

MUSLIM VIEWPOINT(S) ON CURRENT AFFAIRS

# impact

international fortnightly

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LONDON, 13 — 26 APRIL 1973

Vol 2: 22

## All development and no politics in Indonesia

"These guys are not to be confused with any Latin American leaders," said a U.S. State Department official referring to the Indonesian army and the leadership of Gen. Suharto. "They deserve to run the country. There is no other group that can match them"

This commendation comes seven years after Suharto and the army took over from the flamboyant Sukarno and began establishing the New Order in Indonesia. The balance sheet after this seven years has been impressive enough to constrain the People's Consultative Congress to give Suharto his first mandate as President, which is to last for the next five years during which Indonesia can expect to see a continuation of fundamental and far-reaching changes in its social, economic and political life.

These changes were underlined in the three-hour long report by Suharto to the People's Consultative Assembly on 12 March showing the direction, priorities and methods of the New Order. The current endeavour of the new order, as Suharto put it, has been to give priority to economic development without which it is impossible to talk about social justice and the betterment of living conditions. But economic development could not be guaranteed unless the mismanagement of the State apparatus and the conflicts of groups and political parties were put an end to and "steps taken to achieve an orderly and smooth conduct of Government with control".

Cynics are saying that what has happened is nothing but 'guided democracy' in another form but Suharto insists that it signifies "a step further in our common efforts to strengthen democratic and constitutional life . . ." Justification can be found for both views. Suharto can rightly claim that Indonesia has suffered too much from a 20-year surfeit of histrionics. The remedy lay not in shelving all semblances of constitutional government and ruling by decree and outright authoritarian government. Neither did it rest on the adoption of a free-for-all type of parliamentary democracy. The remedy lay rather in an idea which was being floated in South East Asia since the 1940's and given expression in a book by a Philippino author and published in the USA in 1952. The idea is of a democracy without politics or a party-less democracy in which "functional groups" would steal the thunder from traditional parties and in which representatives would be partially appointed, partially elected. This essentially is what has happened in Indonesia under Suharto. The Government's functional group or the GOLKAR in which ABRI or the Indonesian Republican Armed Forces is the base has become the guiding and dominant force in the new Indonesia which places a new emphasis on the Panchasila or the five principles—democracy, God, nationalism, humanitarianism and social justice.

On the other hand, there are many in Indonesia

who feel that the political life of the country has been reduced to a farce, that parties have been cajoled and pumelled in such a way as to make a mockery of democracy, that they have become merely actors in a shadow play devoid of any initiative and purpose of their own. The various political parties have been merged into two groupings. The 'Persatuan Pembarigunan' (Unity Group for Development) brought together the four Muslim political parties, 'Demokrasi Pembangunan' (Democracy Group for Development) brought together the Nationalist and Christian political parties. This has been done to 'simplify the party system'. The new platforms would put an end to the political functions and original ideologies of the respective parties but they would be allowed to continue as social organisations. This process was completed before the meeting of the Consultative Congress which undoubtedly was responsible for Suharto's unanimous mandate.

Among those to have voiced criticisms of this political management is former Vice-President, Dr. Mohammed Hatta, who pointed out that many parties were not too keen on *fusi*, or the fusion which has taken place. He asked, "Have we got to head for fascism first in this period of transition?" and added, "If we are really going to deviate from democracy . . . then we have better abolish the periodic general elections". But President Suharto does not see it like this. He is concerned that bickerings and such things as religious disharmony should not be generated. This was his reason, for example, in advising the Islamic parties that the new form of their fusion should not bear an Islamic name. H.M.S. Mintaredja, Chairman of the Unity Group who is also chairman of the Partai Muslimin Indonesia and Minister of Social Affairs in the new Cabinet, had agreed with Suharto's suggestion and said that the Islamic parties would not contain Islamic ideology in its programme.

Thus have the old parties been "restructured but not autocratically abolished". Political diversity of a sort has been preserved and unity imposed. How much is this good for Indonesia and how much it serves the interests of Indonesians are still very much open questions. Suharto can claim as he does that it is all essential for an "orderly, efficient and reliable State apparatus" which is needed in this period of development. Seven years ago, he said, the number of Cabinet ministers approached 100 serving their own vested interests. Now, however, the Government administration "serves the material progress of the nation".

In statistical terms, the material progress under Suharto has been astounding. Running inflation of over 600% was reduced to just over 2% although last year it increased by 25% which was "a bitter pill to swallow" according to Suharto. The development budget for 1968 was 35,500

million rupiah. By 1972-3, the figure had increased more than eight times to over 293,300 million rupiah. The previous collapse of the economy, according to Suharto, was because "rational economic laws" were abandoned, and "extreme nationalism gave birth to a hatred to everything coming from abroad, particularly from the West and "political and prestige projects were given priority over economically sound ones". Recovery has been due to a policy of "economic democracy" which mobilized the people's potential and creativity and also foreign funds and foreign technology and skill "through foreign capital investments which are guaranteed attractive terms". The yearly increase in aid from the international consortium (Intergovernmental Group of Indonesia), the Paris agreement on rescheduling of Indonesian debts inherited from the old order, the flow of foreign capital into Indonesia, the growing number of foreign tourists—are all taken as indicative of the greater foreign trust in Indonesia.

In spite of the fact that the aim of the Five Year Development Plan (Repelita) is "to better the livelihood of the majority of the people", Suharto himself has been complaining that the economic cake is not shared to the advantage of the people. As he put it in his Report, "No matter how fast the present pace of our development, the Government is still fully aware that it must be further quickened . . . The number of unemployed is still high. The number of children who are denied the opportunity to go to school, still runs into millions. Tens of millions of Indonesians still live on a sub-calorie diet. Tens of millions of Indonesians still live with all kinds of shortcomings."

Suharto's hopes are that these massive problems and the future social direction of the people could be overcome by the "growing enthusiasms of the people to take part in development and the growing existence of modern thinking in society". When modern thinking applies to the introduction of such things as fertilisers and new agricultural methods most people are enthusiastic. When however it applies to such things as particular forms of family planning and what is conceived as the growing secularization of government and society, there are many who are more than slightly perturbed. For them such developments are bitter pills to swallow, as bitter as the pill of a rise in the rate of inflation is to Suharto. At the moment there are only murmurings and mutterings of which Suharto no doubt is fully aware. So far he has not left anything up to chance and *control* is the order of the day. Control is the key word in the *sapta krida*, or the seven-fold objective which the new cabinet has been set. "To enhance and preserve political stability at home and abroad" is the first objective, followed by economic stability, and "stability in security". Increasing the peoples welfare comes fifth, reforming the bureaucracy sixth and holding the next general elections in 1977 "at the latest" is last.

