incompatible with any relationship with God, let alone revelation of His word. At the political level Western Europe was markedly inferior to Islam since the extent of the Muslim world was vast almost beyond the bounds of European imagination. Moreover, in the sphere of culture whether material or intellectual, scientific or technological, Islamic civilization was superior to European. The western European, then, could take comfort in the only thing in which he felt he could lay claim to superiority: his religion. In other words, Europe suffered from an inferiority complex, and, if we are to believe Montgomery Watt, "the distortion of the image of Islam was necessary to compensate them for this sense of inferiority." . . .

In England a classical example of bigotry based on these ideas is Dr. Humphrey Prideaux, who, as Dean of Norwich toward the end of the seventeenth century, sought to establish the falseness of Muhammad's mission by relying on the polemic of medieval writers—but less intelligently than earlier predecessors. But perhaps the most vitriolic attempts to vilify the Prophet came from the pens of French writers. In 1742 Voltaire went far beyond the limits of medieval polemic; for, whereas the medieval theologians had based their attacks on some foundation of fact, Voltaire in his tragedy *Fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophete* deliberately invented the most scandalous fiction about the Prophet. His play was nothing if not a work of malicious fantasy. No less scandalous was a nineteenth-century dramatisation of Muhammad's life by a playwright of lesser fame but of some standing in his day. This was Henri Vicomte de Bernier, who in 1889 completed a poetic drama—*Mahomet*. Although more sympathetic to Muhammad than Voltaire, he set out to depict the superiority of Christianity to Islam and, in so doing, revealed himself as the victim of deep-rooted prejudice against Islam. He depicted the Prophet as committing suicide because of a woman and of his sense of inferiority vis-a-vis Christianity. So offensive was the theme that the Ottoman sultan 'Abd al-Hamid II succeeded in persuading the French government to ban it . . .

In certain respects the nineteenth century marked a turning point in the European treatment of Islam. Arabic and Islamic studies engaged the attention of British scholars eager to apply the methods of higher criticism to their work. Thus it happened that the Revd. J. M. Rodwell in his translation of the Qur'an made a serious attempt to understand the subject matter by trying to arrange the suras in historical sequence. He did not, of course, accept the Qur'an as divine revelation, but his estimate of Muhammad's character was totally different from that of his predecessors, and his approach was new.

Of course, side by side with more sympathetic views of Islam old prejudices survived and to some extent will survive in the future. We are all well aware of the kind of thinking that coloured the scholarship of such eminent figures as Professor Margoliouth, Sir William Muir and Pere Lammens, and there are still some Orientalists at the present time who either cannot or will not divorce their academic life from their religious life. But their numbers are now greatly reduced and will continue to diminish. There are several reasons. First, there has been a marked decline in religious belief; secondly, there is greater tolerance than before; thirdly, Arabic and Islamic studies have achieved their independence, and nowadays they are increasingly studied for their own sake and not to serve the purposes of imperial expansion and missionary zeal.

As far as Christian attitudes towards Islam are concerned there are good omens for the future. By far the most momentous step in the right direction has already been taken by the Roman Catholic Church which has more than 500 million adherents throughout the world. Out of the Second Vatican Council convened by the late Pope John XXIII there emerged a declaration of that Church's relationship to Muslims which represents a remarkable change in its attitude: "Upon the Moslems, too, the Church looks with esteem. They adore one God, living and enduring, merciful and all powerful, Maker of heaven and earth and Speaker to men. They strive to submit wholeheartedly even to His Inscrutable decrees, . . . they prize the moral life, and give worship to God especially through prayer, almsgiving, and fasting."

In the field of learning generally there is now a genuine attempt to view Islam in a new light. This new spirit is, in this country, in evidence in the work of Professor Montgomery Watt, who in his most recent work states quite clearly our aims for the future: "Because Europe was reacting against Islam it belittled the influence of the Saracens and exaggerated its dependence on the Greek and Roman heritage. So today an important task for us western Europeans, as we move into the era of the one world, is to correct this false emphasis and to acknowledge fully our debt to the Arab and Islamic world."

As further evidence of the new spirit that has already begun to pervade the work of British Orientalists I can do no better than to quote my friend and colleague Noel Coulson, a barrister Arabist and Professor of Oriental Laws at London University. In his first class work *Succession in the Muslim Family* he writes (p.3): "Juristically, the law of succession is a solid technical achievement, and Muslim scholarship takes a justifiable pride in the mathematical precision with which the rights of various heirs, in any given situation, can be calculated."

As regards their faith, Christians will not, of course, change their fundamental religious beliefs any more than Muslims will. But what they can be expected to do is to agree to differ, and many, like myself, will take the view that there is not only one side of ascent to the apex of a pyramid.

The threats to Islam do not come from Western Orientalists or missionaries. Nowadays they come, rather, from Marxist-Leninists whose atheistic and materialistic creed obliges them to study Islam not out of an interest in Islam for its own sake, but out of a desire to discover the best means of destroying it.

(Read on 17 May at Conference of Islamic Centres and Bodies in Europe, London, 17-19 May. Prof. Latham teaches history at the University of Manchester.)

Books

ADC to history

With Two Presidents: The Inside Story, by Major C. L. Datta, *Vikas*, Delhi 149 pages.

In India, aides-des-camps date back to the time of the East India Company (when the British Governor-General was also the Commander-in-Chief and created a separate set-up to serve and assist him as C-in-C. The first Governor-General after independence was Lord Mountbatten and thus the institution found itself carried over in post-independence India. Indians of course, were not ADC-minded and when they came to occupy the gubernatorial offices, the 'aura and decorum' of the past could not be maintained. One provincial governor-designate told the comptroller of the household that as he was bringing his own servants, he need not bother about the ADCs. Major Datta served as ADC to the first two Indian Presidents between January 1961 and November 1963, and it is from an indisputable vantage point that he has tried to take the ordinary citizen behind the scenes' of the Presidents House. Datta does not claim to be a historian, yet it is the human side of his account which illumines men, motives and history.