## Survey

## PAKISTAN • TURKEY • IRAQ-KUWAIT

## PAKISTAN PLOTTING

The announcement on 30 March by Pakistan's Defence Ministry of the arrest of "a small group of military officers engaged in activities directed towards seducing certain military personnel from their duty or allegiance to Government" marks the beginning of a newer phase in that country's politics of crisis and decline. Although the official statement did not describe it as an attempt to overthrow the government, an unofficial leak in the official *Pakistan Times* said the plotters did very much wished so. Instigated by ex-Lt.Col. Afridi (dismissed last year for allegedly trying to prevent Mr. Bhutto taking over from Yahya), the plotters would have arrested Mr. Bhutto after his return from Tehran on 11 April, and taken him before the National Assembly for impeachment etc. The fact of Afridi being married to the sister of the former air force chief, Ashgar Khan, sought to suggest that the retired Air Marshal could also be involved. That Ashgar Khan who now heads the Istiqlal Party and questions strongly the legality of the present regime should be interested in Mr. Bhutto's deposition seemed plausible. The Air Marshal who had earlier been reported incommunicable has so far, neither been questioned nor charged.

All this, however, is a matter of allegation. What really is the truth is a different question. Truth in the context of Pakistan's recent politics seems to have become more and more elusive. It may perhaps remain so until at least the full report of Sheikh Mujib's trial and the Hamoodur Rahman Commission report on the fall of Dacca are published. By themselves not the whole truth but the two documents do hold clues to many aspects of Pakistan's current history.

However, whether there really was a "plot" or the whole thing was in the nature of the "hijacking" of the Indian airliner *Ganga* or the "secession" of East Pakistan, the question cannot be ignored. The politics and motivation of the 20 army officers (14 Majors; three Lt.-Cols.; one Brig.; one Wing Commander; and one Sqdn. Leader) are not known, but the diversity of their background is as significant as that of their units. The "plotters" come not only from different and distant units but also represent a diverse (in some contexts antagonistic) regional and "religious" spectrum. Regionwise, three come from the North West Frontier Province, 13 from Punjab and four are of Indian immigrant origin. Sectionally there appeared to be 13 *Sunnis*, three *Shias* and three *Qadiani Ahmadis*. One of them, Major Saeed Akhtar Malik was son of the late Lt.-Gen. Akhtar Hussain Malik and nephew of Lt.-Gen. Abdul Ali Malik who ranks third in seniority to the present army chief Gen. Tikka Khan. (Gen. Akhtar Malik was alleged to have been involved, along with Mr. Bhutto in the 1965 CIA-sponsored war between India and Pakistan. Gen. Malik later served as Pakistan's military representative on the Cento Secretariat in Ankara). Major Saeed, it seems, had recently questioned the President about the PoWs and the use of the army in Baluchistan at an officer's meeting. Nothing unusual, because such discussions were part of the army tradition since the British days, but it could be that the President was particularly hypersensitive on these issues. Alternatively the poor Major (his high connections would suggest this) was simply used to provoke and flush out the real malcontents.

The "plot" might as well be seen as fitting in with President Bhutto's supposed strategy of crisis. If so, the crisis pace seemed to suggest not only escalation but also lack of control. The chronology of the events immediately preceding the arrest of the military officers did point out to such a situation. On 23 March, the 200,000-strong meeting in Rawalpindi of the United Democratic Front of the opposition parties was disrupted after about 9 persons were killed by gun fire. The President said the opposition had brought in armed men from the North West

Frontier Province and that this was virtually an armed invasion. The opposition on the other hand alleged that these cold blooded murders were planned and perpetrated by the regime. As for the arms, it said all those who came from outside had been searched enroute repeatedly by the police. On 24th, the UDF announced its decision to boycott the Assembly unless its 12-point demand to make the constitution truly "Islamic, democratic parliamentary and federal" was accepted. The President offered to negotiate if the boycott was ended, but the UDF refused to join the Assembly unless the demands were met. On 28th March, six PPP and two independent Assembly members also joined the opposition boycott. On 29th March, the President in a TV marathon invited those opposition parties which were represented in the NA to come and discuss with him matters "which they regarded as controversial". And the following day was announced the "plot". Was it intended to tell the opposition before they came to see Mr. Bhutto on 2 April that how mighty and irremovable he was, and it was Him that they have to reckon with.

The plot story, whether true or false does bring to surface the frightful fact of a wide spread discontent among the country's armed forces. Would Mr. Bhutto use this discontent to acquire for himself more absolute powers and prerogatives? Or would another group of ambitious generals try to use the same "strategy of crisis" to chuck out Mr. Bhutto, as did Yahya in 1969 in collaboration with Mr. Bhutto? But, what happens to that poor country can be a matter only of guess or prayers.

## Turkey — a welcome precedent

The election last week of retired admiral Fahri Koruturk as Turkey's President should come as a welcome relief to both the politicians as well as to the generals. In fact it was a tribute to the basically democratic genius of the Turkish people, the cool determination of the politicians, and above all the good sense of the generals to have accepted a compromise.

The Turkish commander's self-assumed custodianship of a self-defined Kemalism and their ignorance of the true ethos of their fellow countrymen, has already cost the country at least 15 years in basic development and true progress, and if the present gesture denoted a sincere acceptance of the general's primarily military role and was not dictated by a tactical compulsion, Turkey could well be on road to a new era. It would now be for all the political parties and politicians to demonstrate that they too believed in freedom and consensus; that they were capable of running the country's administration in accordance with their mandate; and that no matter how long they may remain deprived of political power, they would not seek the short cut of inviting the army to come and instal them into chair.

The lessons since the 1960 coup invited by Ismet Inonou and his Republican Party are well worth taking to heart.

## Iraq — Kuwait portents

What on the face of it was a minor border incident involving an attack by Iraqi forces on a Kuwaiti post killing four people on both sides may turn out to be the precursor of a far greater conflict in the Gulf.

It is not merely a question of the Arabs fighting each other over boundaries which have been made by the British and making loudly-proclaimed Arab unity sound like a sick joke. The stakes in

this battle in which the recent Iraqi action is not the first shot are extremely high and international big power interests are closely tied up in this pursuit of power and riches. The calculations of the Soviet Union, of the Western Powers and of the increasingly mighty Persia must be taken into account.

There is little doubt that the Iraqi aggression has been carried out with the Ba'ath regime feeling secure in the 'friendship and co-operation' of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union has been having an increasingly large say in the 'development' of Iraq and in Iraqi affairs. It is exploiting Iraqi oilfields, supplying and training its armed forces and building up Iraq's naval base at Umm Qasr. Obviously the Soviet Union is not doing this for philanthropy. It has its power needs and is aware that the Gulf area possesses over 60% of the world's known oil reserves. It is really concerned that the 'reactionary and imperialist' states and regimes (i.e. those which are not within its orbit) should have predominant control of the area. Iraq and South Yemen are its bastions at the moment and the Soviet Union would see to it that through them the power and riches of the region would not be lost by default.

Of course other powers have their plans too. When Britain evacuated the Gulf states it set up small principalities which are now independent but which cannot realistically defend themselves and protect the interests of the departing colonial power and its allies. The obvious counterpoise which could be built up to face any threat lay in the Persia of Shah Pahlavi. Through his White Revolution generously assisted by the USA and by the supply of the most sophisticated strike weaponry including a number of Phantoms, Iran is now a power to be reckoned with in the whole of middle Asia. So far as the Gulf is concerned Iran has already shown by its occupation of the three islands including Greater and Lesser Tunb that it can act with impunity. Since that occupation Iraq has been smarting under some humiliation from its far more powerful neighbour which could at any time shut off the Gulf completely to her shipping. It is partly for this reason that the Soviet Union maintains a permanent naval presence just there.

Iraq now is flexing its muscles and not wanting to operate under the shadow of Persian superiority and whoever else may care to back this up. After the attack on the border post, Iraq has made it clear that it wants to take possession of the island of Bubiyan and Warba off the Kuwaiti shore. The Iraqi Foreign Minister, Abdel Baqi, has said: "These islands are extremely important to us. Our condition for delineation of the border is that this area must be Iraqi". This is the first time that Iraq has made this claim public. The Foreign Minister also went on to say that so important were the islands to Iraq, that "for their sake we are ready to give up Kuwait", seeming to imply that Iraq considered Kuwait part of its territory and thereby reviving a claim which was last made by Kassem in 1961.

Kuwait of course has been under various types of Iraqi pressure for a long time but for the first time it is talking of not giving up an inch of its territory. It knows that it cannot stand on its own and there are reports of Saudi assistance to contain the Iraqis. Should the situation escalate further, it could really become big because Saudi Arabia is having serious 'border' troubles with the leftist regime down south.

## Sadats powerful helplessness

If any leader was to concentrate into his hands the offices of President, Prime Minister, C-in-C of the armed forces and Military Governor-General he would probably be regarded with a great amount of awe and would probably feel himself capable of wielding a great amount of power. When however Sadat assumed these powers in a

# Survey

thorough shake-up of Egypt's political executive in preparation for the "all-out confrontation in earnest" he was regarded at worst with derision, at best with sympathy. In the circumstances, sympathy seems to be the more commendable emotion for although it is said that Sadat aimed at tightening his personal grip on the machinery of the State, it has also been suggested that no one was really willing to take on the massive job of solving Egypt's problems and rectifying the "shortcomings" in the State's apparatus.

So far only slight, if any, credence has been given to Sadat's claim that "everything in Egypt is now being mobilized in earnest for the resumption of the battle—which is now inevitable". This is being treated in the same manner as the "year of decision" and calls for total confrontation with Israel. Behind the war talk, Sadat has been making strenuous diplomatic efforts to seek a political solution with Israel. He has now related in a rather dejected manner how America chiefly and the other big powers have slighted his special envoys and how nothing is being done to bring pressure on Israel. Instead Egypt was asked to make further concessions "in order to get the question moving, not to solve it" while the United States was announcing that it would continue to maintain and increase Israel's superiority. So Egypt's diplomatic initiative was foiled and military preparations had to begin in earnest, "satisfied" in the thought of Soviet support. Egypt has been ordered to go through its military paces with mock raids and black outs to keep the people on the alert. Sadat is now proclaiming war more out of desperation than calculation and strategy and unless something happens to push him over the brink no one is expecting another six-day or perhaps a three-day war in the near future.

It really looks then as if Egypt's internal situation has been at the root of changes in cabinet posts in Egypt and the increasing of the cabinet from 31 to 37 members. The most important question to be asked now is whether these changes would lead to any new direction or orientation and to greater efficiency. To begin with they seem to be rather ad hoc and not long-term changes. Sadat apparently does not intend to serve as Premier for long and some of the appointments seem merely to be sinecures or made not to hurt feelings as in the case of ousted premier Sidy, now Sadat's personal advisor. It has also been said that the reshuffle was meant to temper the Arab Socialist Union which was increasingly getting in the way of the executive and sabotaging its initiatives. The outcome has allegedly been a shift to the right as evidenced for example by the appointment of Dr. Abdul Aziz Kamil as Deputy Prime Minister for Religious Affairs (a post created for the first time) and Minister of Awqaf and by the exclusion of Fuad Mursi former Minister of Supply known for his communist views. This conclusion does not seem justified because Sadat has included in the new cabinet as Minister of Culture, Yusuf as-Siba'i, who has been known for his leftist views. It is thus difficult to pronounce on the direction of the new cabinet. And because it gives the impression of being rather ad hoc, to expect streamlining and efficiency would probably be expecting much at this stage.

One cannot help feeling that further change or changes are imminent. There are one or two prominent people in the cabinet who could form the focal point for new developments. One is Murad Ghalib, the Minister of Information who has been Sadat's and Nasser's special envoy to Moscow on several occasions. Another is Dr. Abdul Aziz Hijazi, a Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance, Economy and Foreign Trade. And a third is Mamduh Salim who has been also made a Deputy Prime Minister, the Deputy Military Governor-General and Minister of the Interior as well.

There are altogether four deputy prime ministers and this in itself suggests that President-Premier Sadat would need all that help he can possibly get.

## Somali Clemency!

On 1 April, Somalia's National Security Court instructed by the Supreme Revolutionary Council released Aden Abdullah Osman, countrys first President and 18 other political leaders held in detention since 21 October, 1969. Better late than never! The release, commendable as it may be, also highlights the unfortunate state of Human Rights and the civil liberties situation in many Muslim and Third world countries. There is nothing more cruel than to keep people in detention without any trial. In *prima facie* cases, the sensible thing would be to give the accused a fair trial as urgently as possible in accordance with civilised laws. The now widespread practice of preventive detention which assumed a criminal intention on the part of a detainee amounted to overtaking upon oneself the Divine quality of reading into people's heart. What can be more reprehensible than holding a person away from his family and work for a number of months or years and then coming down with a sort of condescension and say: Now I set thee free!

Somalia still holds the former premier Mohamed Ibrahim Egal and 5 others who it is said will now be charged and brought before the National Security Court. Whatever may be the explanation for these three and a half years delay in charging an accused the fact of callous irresponsibility clearly remains. The Somalian regime has been engaged in a long campaign to eradicate illiteracy, but equally serious attention needed to be paid towards primary education in Human Rights and the dignity of the human person.

## Nigeria — herding the youth corps

The Nigerian Government's decision to introduce a National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) in the coming June has met with almost blanket opposition from university students in particular and it is now being hinted that the scheme would be postponed for another year pending further discussion and clarification.

So far the Government has been rather silent on the details of the plans. Speculation is that under the scheme graduates would not be allowed to work in the private sector before they have served two years with the Corps on a monthly allowance. The purpose of the scheme as outlined by General Gowon is to "bring our young men and women together with the primary objective of inculcating in them a sense of discipline, dedication, national pride and consciousness through employment in nationally directed productive activities". It is then hoped that the graduates would be able to help out in the serious qualified manpower problems in many state government administrations and institutions such as secondary schools especially in the northern states and in the rural areas. At the moment there is a huge development imbalance in favour of the South.