There we have the first Indian President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad who became President despite Nehru. Nehru preferred Rajagopalachari (the first Indian Governor-General) but the party overruled him. Dr. Prasad, unassuming and self-effacing, came from a non-elite background, and brought his own unsophistication to the capital. Nehru was 'inclined at times to give him less than his due respect as head of state.' Suffering from asthma and in poor health, yet Dr. Prasad worked hard and was a 'great stickler for schedule'. Life as president did not change his simple and unostentatious style. A deeply religious Hindu, he did not feel shy to keep company with *Sadhus* (half-clad Hindu monks) or observing Hindu rituals in the President House. When he retired he requested the Government to release to him a duty-free car but the Finance Ministry refused and he bought a second-hand one.

Queen Elizabeth visited India during Dr. Prasad's presidency. She asked Dr. Prasad how did he find time to have written about 1,200 pages of his autobiography. "Your Majesty, I was in your father's jails for 16 years. There was plenty of time to write in jail." Dr. Prasad replied quietly.

Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy came to India in March 1969. "Nehru who was fond of the company of good-looking women . . . invited her to stay in the Prime Minister's House'. But the embarrassment came when Dr. Prasad mistook Princess Radziwill for Mrs. Kennedy. He had been 'briefed' that Mrs. Kennedy was very beautiful.

The Indian military operation against the Portuguese colony of Goa scheduled to be launched on 15 December 1961 (later advanced to 18 December) was known to the diplomatic missions in Delhi, but the Indian President, the Supreme Commander, was told two hours after the attack had actually started. When Goa fell after two days, the President rejoiced. But Datta records how it shattered 'Nehru's image as an apostle of peace. It was also said that India had never solved any border dispute without a war. New Delhi had always resorted to arms when the logic of facts went against it. Kashmir, Hyderabad and Junagadh earlier, and now Goa, were cited as example.'

Major Datta cherishes greatly the unforgettable memories of Dr. Radhakrishnan who had succeeded Dr. Prasad. Dr. Krishnan had been away from politics and even the freedom movement. He was an educationist, an exponent of Hindu

philosophy, had been an Oxford don and knighted by the British. Nehru thought he would make a good decoration piece. Dr. Krishnan, however, proved to be a man of both will and political ideas. The clash could not take an untoward shape because Dr. Krishnan lacked in both political skill and support. Dr. Krishnan did try to build up a public image by trying to hold a daily darbar at the President House but it did not work. Before becoming India's Vice-President Dr. Radhakrishnan was ambassador in Moscow and it was there that one could see him asserting and expressing his own self. In Moscow he 'prided himself in attending state banquets and receptions in *dhoti* and *achkan*. He would eat none of the food that was served. He was the 'first foreign emissary whose request for an audience' with Stalin was granted. After going through a truly red tape and long waiting, the first question he put to Stalin was: Mr. Chairman, sir, why is it so difficult to meet you? Stalin smiled and replied: Is it difficult to meet me? You're meeting me now. The interview lasted a record three hours.

Dr. Radhakrishnan during his Presidential tenure received many international leaders such as Brezhnev, Tito, Tunku Abdul Rahman, Makarios, Ali Sabry, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, and others. Referring to the case of Carl Chasman which had dragged on for 12 years, Brezhnev remarked that 'justice in America does not take a correct course,' Dr. Radhakrishnan said, 'I don't know' and told Brezhnev a story about a district commissar visiting a village school and asking a student who had written *Anna Karenina*. No student could answer the question but the teacher in order to correct the impression about the school wrote to the commissar a week later that 'the student voluntarily confesses that he had written *Anna Karenina*.'

Dr. Krishnan had his own ideas about the various national problems. He once advised Nehru to bring Shaikh Abdullah to the Central cabinet and send a Muslim as Sadar-i-Riasat—State Governor. 'The Muslims of Kashmir would be happy as they would have a Muslim head of state and their beloved Abdullah would be at the Centre while the real control of the state would lie in the hands of his own man'. 'He also blamed Nehru for agreeing to a ceasefire in Kashmir in 1948 because he was more concerned about world opinion than his own interest at home.'

"The Yellow Storm" dealing with Indo-Chinese relations while reflecting the official Indian viewpoint as to the origin and nature of the conflict presents interesting sidelights on Indian thinking and the related Subcontinental issues. Nehru to begin with believed that 'China would never wage war against India . . . China as an enemy was ruled out, and Pakistan was pin-pointed as India's main foe.' Datta admits that the Government had known as far back as 1958 that the Chinese were squatting on Indian soil and had swallowed 12,000 square miles in Ladakh, but it had kept this very damaging information to itself. In October 1958 when on American prompting Ayub Khan proposed a plan for the joint defence of the Subcontinent, Nehru said: "Defence against whom?" The fact of the Chinese 'squatting' then did not matter with Nehru, at least. It was more than two years later in early 1961 that the 'Government of India woke-up to the Chinese menace.' Nevile Maxwell's study (*India's China War, 1970*) based on Indian Defence Ministry's classified records show that it was Indian provocation which had invited the Chinese backlash. How and why was India goaded into this humiliating exercise is not known. Major Datta refers to the official U.S. view conveyed to India that they were not interested in the separate defence of India and Pakistan. 'You cannot defend NEFA if the hostile bayonets of East Pakistan point at your back to Sikkim . . . You cannot defend Ladakh if the land routes through the Kashmir valley lie within 63 miles of Pakistan. To satisfy this military necessity it is incumbent on you and Pakistan to come to terms, Kashmir being the sore point'. 'The Indian Government received suggestions from some foreign sources that it agree to trade

Kashmir for East Pakistan.' (p.113). That was the making of Bangladesh.