Students in Nigeria's six universities have come out strongly against the proposal and have disrupted academic life in their protests. They argue that they should not sacrifice themselves when members of the ruling class and top civil servants are not setting a proper example. Some of the slogans used in their demonstrations were: "Top men enjoying oil boom, young ones suffer", "Service Corps of Suffering Corps?", "Enlist prominent men also". A statement issued by presidents of the National Union of Nigerian Students member unions after a meeting in Ibadan demands the introduction of free university education, direct consultation with the Federal Military Grant and that the NYSC be changed to become a voluntary scheme.

There are many people who agree that the scheme is a good one but the way in which the government has presented it so far has not augured well for its success.

## EGYPT • SOMALIA • NIGERIA

### people

#### PEOPLE

Hasan Tohamy, adviser to President Sadat elected Secretary-General Islamic Secretariat, two-year term beginning January 1974. Sardar Shaukat Hayat, Pakistan "opposition" politician revealed he was approached by two Arab ambassadors to become Sec.-Gen., Islamic Secretariat. Dr. Hafez Ghanam, 48, new Secy-Gen. A.S.U. of Egypt. Akhlaqur Rahman Qidwai, former head, Chemistry Dept., Aligarh, new Chairman Indian Union Public Service Commission. Muhammad Ali has fractured jaw and lost to Ken Norton. Pakistan Supreme Court Justice S. A. Jan appointed Chief Election Commissioner and M. Gul, Law Secy. promoted to Supreme Court. Prince Khalid Mansur of Abu Dhabi lost £13,000 in London's Royal Garden Hotel. David Bruce, 75, appointed to the US Liaison Office in Peking. Dr. Ali ath-Thaqbani, new Sec-Gen. of Arab Economic Union Council. Former Tunisian P.M. Bahi al-Adgham, resigned from Tunisian Assembly, "serious misunderstanding" with President Bourguiba. Zaynab al-Ghazali, lectured on *Islam and the Responsibility of the Woman* at the Social Reform Society in Kuwait. Ludvik Svoboda re-elected as President of Czechoslovakia, congratulated by Brezhnev, Kosygin and Podgorny. Maulana Abdul Majid Daryabadi, translator of the Quran into English and Urdu, well-known Islamic scholar, was 80 on 15 March. Prof. M. Hamidullah, celebrated Islamic scholar, living in exile in Paris, was 65 last February. Peter Nieswand, 28, Rhodesian journalist, jailed for 2 years after secret trial in Rhodesia. Soviet "Order of Friendship of the People" to Pres. Kekkonen of Finland. Eighth Annual University of California Elise and Walker A. Haas International Award to President Bhutto awarded established by Mr. & Mrs. Haas, an American industrialist.

#### DIPLOMATS

K. M. Kaiser formerly Pak. amb. in Peking now Bangladesh amb. in Thailand. Ex-Justice Maksumul Hakim new Bangladesh amb. to Argentina. French diplomat Frances Lacoste, named chief of UNROD in Bangladesh. Graham A. Martin, new U.S. ambassador to S. Vietnam. Kenneth Keating, 73, likely new US amb. in Israel. Israeli amb. Yasir Aran, Consul-Gen. in India, to S. Vietnam. Bangladesh High Commissioner in London, S. A. Sultan, likely being replaced by Muntaqim Chaudhry, a Sylhet barrister. Chen Chu, 1st Chinese amb. to Japan. Senor AM Zorilla, 1st Cuban amb. to Somalia, also accredited to Tanzania. Huang Ming-ta, new Chinese amb. to Sri Lanka and Maldives.

#### DELEGATIONS

Cuban Communist Youth to Congo. Soviet Technical Economic to Aden. Moroccan Trade to Moscow. GDR Educational to Bangladesh. Bangladesh Goodwill to Algeria. Algerian Economic and Trade to N. Korea. Yugoslav LCV to Cairo at invitation of Arab Socialist Union. N. Korean Friendship to Libya and Egypt. Iraqi Economic and Bahrain Trade to India. Iranian Trade to China. Polish Economic to Malaysia. Romanian Economic to Pakistan. Soviet Economic to Pakistan. Kenya Trade to Karachi. Soviet Economic to Pakistan offered new loans for various industrial projects. East German Parliamentary to Cairo, Lebanon and Syria. Jordanian Housing to Moscow. An "important Soviet Military delegation" to Algeria. Romanian Mining to Algeria. Thai trade to Nairobi and Kinshasa. Zanzibar Revolutionary Council del. to Somalia. American and Indian Trade to Saudi Arabia. Tunisian Dastur Party to Romania. Tanzanian Economic, Technical & Scientific to Hungary and Romania. Tanzanian Economic, Technical & Scientific to Hungary and Romania. GDR People's Chamber delegation to India. Albanian Trade Union delegation to Algeria, headed by Nesip Ibrahim. Syrian Ba'ath Party delegation to Czechoslovakia. Pakistan PoWs Families del. to U.S. and Europe.

#### VISITS

Pres. Bhutto to Iran. Mrs. Gandhi to Sri Lanka. Iranian Inf. Min. Rahnuna to Pakistan. Bahrain FM Sh. Muhammad bin Mubarak El Khalifah to London. Chester Bowles, former US amb. in Delhi to Bangladesh. Herr Brandt, W. German Chancellor to Israel, 7-10 June. Mauritanian Minister of Education to Saudi Arabia. Yasser Arafat to Iraq and Kuwait. Mme. Binh, Viet Cong F. M. to Baghdad and Moscow. Giuseppe Medici, Italian Minister, to Israel. Peter Walker, British Sec. of State for Trade and Industry Michael Heseltine, Minister for Aerospace and Shipping with British party to China. Adam Malik, Indonesia F.M. to India. George Ahy Siyah and Mrs. Anisah Shamim proprietor of the Chilean paper *Al Alam Al Arabi*, who have lived in Latin America for 50 years, to Saudi Arabia. Archbishop of Canterbury to India, Singapore, Malaysia, the Philippines, South Korea and Japan. Umar as-Sagqaf, Saudi Minister of State for Foreign Affairs to Paris. Sa'dun Hammadi, Iraqi Min. for Oil and Minerals to New Delhi. Sudanese President, Numeiry to London and Romania. Amir Sultan Bin Abid al-Aziz, Saudi Min. of Defence and Aviation to Bahrain. Sultan Qabus to Abu Dhabi. President Abidjo of Cameroon to China, Hong Kong, Japan, Thailand and Sudan. President Mobutu to France. U A Ghalib Somali F.M. to Algeria. Ahmad Binhamid, Moroccan F.M. to the USA. Ivana Hrad, Trudeau's special envoy to Dar-es-Salaam. Anwar Mohammed Khalil, Pres. World Lebanese Cultural Union to Nigeria and Ghana as part of world tour. Italian Under-Sec. of State for Foreign Affairs to Addis Ababa to preside over meeting of representatives of Italian communities in Ethiopia, Morocco, Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria, Kenya and Somalia to discuss living conditions of Italian communities in southern, East and North African countries. Soviet Navy C-in-C, Sergey Gorskikh to Iraq. Prof. T. B. Irving to Libya. Iranian Gen. Kazemi to Pakistan.