One also gets a glimpse if not the complete view of the power game then going on in New Delhi. India trying to cash in on the 'war' and presenting a big shopping list of military hardware and the Americans and the British telling her to cut the list and 'come to terms with Pakistan'; the Russian ambassador calling on the President (frequently) and telling him that if they did so 'we may have to revise our policy and thinking on Kashmir'; the head of the U.S. military mission advising Indians not to accept ceasefire and instead give a chase to the Chinese; and the U.S. ambassador Galbraith calling almost daily on the President and assuring him that 'Ayub is the best man on your side'.

Both the Americans and the Russians were trying to pressurise Nehru who still seemed to resist 'alignment'. It was during this period that one could recall hints of a possible military coup in India. In July 1963 a political coup was planned against Nehru. The Kamaraj plan formulated by the Congress Party president Kamaraj in consultation with Dr. Krishnan 'proposed that all leading members of the Government, including Nehru should resign and go among the people (to) restore the confidence shattered by the Chinese victory.' Nehru accepted the plan but sent out the planners themselves to go and serve the people.

Major Datta left as ADC in November 1963 but saw Dr. Krishnan after the Indo-Pak War of 1965. The President asked Datta why didn't they take Lahore? 'Nasser asked me when I was at Cairo airport on my way back from Ethiopia: Why didn't you take Lahore? We were waiting to hear this news.' The President munched a cashew and said: 'You know I hate hiding the truth, and I just couldn't tell him that they fought like tigers across the Ichhogil canal.' (p.147).

Ibn Nizam

Middle East Interpretation

Sociology of the Middle East: a Stock-taking and interpretation by C. A. O. Von Nieuwenhuijze, *Brill*, 820 pages, £2.25.

Many historical accounts of the Middle East are available to scholars, but this book is new in several respects. First, it presents a systematic overview of the area from Morocco to Afghanistan as a whole and thus gives an adequate perspective and understanding of the basic issues and problems. The several maps and tables on such subjects as climate, roads and railways; press, radio and television; population, land use and employment are valuable. Secondly in applying sociological concepts and theories to an area which is predominantly Muslim (for which these concepts were not designed), it tries to reconsider and at times re-assess the current sociological thinking.

The book analyses problems, conflicts and tensions which prevail in Middle Eastern societies. The author does give some guidance on solving these problems, with which one is not bound to agree, but he has shown considerable realism in his approach. "The crux of the Middle Eastern problem of today refers to the nature of the polity, that is, the true nature of human society. In this respect, the Middle East is by no means alone in the world. Indeed it turns out to be very much one member of the world family of humans."

The serious drawback of the book is its very inadequate and sketchy indexing. For a book of over 800 pages only 10 pages are devoted to the Index!

A. R. Siddiqui

Briefing

The World Petroleum Market by M. A. Adelman, *John Hopkins University Press*, £10.15.

Professor Adelman believes in the categorical imperative of the market forces and holds that no matter the agreements and cartelisation, competition pressures are bound to operate and so there's need be no oil-scare. The book was prepared much before the present oil-phobia, and though updated, the study provides an interesting background to the understanding of the oil crisis. Much before the oil-producers would become price conscious, the European governments felt that their coalmining and atomic projects were threatened by cheap oil, and thus the need to raise the oil price. Washington too came to encourage the OPEC countries and this explained their rather unusual determination and boldness. Europe and America will not mind paying any increased price as long as they are able to sell back consumer goods, non-potential military hardware and primitive technology, to the new oil-rich.

My People Shall Live: The Autobiography of a Revolutionary by Leila Khalid, edited by George Hajjar, *Hodder*, £2.50.

It is the life story of an angry Palestinian, who was born in Haifa, educated in Beirut had a teaching career in Kuwait, and was initiated into Left-wing militantism through George Habash's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. Of petit-bourgeois background, Leila at first did not think much of the Palestinians in the camps and thought highly of Nasser and Hitler. Later she found that the Palestinians were a cause, Nasser a traitor who had been bought and that Hitler no doubt anti-Jew, he 'classified Arab as subhuman'. As if these painful realisations were not enough, she is shocked by the anti-fedayeen Syrian attitude. In sum, she sees conspiracies and enemies all round. The enemies include the Arab regimes generally and Arab reaction particularly, but the enemy she admires is Israel. The autobiography contains both compassion and revolution but fails to explain as to why did she not detonate the bomb—which she could—on that El Al Flight 219. Not that she should have exploded the bomb but the question had a bearing on the theory of revolutionary violence.

Letters from Inside the Italian Communist Party to Louis Althusser by Maria Antonietta Macciocchi, translated from Italian by Stephen M. Hillman, *NLB*, £3.75.

It is the Naples story as told by a Italian Communist Party candidate, Miss Maria Antonietta Macciocchi. Miss Antonietta who worked as the Paris correspondent of *L'Unita* went to Naples in 1968 and the letters she wrote to her mentor, Louis Althusser in Paris form this moving and powerful story of the Neopolitan underdevelopment and unsophistication. Down in Italy's deep South, Naples can claim the highest population density in Europe, highest birth-rate, highest infant mortality but the lowest per capita income. Yet Maria is surprised by a comrade who bemoans that he has only five children. To the Neapolitans the birth pill is a bourgeois pill. Democracy too is taken as a bourgeois pill sparingly. If you display a poster, the Right-Wing party would give you 2,000 lire

and two kilos of pasta. If needed Italian emigrants are imported all the way from Germany to vote for the party. It would seem that Naples provided all the right setting for a Marxian revolution. Even so Maria happens to get elected only by a narrow margin. Although the Communist Party membership goes up immensely but the revolutionary workers do not stop visiting Lourdes and seek miracles. Jehovah's witnesses who have more pasta's to offer are able to seduce 50 party activists and thus what comes through hunger goes back through hunger. Poor Neapolitans? They stay and wait for another lottery or another election!

Not in God's Image edited by Julian O'Faelin and Lauro Martines. *Temple South*, £4.00.

A very interesting collection on women and their role from the Minoan and classical Greek period to the near-modern. Drawn from original sources in five European languages, the compilation helps trace the evolution of the feminine personality as is experienced today in the West and over the great part of the world influenced by Western notions, ideas and experiences. It is an image which is produced by man's various and varying moods and desires about woman as a subject. Contribution to the making of this image was made by the philosopher, scientist, religious and lay man alike if not equally. Aristotle believed woman to be a defect in nature. An eleventh-century monk warned that if a woman's flesh was cut open, you would see the filth it had been hiding. For Hegel too, men and women were as wide apart as plants and animals. Since the plants have now been recognised as a living object, the post-Hegelian elevation of woman as a sex-animal becomes a doubtful achievement. "Not in God's Image" is not only past history but a good background on the continuing and the contemporary state of the female agony.

The Kennedy Promise: The Politics of Expectation by Henry Fairlie, *Methuen*, £2.60.

Henry Fairlie's account is about the assumed Kennedy promise and its apparent failure. The Vietnam muddle is the most irrefutable and tragic evidence of this failure. While Robert Kennedy cannot escape his share of blame and responsibility, it is the "American Promise" itself which many "decent" Americans would like to re-examine. Neither the U.S. President is as powerful as he is supposed to be, nor the U.S. system is as democratic and egalitarian as it claims to be, as is proved by Bay of Pigs, Assassination of Kennedy and Watergate.

Protestantism by Martin E. Marty, *Weidenfeld and Nicolson*, £4.25.

A kind of brief and sweeping reading on Protestantism whose influence in the West-oriented world is equalled only by Roman Catholicism. Born out of "protest" it represents a unique and continuing response to society and the social problems that the former keeps throwing-up. Prof. Marty's study helps also to clarify the nature of the Protestant involvement in the worldly affairs.

● A Sinhalese translation of Maulana Abdul A'la Maudoodi, the well-known Islamic scholar's book "Towards Understanding Islam" published in Sri Lanka. Originally written in Urdu in 1937, the book has so far been translated into 23 world languages.

● *Bangla Islami Prakashni Trust* (22/1 Dharam Talla Street, Calcutta-13, India) established for producing Islamic literature in Bengali language. The number of Bengali speaking Muslims and non-Muslims in the subcontinent is about 120 million. The Trust also plans to publish a weekly magazine on Islam and current affairs and has

appealed for donations.

● The London Institute of Jewish Affairs has appointed Dr. A. J. Sherman, Research Fellow of St. Anthony's College, Oxford, to write a history of British policy on Jewish question during the World War II.

Islamic Book Centre

Fresh arrivals

Purdah and the Status of Women in Islam by Syed Abul A'la Maudoodi
£1.50 plus Forwarding 15p

Western Civilisation Condemned by Itself by Maryam Jameelah
2 Vols. £2.30 plus Forwarding 35p

Prayers of Muhammad
Translated by A. H. Farid
£2.00 plus Forwarding 15p

Islam Vs. Ahle Kitab (Past and Present) by Maryam Jameelah
£1.00 plus Forwarding 15p

Islam and Modernism by Maryam Jameelah
70p plus Forwarding 10p

The Qur'an: Text, English translation and notes by Abdullah Yussuf Ali — 2 Vols.
£5.25 + Forwarding 50p

Islamic Book Centre

148 Liverpool Road, London N1 1LA

Phone 01-607 7971

Gram: UK Islamic London N1

Islamic Books for Children

Muslim Education Trust Publications

FIRST PRIMER OF ISLAM

On the meaning of primary Islamic concepts such as Islam, Iman, Muslim, Prophets, Books, Kalima etc.

25p By Post 29p

SECOND PRIMER OF ISLAM

Explains the meaning and purpose of worship and prayer.

25p By Post 29p

Ask your local bookshop to stock or order it for you. Can be ordered from

NEWSMEDIA BOOK SERVICE
33 Stroud Green Road, London N4 3EF

ISLAMIC BOOK CENTRE
148 Liverpool Road, London N1 1LA

Cheapest Travel! Best Services

PIA, AIR INDIA & ALL AIRLINES
PLAN NOW FOR 1974 HAJ

Southeast Travel Centre & Islamic Cultural Foundation
521 Commercial Rd., London E1
Phone 01-790 6387/1713

Letters

"The New Europeans"

The extension of Islam in Europe will surely be accomplished by many individual efforts and furthered by such community actions as the First Conference of Islamic Centres and Bodies in Europe recently held in London. However, your article in issue No 24 entitled "The New Europeans" calls for a little amplification which I hope you will permit a recent convert to offer.

You stated well the need to develop positive attitudes, but hinted at the problem of the quality of the example afforded to Europeans by our community.

Let us not mince words: When a member of a minority group does wrong, the majority tends to conclude that his conduct is typical of the whole minority group. This false logic is inescapable in effect. "Ahmed drinks; he beats his wife; he cheats his customers; he exploits his tenants; he fornicates, lies, steals etc., etc., therefore, not only is Ahmed a bad man but all his race and religious fellows are bad too." And thus the sins of poor Ahmed are doubly grave—for the external results are far more grave than those within his own society.