#### DIED

Abdullah Qalqeli, member, Foundation Committee Rabita Alam al Islami, Mecca and former Mufti of Jordan. Dr. Shawkat Sabzwari, 65, Urdu critic and linguist in Karachi 20/21 March.

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## "By God," the Marxist anomalies in Yugoslavia!

A. W. Hamid

The southern Yugoslav republic of Macedonia has been very much in the news recently. Macedonian farmers are being encouraged to cultivate the opium poppy to be used in medical preparations for export particularly to West Germany. America, which has been trying to curb the cultivation of the crop in places like Turkey and Afghanistan in order to get at the root of its massive drug addiction problem might well be perturbed. But Yugoslav authorities say that the strictest control is being maintained and there is little likelihood of smuggling or local poppy chewing taking place.

What happens in Macedonia is of interest not only to far-flung America but also to neighbouring Greece. A mild row between Yugoslavia and Greece has developed over some vague but provocative remarks by the Greek Alternate Minister of Foreign Affairs on the status of Macedonia which drew some sharp retorts from Belgrade that the Socialist Republic of Macedonia and the Macedonian nation are a reality in Yugoslavia which should be accepted as a historical fact and not a "man-made question". There are irridentist Macedonian elements both in Greece and in Bulgaria a fact which Yugoslavia is well conscious of, but which it strives to offset by "a policy of understanding in the Balkans".

More serious, however, for the Yugoslav authorities and the Young Communist League are what it is described as "the increased activities of religious Communities", namely the Orthodox Church and the Muslim community in Macedonia. At the republican conference of the Socialist Alliance of Macedonia on 28 March it was reported that "about 7,000 children were now attending various religious schools in Macedonia, that over 130 new places of worship had been built in the past few years and that more and more religious magazines and journals were being distributed every day". These activities could not merely be listed under freedom of citizens to profess their religion but were attempts to impose political views which do not accord with the socialist development of the country on a generation of new faithful from among the ranks of children of pre-school and school age. Religious propaganda was the work of forces permeated with nationalism and chauvinism. People must be liberated from religious and other dogmas by greater political activities by social, political and other organisations in the communes and the countryside. The conference further recommended that a law should be passed in Macedonia "to protect society from such anti-socialist tendencies and propaganda".

This is all in line with what the Chinese communists would call rectifying the style of work and denouncing swindlers. Somehow

though the Yugoslav authorities do not seem to be as insistent and uncompromising as the Chinese or the Albanians across the border. But the tendency now is towards more vigorous control and tightening up against the twin evils of liberalism and nationalistic chauvinism, and the insistence on a Marxist education at all levels. At a meeting on 20 March, for example, organised by the League of Communists of Macedonia attended by representatives of all Skopje editorial and correspondents' offices, local and factory newspapers, radio stations and many other organisations, journalists were criticised and warned that they must have a Marxist education and be ideologically and politically committed and must struggle against various ideological hotbeds, trends and hostile tendencies whether at home or abroad.

President Tito himself has been striking the same note. In a meeting with publishers and booksellers on 15 March, he called for more vigilance to stop the infiltration of counter-revolutionary attitudes into the social life through publishing enterprises and in order to guarantee the development of society in the direction advocated by the LCY. He called for popular editions and excerpts of Marx's works to be read by beginners, because the "Marxist education of our people is far below the necessary level". This was because the Marxist book in the country was expensive and Marx's works were themselves the heaviest kind of literature. He himself had spent several months working on the first and second chapters of Das Kapital and he could only find the time to do so while he was in prison.

It is honest and open observations like these which tend to give the lie to the frequent communist assertion that people and the working class in particular are revolutionary by nature. Various LCY cadres have been finding how difficult it is to maintain the party line among the general populace in different regions and even in workers organisations. There have been many recent reports of criticism and sanctions against Socialist officials in several parts of the country. Distinguished wartime cadres in Croatia have been criticised for intolerance and scepticism and for saying that many socio-political and economic problems could not be solved successfully. (Croatian nationalists have been particularly vociferous and militant. In one place, Vojvodina, 500 members of the League of Communists were punished, expelled from the League, dismissed from leading positions, or resigned in the period from October 1972 to March 1973. In Slavonia-Baranja, 686 members of the LCY were expelled and a number voluntarily left the League in the past year. The Party there is now concentrating its efforts against "nationalism, chauvinism, and counter-revolution".

In Bosnia-Hercegovina, the Fourth Conference of the League of Communists which began on 26 March paid particular attention to what the Secretary of the Central Committee, Hasan Grabcanovic, called the "attitude of particularism and localism adopted by a section of cadres". One delegate,

Ramo Djapo, singled out "certain Muslim nationalists" who were opposing unitarism as the only path to the building of socialism. "These nationalists", he said, "had propagated throughout Eastern Hercegovina the idea that it was necessary to form Muslim national institutions, alleging that the Muslims in Bosnia-hercegovina were threatened and stressing that Sarajevo should be the centre for mustering Muslims in Yugoslavia. The League of Communists had opposed this in a timely way . . . and had the full support of the Central Committee . . . in settling accounts with those groups which had opposed the course of the LCY . . ." Another delegate, Todo Kurtovic, a member of the Executive Bureau of the LCY Presidium, dealt at length with the activities of nationalists and criticised in particular Great Serb aspirations to impose hegemony and also "Croatian and Muslim chauvinism". He said that nationalists by their activities attempt to weaken the involvement of individual people, preach duality in behaviour, and court foreign countries. Traditionalism in the sphere of education had opened the way for such forces. There were too many compromises at the present time which represented collaboration with the opponents of Marxism and gave rise to liberalism and a loss of orientation. Kurtovic had elaborated on this theme in a talk he had with journalists in Dalmatia. "We are not a homogeneous society", he said, "and therefore we must fight all efforts, such as have been witnessed up until now, of individual groups imposing on society their own partial interests." He emphasised the point in discussions with journalists in the internal political sections of Belgrade Radio and Television. He said that the LCY would encounter opposition of various groups which they would not find easy to overcome. "At times," he said, "some comrades in the press, radio and television complain that the doors are closed to them in some places or that the opposition is very significant . . . Wherever the doors are closed to the press, they are also closed to the LCY. This fact represents an opposition of its own kind . . ."

From all this, it can be seen that the fight to have a unified and regimented society is proceeding apace as a result of the impetus given by the Third Conference of the LCY held in Belgrade last December. It is obviously encountering much opposition not least from LCY cadres themselves and from among the people generally who according to Tito "began to lose confidence in the League of Communists" but from whose heads various anomalies which have arisen must be liquidated, gradually. Tito was then speaking to Belgrade factory workers on 29 March. A symptom of the very anomalies perhaps is that during the course of his speech he twice swore "by God" and "by my soul", unwittingly bearing out a remark which followed that "Well, Communists were, . . . are at the head of a great deal of these anomalies". But he was in fact referring not to the persistence of religion or national affinities or liberalism but to embezzlement, larceny and other crimes.