Every nominally Muslim immigrant is therefore an involuntary ambassador of Islam to Europe.

Tourists too: The Egyptian prosecuted for shoplifting; the North African seen loitering in Piccadilly for dubious sexual pleasures; the Middle-Eastern visitor living it up at the Hilton—all do harm to Islam.

The European convert bears the same heavy burden. Every lie I tell, every time I loose my temper, use bad language no longer simply disgraces me as a person, but also my faith. If I sin gravely the graver sin is still the damage I do.

We will be judged by our actions more than by our preaching. When the European Muslim Community is a shining example of integrity, justice and charity, as please God one day will be, then will there be converts in plenty.

Let us therefore direct our prayerful efforts to the strengthening of our present community practice of the way of life that is Islam.

MOURAD FLEMING ABDELRAHEEM
London, S.W.

And General Amin

Your front page article "The New Europeans" (*Impact* Vol 2:24) was in the true *Impact* tradition of discussing an issue relevant to the contemporary Muslim situation. But I was disappointed with your criticism of General Amin whom you have compared with a character like Hitler. This is very much unjustified. General Amin neither massacred any people on the basis of race nor he expelled the Zionist agents who are Muslims enemy No 1. His expulsion of Asians was purely on the basis of citizenship which the Asians had themselves opted for.

K. MUZAFFARUDDIN

Glasgow C.5., U.K.

Impact and many other things

I have always considered *Impact* to be a model for the Muslim journalists to follow, but I am sorry to say that just like the Muslim masses it has turned pseudomuslim. Its outlook is becoming more and more materialistic.

Although I agree with you that the present and the immediate future of the Muslim world is very gloomy, we are entitled to occasional encouragement and glad tidings. If you want to save many members of the Islamic movement (mostly those with much zeal but weak faith) from despair and hopelessness, please do include a bit of sunshine.

Please don't become the official organ of the World Muslim League, Muslim Secretariat (*sic.*) or any such body which is run by un-muslim-like governments of the Muslim

countries. Most of these are run by hypocrites. Their Islam is for external consumption only. Every Muslim who practices Islam is a *Muballigh* but these people want to pay some one else to practise Islam which they themselves discourage.

Incidentally is it true that an Islamic Cultural Centre Mosque is being run on interest money?

Your news-comment and Mr. S.S. Mufassir letter about why don't Arabs use oil-weapon, my feeling is that if they did, the US will encourage Iran to occupy Iraq and the Gulf and Israel the remaining Arab Oil fields. As for legality?—Well! Might is right. Public opinion?—Can be bought—and who cares anyway. Russian intervention? Not really as long as they get their piece of the cake.

Mr. A. J. Versi has asked what chemicals in the pig meat influence human behaviour? It appears to me that our intellectual friends in their finite wisdom cannot take the words of Allah for granted. Trying to find wisdom in Divine Guidance is a different matter, but to make our scientific understanding of these laws as a condition for accepting them is in fact an attempt to equate our wisdom with that of Allah. Would you always reason with an infant not to play with a sharp knife or any dangerous object?

The modern scientific knowledge about the action of even L.S.D. and other psychotropic drugs is very shallow and incomplete. Most doctors would agree that food has some influence over behaviour... How? How! we don't know. It is commonly agreed that consumption of first class proteins .eg. meat makes a person more "lively" "energetic" "enterprising" and understandably more aggressive and imparts the qualities necessary for "leadership". How? We don't know. It may be the proportion of proteins to unsaturated fats or may be it is the Aminoacid sequence of the meat protein which varies in different tissues and in different species.

I personally believe that eating pig meat would tend (possibly only one of the causes) to make a person agree to things like wife swapping, communal sex, gang bangs and wide scale adultery, which is destroying the moral foundations of the family. What chemical? I can only guess. The Chinese also eat pig but on a smaller scale. I have no doubt when pork consumption rises, their behaviour pattern too would change. Again this may be only one of the factors.

Liverpool 13, U.K. **DR. S. EHSANULLAH**

Islamic Review

May I refer to Mr. Joh's letter from India requesting views and support on the republication of *Islamic Review*.

Frankly I don't see why the *Review* cannot be published from India. In fact when it first appeared in 1913 from Woking it was known as *Islamic Review and Muslim India*. Later it became *Islamic Review and Arab Affairs*, but the *Arab Affairs* part has also been dropped. However, it is useful to note as to why the *Review* had to go out of publication. It was not for financial reasons alone, but also due to lack of enthusiasm in the World Muslim community because of its association or supposed association with the 'Lahore' group of the followers of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian (in the Indian Punjab).

It is not clear if the reviving publishers want to continue with the old policy or intend to turn a new leaf. Some Trust or some good individuals may take care of the financial side but it is very important that a Muslim magazine should also enjoy the community's confidence.
London, WC **SALEEM KHAN**

Am I correct to presume that few years back the Muslim World League, Mecca had issued a circular to all Muslim organisations saying that *Islamic Review* is not to be regarded as a Muslim magazine?
Hertford, Herts. **P. KHALID**

DAWN TRAVELS

dawn of a new
travel era
in comfort and in
economy

Special fares for USA, Middle East,
Indo-Pak subcontinent & South East
Asia

Dawn Travels Ltd

3 Panton St., Haymarket, London S.W.1

Phone: 01-930 9971 (Two Lines)

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

a discussion of the world
situation in the light of the
Qur'anic prophecies — a must
for students of Middle Eastern
affairs.