## Saudi Arabian Notes

# A desert come to life

By A Correspondent

A glance at a topographical map of Saudi Arabia reveals vast stretches of desert; what it will not disclose, however, is the very brisk pace of activities going on in this "desert" in diplomatic, education, economic, trade . . . in all departments of life. In the last fortnight of March alone, for example, the Saudis received: Ethiopian trade delegation, Italian trade delegation, Nationalist Chinese trade delegation, British Press delegation, African Development Bank delegation, Qatari Information delegation, Indian Economic delegation, Commander-in-Chief of American Forces in the Middle East, Sayed Muhammed Bin Baba—Mauritanian Minister of Education, General Tikka Khan—Chief-of-Staff of Pakistan Army, Sayed Hassan Al-Tuhami—President Sadat's adviser, Al-Qadhi Abdulla Ahmed Hajari—Prime Minister of the Yemen Arab Republic and Sayid Ahmed Al-Louzi—Prime Minister of Jordan. All this diplomatic and economic activity is quite apart from several signings of pacts and contracts, and opening of many new hospitals, schools and new roads.

At the relatively new, King Abdul Aziz University, the Supreme University Council was in session. The preliminary budget estimates for the next financial year are for SR.60m (SR.9-03=£1). The lay-out of the University Campus which has been thoroughly studied by the various committees and prepared by a Canadian consultant firm was also discussed. Another item on the agenda was about the creation of new academic departments such as library science and comparative Islamic Law. As regards secondary education, the Minister of Education, Sheikh Hassan ibn Abdulla Al-Sheikh, has recently announced that his Ministry is going ahead with its plans of making education available throughout the Kingdom. Bids have already been received for the construction of 79 primary, intermediate and secondary schools and soon the Ministry will invite bids for a colossal educational project involving the building of hundred different schools and a new education headquarters in Riyadh—this is estimated to cost SR 3 million. The total cost of educational projects being undertaken comes to SR 443 million. And for the fine arts enthusiasts, an Italian delegation will soon be coming to the Kingdom to participate in the preparation of a study on the creation of a fine arts academy in Riyadh.

In the field of health and environment, the Ministry of Health announced the arrival of a 'great number of Muslim physicians' from Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Pakistan. Dr. Hashim Abdul Ghaffar, Deputy Minister of Health, disclosed that from Egypt alone there are 86 physicians of different specialities.

The Minister of Health, Sheikh Jamil Al-Hujailan, has signed a contract worth SR.4.7 million, with the British consultant firm, Wallace Evans, This will provide hundreds of general hospitals, chest hospitals, mental and nervous diseases hospitals, eye clinics, maternity hospitals and an Institute of Health. In addition, the Ministry is holding talks with several American universities concerning a study to be prepared shortly on the development of the health services in Saudi Arabia.

On the industrial front, Sheikh Muhammad Al-Awadhi, Minister of Commerce and Industry, awarded a SR10 million development project at Dammam's industrial estate to a Saudi Engineering firm. The national firms have now proved their ability to carry out big contracts. "We are now thinking of extending the three industrial estates of Jeddah, Riyadh and Dammam so as to meet the increasing industrial growth", the Minister of Commerce and Industry said. Industrial estates are then to be established in other cities and Qassim could well be the next one.

Over in Wadi Beidah encouraging quantities of copper deposits have been discovered. Studies are now being conducted to determine the exact quantities of copper deposits there. The search for minerals in Saudi Arabia is now in full swing and only last week talks were being held between Ministry of Petroleum and Mineral Resources and a Canadian firm on prospecting minerals in the Kingdom.

The pilgrims of coming years will no doubt be pleased to know that the Supreme Hajj Committee is to be allocated 'huge funds' in order to improve transportation, airport and other facilities for the hajis. In the past, pilgrims have complained about the communication and postal services. The Supreme Hajj Committee has been entrusted the task of removing these difficulties.

Meanwhile, the Saudis too have been complaining about the communication network in the Kingdom. Telephones in particular, seem to have become an 'important and controversial issue'. Many subscribers have complained of receiving a final notice without ever receiving the first invoice, of over-estimated bills, and of wrong telephones being cut at the wrong time for the wrong reason. Columnist Saleh Mohammad Jamal of *Al-Medina* took up the issue in one of his recent columns: "the bill sent to "Al-Thaqafa Printing Press of Mecca, Al-Zaher, Nadwa Street, has been, despite this long address, returned to the company by the distributors with the word 'unknown' on the top of it." If this is so with Al-Thaqafah then what is going to happen to other subscribers? Everyone is getting so conscious of the need to keep the communication lines right.

We must make the fullest use of the Secretariat . . . as an effective channel of discussion of various problems and for reconciliation of differences . . . Unless such use is made of the Secretariat, I personally see the futility of continuing with it. However, to dissolve it will be to admit to the world that Islamic people cannot live with one another, far less work with one another . . .

## Another Year of Enforced Inactivity

**Tunku Abdul Rahman** reporting to the Fourth Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers held in Benghazi, Libya, 24-26, March, 1973.

This is the Fourth Islamic Conference which we have the pleasure to attend. Last year, due to circumstances beyond our control and at the request of Afghanistan Government, we had to miss Kabul as the venue of our Conference. Instead the Government of Saudi Arabia was kind enough to host us. . . .

This year, at the request of President Muammar Qaddafi, the Government of Afghanistan gave way for this Conference to be held in Libya. The matter which called for the Conference in Libya was the urgent need to discuss the question relating to the persecution of the Muslims in the Philippines and the ever present threat of further trouble in the Middle East.

There are other matters which demand our attention—matters affecting the activities and objectives of the Secretariat . . .

They deal merely with the principles highlighting the important points of the subject matter for discussion, leaving out details and minor points for debate. In fact, this is the first time that the Secretariat has been called upon to arrange a Conference to discuss matters of concern to member countries as a whole, and I take this opportunity to thank President Muammar Qaddafi and the Government of Libya for giving the importance and recognition due to the Secretariat.

### The Progress

The progress reports are far from illuminating. They set out the enforced inactivity, if I may use this term, of the Secretariat since we last met in Jeddah. There is not much we can do about that except to say if we had the

means we would have the ways.

I would like to say how happy we are to welcome our new members—United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Oman and Qatar . . . Our Charter has been approved by the required majority and will now be registered with the United Nations.

The receipts of the Secretariat for 1972 represent 58% of the total subscriptions due to the Secretariat. The Working Fund showed deficit throughout the year except in December when payments started to come in. This shows that the Secretariat could not carry out the work undertaken by it earlier in the year. The total expenditure for the year represents only 45% of the budgetary provisions approved by Foreign Ministers at the last Conference. Not only does this curb our activities but we are unable to complete our establishment.

### The Middle East

The problem of the Middle East still occupies the attention of the world. Events are taking place in quick succession which sometimes put the Palestinian cause in a good light and sometimes in the bad and they all happen so suddenly that it has not been easy even for Muslim leaders to understand the viewpoints let alone express their views in such circumstances. So much divergent views have been expressed publicly that made it difficult for us to deal with them objectively. My humble view is that the question must be considered as involving two major issues:-

- (1) One issue in respect of liberation of Palestine unjustly occupied by Israel and the irrevocable Palestinian determination to recover their country. This has the support of all the Arab countries and most of the Muslim countries.
- (2) The other is in respect of the area sequestered by Israel as the result of the June 1967 outbreak of armed conflict between Egypt and Israel where 26,476 square miles of Arab territory were lost to Israel. The Jews have taken over this land, occupied it and are developing it as their own without regard to the many calls by the United Nations to hand it back to its rightful owners, the latest being Resolutions of the 13th and 15th December, 1972.

The second issue is more immediate. This territory must be won back. This must inevitably occupy the attention of the Arabs and Muslims and all the fair-minded people of the world. The winning back of the territory will eventually lead to the re-occupation of Palestine.

Unless these two issues can be taken and dealt with separately, the inevitable result will be friction among the Arab countries themselves and confusion in the minds of other Muslims.

The recent utterance of President Qaddafi in which it was alleged that the President criticised Arab countries as showing little interest in the Palestinian Arab struggle is a case in point.

The Arab struggle to recover Palestine must go on, concurrently no doubt, and the move-

ment must be supported but must be taken in its proper perspective remembering that it will be a long drawn out struggle . . . On the other hand in the new territory occupied by them lies some of the holy places of Islam. The sacrilege committed by the Jews in the Mosque of Ibrahim and around the Al Aqsa Mosque is a constant reminder to us all to take all possible steps to drive out the Jews from the occupied territory and we must not slacken our efforts in order to do so, nor mix it with other issues however important they may be as it will only impede the progress and success of our objective.

### Pakistani P.O.Ws

There is another matter of serious concern and that is the question of the release of Pakistani P.O.Ws. held by India for under Article 118 of the Geneva Convention it is clearly provided that when peace is signed by the warring countries all prisoners-of-war must be released but for some reason or other India is still holding them and keeping them as prisoners. What has been done in this matter is not clear to me as no official report was received from the Government of Pakistan although I have received numerous letters from organisations and individuals in Pakistan asking for intervention in this matter. In the circumstances, the only thing that could be done is to ask this Conference to give it serious thought and to recommend what action should be taken to expedite the release of these prisoners-of-war in the interest of humanity and justice. While this situation prevails, the danger to further hostilities is omnipresent. As Pakistan is a member of this organisation it is our bounden duty not only to extend her a helping hand in times of difficulty in the name of Islam but to contribute what we can to world peace.

### Muslims under the Philippines

And yet another matter which is of serious concern to us is the persecution of the Muslim people in the Philippines by the Roman Catholic Government and the Roman Catholic people. These Muslims have been forcibly driven out of their homes and their lands taken over for the occupation of Catholics. In the hostilities that followed many Muslims had been killed. The Report on this matter gives a full account and I need hardly say much more, though I would like to add that more than an ordinary interest has been shown by the great Muslim leader—the President of Libya—who sent out a special team to make an on-the-spot investigation in Philippines . . . this impelled him to call for a Special Meeting of Foreign Ministers to deal specifically with the matter. But as the date of this meeting was so near to the date of the Fourth Islamic Conference to be held in Kabul in May it was proposed to hold just one meeting and the case of the Muslims in the Philippines could be taken together with all other matters.

### But some members

Some member countries do not relish having this matter specifically discussed while some others do not like to have the meeting held in

Libya as the Government of Libya has not been on the best of terms of friendship with them but I maintain, and this must surely be the criterion, that no matter where our Conference is held, and the ideal thing is to hold it in different countries by rotation, the venue of the meeting must be treated as neutral ground and all member countries must be invited inasmuch as all member countries have the right to attend . . .

Failure to make use of the Secretariat as a medium of communications between one member country and another or as an instrument for the settling of differences between one member country and another is defeating the aims and objects of the Islamic Secretariat which was established to provide a meeting of minds and men of the same faith scattered throughout the Muslim world.

If we cannot make use of it in one way we must make use of it in other ways that will bring credit to Islam and Islamic people and countries as a whole.

**Economic, if not political cooperation**

So I put as my next order of priority economic co-operation among Islamic countries. We have abundant wealth in terms of money, men and material which God has given us.

We have a Bank project which was first brought up by Egypt at the 1972 Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers. This project is a very good and sound one indeed and has gained acceptance for implementation by the Government of Malaysia and it is hoped that in course of time other Governments will follow suit so that when the Banks are established in each and every member country it will be possible also to set up an International Central Bank and a Development Bank which can use its resources to help under-developed Muslim countries. This would ensure the same security and return as any other investments with this exception that it is untainted by *riba* (interest) . . .

**Islamic Cultural Movement**

Another matter is the establishment of a strong and progressive well co-ordinated Islamic Cultural movement throughout the world and the strengthening of those Islamic cultural activities which are already in existence in non-Muslim countries. It has been decided to hold a meeting in London on the 17th, 18th and 19th May and all Cultural Centres in Europe will be invited to attend. I have asked and received a gift of £10,000 Sterling to defray the expenses of this meeting from Al-Malek Faisal of Saudi Arabia as the Secretariat does not have the funds available. It is hoped that at this meeting we might be able to assess the scope and need of the various Cultural Centres and to work out a plan of co-ordination of their activities. Once we have assessed their need we should be able to give meaningful assistance in terms of capital and recurrent costs, personnel, literature, etc., to enable them to do their duty to portray the true image of Islam and to strengthen the Islamic religion and culture in these countries.

# Islamic Foreign Ministers Conference

## Summary of Resolutions

*Impact News*

**Middle East:** The conference resolved: to support the Palestinian people in their just struggle to liberate their land and to determine their own future, and to consider the PLO as the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people; to extend political, material and moral support to the Palestinian people and stop all attempts aimed at destroying the Palestine Resistance; to demand that the member states open offices through which volunteers can participate in the struggle to liberate the Holy Lands, as also the PLO offices; to urge all the Islamic states to sever all political and economic relations with the Zionist entity; demand that the big Powers to stop giving arms, and such aid, which encourages this entity to continue aggression; to demand end to Jewish emigration to occupied Palestine; to implement the Third Islamic Conference recommendation regarding "The struggle for Palestine fund".

The conference demanded that the permanent members of the Security Council adopt the measures necessary to persuade Israel to make a complete, unconditional and immediate withdrawal.

Concerning the danger of Zionism in the Red Sea Basin, the conference called on the member states to co-operate to the utmost in order to unify efforts to confront this threat.