Paperback 55p, Postage 10p
Hardcover £1.25, Postage 15p

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

VOICE

Independent newspaper of Arab World
EVERY FORTNIGHT

Annual: £3 (Europe) £5 (Other countries)

MORRIS INTERNATIONAL LTD.
4 Vincent Square, London SW1

TUFAIL RASHID & CO.

Accounts
Book-keeping
Tax V.A.T
30 STROUD GREEN ROAD
London N4 2DQ
Phone 01-263 2782

new spectrum

Rabial Thani 21 - 11 Jamadi al-Awal 1393

Muslim Education in Europe

Austrian Muslim magazine urges Islamic Council to take up the problem with the European governments

The characteristic features of the Islamic educational system in the West are its internal imbalances and fragmentariness, says the leading article contributed by Smail Balic in the 27 May issue of *Der Gerade Weg* (Sirati Mustekim) issued by "Organ Des 'Moslemischen Sozialdienstes in Osterreich' (Muslim Association of Austria). The reasons for these, Dr. Balic says, are to be found in the very history of the formation of Muslim communities. There is a lack of tradition, no exchange of experience, virtually no financial resources and, first and foremost no central systematic and purposeful administration. There is a shortage of teachers who are qualified in both Islamic and the education science; and what there is is mainly improvisation.

Dr. Balic mentions the 'collapse of the entire system of religious education in Yugoslavia' in the changed circumstances of the post-war years where a restricted form of religious education is available through the mosques. Eastern Europe is no different. Another important element of the situation was a greatly reduced parental role. Besides, most parents themselves lacked the knowledge and capability to impart Islamic education to their children. The general rhythm of living and the total exclusion of Islam in the mass-media constitute yet another limiting factor.

The greatest obstacle to organised religious education, writes *Der Gerade Weg*, lies in the fact that with the solitary exception of Belgium, no European country recognises Muslims "as a religious community within the meaning of a church protected by the state. Thus Muslims cannot provide religious tuition for their children at schools." (The situation is true, perhaps with the exception of Britain where the Muslim Educational Trust is sending its own teachers to a number of govern-

ment schools. But this is too small as compared to the totality of the problem and too big for the emerging community to be able to handle it on its own). In Spain, the Muslims are so far denied even a mosque.

In Austria efforts are being made to obtain an official representation for the Muslim community (an Islamic "Kultus-gemeinde") and the Chancellor Dr. Bruno Kreisky has promised support.

The article ends with an appeal to the Islamic European Conference (now Islamic Council of Europe) to take up the issue of official recognition of Muslims as a distinct religious community with the respective European governments and the European Council at Strasbourg. Such a recognition is necessary if the young Muslims in Europe are to be saved from the danger of cultural alienation and mental impoverishment — a danger which should concern the society as a whole, both the Muslims and non-Muslims alike.

(Impact Report)

U.S. F.I.A. Annual Convention

The 22nd Annual Convention of the Federation of Islamic Associations in the United States and Canada is to meet at Detroit Hilton in Detroit, Michigan, from 10-12 August. The Convention provides an opportunity to the U.S. Muslims to meet and discuss problems of specific application to living a Muslim life in the North American environs. The convention programme includes

lectures and panel discussions on aspects of Islam and Muslim Community life, and programmes of interest to the youth and children. As an added attraction the organisers promise a moonlight cruise on Detroit river, visit to Boblo Island Amusement Park, and a major baseball game featuring the world-famous Detroit Tigers.

(Impact News).

The Muslim Social Scientists Association of the U.S. & Canada

is holding a three-day seminar on "Education and Social Change" at the Y.M.C.A. Tecumseh, Indiana. The seminar which began on 22 June provides an opportunity for the Muslim social scientists to discuss, plan and guide objective research directed to the social well-being of the *ummah*. (Impact News).

Saudi Donation: Saudi Arabia has sanctioned a grant of SR 37,000 for the Muslim Community of Philadelphia, U.S.A. (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". (Impact News).

More about Amsterdam

M. Shafiq writes that it has since been pointed out to him that the "Mosque" in The Hague mentioned in his previous report (Impact, 2:24) was in fact a Qadiyani-Ahmadiya prayer place and as such not accepted as a mosque by the local Muslim Community. "In other words" writes Shafiq "there is no mosque yet in Holland."

The official statistics on the Muslim population in Holland is as follows: Indonesians, 20,000 (unofficially estimated at 30,000); Turks, 16,000; and Moroccans, 13,000. These figures do not include about 300-500 Pakistanis and those from India and Surinam. The minimum, in any case, appears to be about 50,000. (Impact Report).

PAKISTAN SOCIETY

Pakistan in International Company is the title of a talk to be given by Mr. I. A. Akhund, Pakistan's Permanent Representative to the U.N. in the Committee Room No. 12, House of Commons, London S.W.1 on 5 July at 5.30 p.m. The talk is organised by "The Pakistan Society" and Sir Zafrulla Khan will chair the meeting.

U.K. ROUND-UP

U.K. Islamic Mission: Worker's Training Camp for Southern branches and circles held in London on 26 and 27 May. Worker's meeting in London addressed by Haset Sali, President, Australian Federation of Islamic Societies on the problems and experiences of the Muslim Australian community particularly in the fields of education and youth work.

Dr. Abdur Rauf, Director of Washington Islamic Centre was the guest speaker at a well attended public meeting organised by the Islamic Cultural Centre, London. Dr. Abdur Rauf had been visiting London as an Observer at the last month's Conference of Islamic Centres and Bodies in Europe and his talk dealt with the perspectives and challenges of the contemporary Muslim situation in North America.

Syed Muhammad Jamil, Pakistan's former Accountant General and very closely associated with the Islamic work in South Korea spoke on the "Historical Role of Islam as a Universal Unifying Force" at a public lecture organised by the Union of Muslim Organisations of U.K. and Eire on 9 June at the Islamic Cultural Centre, London.

Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu: The Annual general meeting of "Kul Bartaniya Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu" held on 10 June at the London Islamic Cultural Centre under the chairmanship of Dr. K. H. Qadiri adopted the Annual Report as well as the Treasurer's report, presented by the Secretary Mr. S. M. Shah. Office bearers for 1973-74: Raja Mahmudabad, Chairman; Dr. R. Russel, Dr. K. Islam and Dr. K. H. Qadiri, Vice Chairman; S. M. Shah, Secretary; Begum S. A. Husain, Social Secretary, David Mathews, Treasurer; and an executive of six. **Mushaira** on 30 June, Conway Hall, Holborn, London at 1.00 p.m. under the auspices of Pakistan Unity Circle.

Radio Pakistan: Radio Pakistan's Home Service Programme *Intekhab* is being relayed for listeners in the U.K. from 8.30-11.00 a.m. (7.30-10.00 Hours GMT) on 17830 KhZ/16.82 metres and 15325 KhZ/19.58 metres.

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

AFGHANISTAN. Soviet Union to provide material, equipment, chemicals and experts for use by the Nitrogen Fertilizer works near the Mazar-e-Sharif area. ● Afghanistan has launched a five-year literacy campaign to enable more than 2,000,000 people to achieve sufficient literacy.

AFRICAN AFFAIRS. Canon Burgess Carr, Gen-Sec., All Africa Conference of Churches, said the organisation morally supports the use of force and counter-violence by the freedom fighters in Africa. ● Zaire expressed disapproval of the campaign being conducted "by circles close to the Vatican" against it. ● Gen. Amin's former Education Minister, Edward Rugumayo joined as lecturer at the Zambia University.

● A group of 24 Kenyan businessmen and officials and a nine-man Ghanaian delegation went to attend Israel-73 Industrial Exhibition in Tel Aviv. ● Agreement to improve efficiency and closer co-operation signed between OAU and the African Development Bank.

ALBANIA. A Museum of Atheism containing pictures and documents unmasking the reactionary activities of the clergy and religion inaugurated in Shkoder.

ARAB FEDERATION. President Sadat issued a decree ordering all Egyptians working in Libya to stay in their posts as long as the Libyan authorities ask them to do so until the union has been proclaimed.

AUSTRALIA. Prime Minister Whitlam said he would like to see a regional grouping for the Asian and Pacific area along the lines of the OAU or the OAS. He said now SEATO was futile, ASPAC was objectionable as it included Taiwan and the five-power defence arrangement between Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Malaysia and Singapore was only transitional. He claimed ASEAN was the only regional grouping which had a future and that the ANZUS between Australia, New Zealand and the USA was still relevant.

BANGLADESH. Law Minister Dhar confirmed B'desh sending cadets for military training to India but refused details. ● Education Commission interim report recommended vocation-oriented education. ● Law Minister said the framing of necessary laws for the trial of war criminals had reached the final stage. ● The Indian High Commission in Dacca denied allegation made by the Bangladesh press that India is planning to starve Bangladesh of river waters by constructing Farakka barrage or wants to divert the Brahmaputra waters into Ganga. ● Indian Finance Minister Mr. Chavan thanked Bangladesh for repudiating the rumours that India had printed more currency notes than it had supplied to Bangladesh. ● The government decided that in future 16th of December will be observed as the National Day. ● Communist Party Sec. Abdus Salam urged the people to rebuff the forces of reaction which are trying to spread disunity and undermining independence. ● New direct flights linking Chittagong

with Jessore and Calcutta to be introduced. Non-stop four-day a week service also introduced between Chittagong and Calcutta.

EGYPT. President Sadat said the territories occupied by Israel by force could only be regained by force. Libya's nationalisation of Bunker Hunt Oil Co. must be seen as a response to the U.S.' unconditional support for Israel.

INDIA. Muslims observed anti-repression day on 17 June against the closure of the Aligarh Muslim University. ● Rajasthan Muslim Majlis merged in Indian Union Muslim League. ● President's rule imposed in Uttar Pradesh and the State Assembly suspended. U.P. is the fourth state to come under President's rule; others being Andhra Pradesh, Orissa and Manipur. ● The Fifth Plan (1974-79) allocation for development of education and national culture is to be Rs. 22,000m.

● The Samyukta Socialist Party leader Raja Narayan, several workers of the SSP and the Muslim Majlis arrested in Varanasi.

INDONESIA. Social Welfare Minister, Prof. Sukowati expressed concern over the seepage of drug habits to the villages with the result that patriotism and nationalism were declining.

IRAN. The joint Iranian-Soviet Shipping line opened regular service between Iranian ports in the Caspian and the ports of the USSR and European countries. ● Premier Hoveyda said the Iranian nation, inspired by its revolution's leader, the Shah, would pursue its revolutionary course based on an Iranian ideology.

● The "Voice of the Front of the United Nationalities of Iran" criticised the Shah for the arrest and execution of a number of guerrillas but claimed the movement has not died.

ISLAMIC SECRETARIAT. A meeting of economic experts to discuss the details of the proposed Islamic Bank to be held on 6 June postponed *sine die*. A Conference of the Finance Ministers of Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Bahrain, Libya and Abu Dhabi is to meet in Kuala Lumpur in August.

ISRAEL. Hebron military court sentenced Khalil Abd al Ghanim Massasa to 25 years imprisonment for sabotage and causing death of two persons. ● As a result of a general strike by broadcasting journalists on 12 June, Israel reduced its daily newsbulletins to three. ● Transport Minister Shimon Peres said in face of disagreement on territorial boundaries with Jordan what is now needed is not the marking of a new border, but the definition of new relations between Israel and Jordan.

JORDAN. Amman radio quoted "Arab diplomatic sources in Cairo as saying that the cultural revolution was designed to get rid of traditional senior officers and have a freehand in effecting merger with Egypt. ● Ban lifted on the publication of weekly *Al-Liwa*.

KENYA. President Kenyatta warned against individuals who "were preaching disunity on the basis of self-disatisfaction".

LEBANON. *An-Nahar* alleged that Lebanon yielded to the U.S. pressure and asked France and Britain to withdraw their draft resolution to the Security Council condemning Israeli aggression in Beirut. The U.S. had threatened to withdraw its pledge to protect Lebanon.

LIBYA. ICAO Council report said Israel had no apparent justification to shoot down the Libyan airliner and that such actions constituted a serious danger against the safety of international civil aviation. ● Agriculture Minister said four areas, totalling 500,000 ha. would be developed under a 10-year plan to meet the Libyan needs. ● The popular Committee in one Tripoli district ruled that any person found drunk will be sent to prison for one month and fined 100 Dinars. ● Poland, France and 11 other countries have agreed to use Arabic in their Poassports. ● Col. Qadhafi denounced the Arab policy of making treaties with major powers viz. Iraq, and criticised Bourguiba for trying to play the mediator role in the M.E. conflict. He told the law students that the cultural revolution was supposed to protect the radio and "this sensitive utility is not a playground for airing sensitive feelings". He asked them "to think deeply" that "shouldn't there be someone from the C.I.D., the Intelligence or the Security Service at the Station?"

MALI. The information Minister told a Muslim World League delegation that 80% of the Mali population is Muslim and they are prepared to co-operate with any organisation aiming at the improvement of their condition.

NIGERIA. Mines and Power Commissioner Ali Monguno announced formal acquisition of 35% shares in the Shell-B.P. Co. in Nigeria. The new agreement provided for a majority 51% Nigerian holding to be achieved by 1982.

PAKISTAN. Dual Nationality to be granted to Pakistanis residing in Canada. ● Pakistan Federal budget for 1973-79 showed a net revenue receipt of Rs. 8,500m; a non-development expenditure of 8,270m and a surplus of 230m. Defence expenditure remained unchanged at 4,230m. The size of the annual development plan was fixed at 5,575m. Foreign debts incurred in 1972-73 on the unavoidable import of food-grains, fertilisers and Tarbela was 3389m. ● The NA was told that the government is planning to set up facilities for the production of tanks and military aircraft in the country. ● Pakistan informed the World Bank Consortium that it will not be responsible beyond June 1973 to repay instalments on foreign debts spent in Bangladesh. ● Rules for elections to the Senate enforced; elections expected early July. ● State Minister, Mr. Aziz Ahmad told NA that PoWs' return was the only hitch in normalising ties with New Delhi. ● Commerce Minister said the government had no plans to completely stop the import of liquor; they wanted to reduce it gradually. As against Rs. 3,535m during the

last financial year, licences for import of liquor worth Rs. 2,895m were issued for the eight months of the current financial year. These figures included imports made by foreign missions, but the increase despite the break-up of the country, the Minister said, was because there were more drunkards in Western Pakistan. ● The Opposition leader Pir Pagaro alleged that a plot to assassinate him and his family has been hatched by some ministers. ● The editor and printer of the opposition daily *Jasarat* arrested under Defence of Pakistan's rules. ● Home Minister said it has been decided to ban Freemasonry. ● The U.D.F. severely criticised President Bhutto for a gross mishandling of the national and foreign affairs and said that if he did not change his ways the remaining Pakistan would also disintegrate. They demanded Mr. Bhutto to resign and hand over to the Vice-President, Mr. Nurul Amin who shall hold elections. ● Jamaat-e-Islami observed 8-14 June as protest week against rising prices and unemployment.

PHILIPPINES. An Islamic Secretariat delegation led by the Saudi Consul in Singapore arrived in the Philippines to help find peace between the government and the Muslims in Mindanao.

SAUDI ARABIA. The government is considering re-exploiting the country's gold mines. ● Saudi Arabia decided to exchange ambassador with Brazil, and consul with Liberia. ● Mecca Vice-Governor warned shopkeepers who do not close shops during prayer times or go to the mosque.

SOUTH AFRICA. FM Dr. Muller said the giant EEC can be regarded as a model on which the future of southern Africa will be built. The economic and political potential of the southern African subcontinent is enormous and it will rival North Africa and Western Africa in so far as the political importance is considered. The message from Pretoria is clear dialogue where possible but the immediate priority is to build up southern Africa into strong units. The process is far advanced: its culmination is around the corner. ● S. African gold and foreign reserves rose by 9.6m rand to nearly 1,196m rand. The gold holdings remained unaltered at nearly 561m rand which indicated that gold produced was sold.

SYRIA. Kuwait NA approved proposal to allocated 10m Dinars to strengthen Syrian army.

TUNISIA. Agreement signed with China on public health co-operation. China will send 25 Chinese doctors and specialists in acupuncture.

UGANDA. Internal Affairs Ministry announced ban on Jehovah's Witness, United Pentecostal Churches, Elim Pentecostal Evangelist Fellowship of Uganda, Church of Christ, International Bible Students' Association, the Navigators of Colorado. Legio Maria of Africa and few others for spying and causing confusion. The Ministry said it recognises and will continue to assist the Roman Catholic, Muslim and Protestant Churches.