**Djibouti:** The conference urged Libya, Tunisia and Somalia to use their good offices with France to grant independence to French Somaliland.

**Muslims in the Philippines:** The conference expressed its utmost concern on the grave situation of the Muslims in the Philippines and demanded the Philippines Government to stop all acts of suppression and annihilation to which the Bangsa Moro people are exposed in violation of the UN Human Rights Declaration and the UN Charter.

It demanded the Philippines Government to provide protection and security for the Muslims, and assist the Muslim refugees return to their homes, and stop the organized Christian immigration from the North. The conference decided to establish a fund to help the Southern Philippines Muslims.

The conference also decided to send a delegation of the Foreign Ministers of Libya, Saudi Arabia, Senegal and Somalia to the Philippines to discuss the position of the Muslims. It asked Indonesia and Malaysia to use their influence through ASEAN. The conference urged that the mission be carried out within three months and members acquainted with the outcome of their visit.

**Pakistan PoWs:** The conference expressed its increasing anxiety concerning the continued detention of the Pakistani PoWs by India. It Urged the Indian Government to release the prisoners immediately; appealed to the UN Secretary General to use his influence with the UN members for the implementation of the General Assembly resolutions on the release of the Pakistani PoWs, and to give material aid to the Pakistan Government to enable it to rehabilitate and to help the prisoners. The conference asked the Secretary General to report on the implementation of the resolution.

**African Liberation:** The conference strongly denounced the Portuguese and other European governments who still insist on their colonialist presence in Africa. It strongly condemned racial discrimination in South Africa and the aggressions

launched by the Rhodesian racist regime against the fraternal republic of Zambia, Mozambique, Angola, Guinea Bissau and Nambia.

The conference expressed its absolute support for the just liberation struggle of the African peoples and appealed to the member states to double their support for upholding right and defending the dignity of man.

The conference declared its full sympathies with the Eritrean people and support to their legitimate struggle to achieve full freedom. It appealed to OAU to tackle the Eritrean issue with the aim of achieving a political solution which will realize the Eritrean aspirations and preserve stability and justice in the area. The conference asked the Ethiopian Government to halt military action against the unarmed Eritrean people.

**Muslim Minorities:** The conference expressed its anxiety about the fact that Islamic minorities in a number of countries do not enjoy the political and religious rights guaranteed by international laws and regulations. The conference asked the Secretariat to present a report on the conditions of those minorities who are prevented from exercising their religious and political rights to the next Islamic Foreign Ministers' conference.

**IINA:** The conference ratified the establishment of IINA—International Islamic News Agency.

**Islamic Culture Centres:** The conference noted the tribulations and the political, social and economic conditions of Muslims, especially in the non-Islamic countries. It also noted the tendentious attacks against Islam and the absence of co-ordinated efforts for the propagation of Islam. The conference decided to convene in London a conference of the Islamic cultural centres in Europe, to be followed by similar conferences in other parts of the world. The conference also decided to establish new Islamic cultural centres in Africa.

**Liberation and Social Welfare Fund:** The conference decided to establish a fund to assist Muslim liberation movements, Islamic centres and societies abroad, and help in natural calamities as well as building schools and hospitals.

**Committee of Economists:** The conference resolved to establish a permanent committee at the Secretariat General of expert economists to advise and assist the Economic Division in achieving its objectives.

**Secretariat General:** The conference strongly urged utmost co-operation with and the seeking of help from the Secretariat General as an effective instrument for discussing the problems of the member states and for settling differences between them; emphasised the regular payment of dues, quick despatch of replies to all correspondence; and recommended serious attention and sincere support to the conference programme aimed at uniting and enabling the Islamic peoples to speak and act as one body.

**Muslim Year Book:** The conference asked the Secretariat to prepare and publish an annual reference book on the conditions of the Islamic world. It will cover religious, cultural, statistical and other matters.

**1974 Conference:** In response to an invitation from the Afghan Government, the Conference decided to hold the fifth conference in Kabul, Afghanistan, during May, 1974.—*Benghazi*, 24-26 March 1973.

# Malaysia: From coalition to coalition, where?

From A Correspondent

Malaysia's post-independence political history has been characterised by the attempts of the Alliance government to placate the two sectors of the population, namely the Malays and other indigenous people on the one hand and the non-Malays, comprising mainly the Chinese and Indians on the other. The British granted independence to Malaya in 1957 when they were satisfied of the gentlemen's agreement between the Malay and non-Malay leaders to let the Malays have the political power and allow the non-Malays to continue to manage the country's economy. It was also informally agreed that the Malay political power would be gradually shared with the non-Malays, and the Malays be initiated into the business and economy.

The formula was much easier said than done, especially so in the matter of providing the Malays with a say in the country's economy. As for the non-Malays, political power could be easily allocated to them through the granting of citizenship and voting rights. Thus the Malays could cede political power to the non-Malays through mere legislation but no such measure could give them a say and a share in the country's economy.

The non-Malays, however, remained dissatisfied with their share of the political role. This they considered as disproportionate in view of the nearly 50-50 population ratio of Malays to non-Malays. The Malay Sultans and the Malay-dominated Federal Cabinet were seen as symbolising Malay monopoly in the nation's political hierarchy. They were not satisfied even with the economic guarantee given under the Federal Constitution (Article 153). Dissatisfactions and mutual distrust continued to afflict the Malaysians even after more than a decade of independence, and these found an eruption in the 'mass amok' of Kuala Lumpur immediately after the general elections in May 1969.

What followed the riots was a state of emergency and the suspension of parliamentary democracy. An eight-man National Operations Council was set up under the direction of Tun Abdul Razak, and it became the de facto government. The NOC succeeded

in restoring peace and after about twenty months of rule by decree, handed over the government to the Alliance Cabinet in February 1971. Parliamentary democracy was reinstated. This came about after two important events had occurred a little earlier, namely an Alliance victory in the July elections of the East Malaysian States of Sabah and Sarawak which gave it control over the two States as well as a precise two-thirds majority in the parliament; and secondly, the appointment of Tun Abdul Razak as P.M. in September 1970.

In 1971 and 1972 there were other moves by the Alliance party to bring the country firmly under its control. These deserve note, because they have a direct bearing on the country's future as a democratic country. Also equally important is their culmination in the Alliance Parti Islam coalition since 1 January 1973.

The first coalition (in the State of Sarawak) was dictated by sheer necessity. The Alliance was desperately short of the few seats needed to maintain a two-third majority in the Federal parliament to enable it to be able to amend the Constitution. It had to form a new 'Alliance' in Sarawak to replace the one which 'broke down' just before the elections. The party which the Alliance had succeeded in netting in was the SUPP (Sarawak United People's Party)—a Chinese-backed and Communist-infiltrated party whose main objective was independence for Sarawak either on its own or in association with Brunei and Sabah. The coalition emerged with SUPP's Chairman and Secretary General being made a Federal Cabinet Minister and the Sarawak's Deputy Chief Minister respectively. SUPP has since managed to win the Alliance confidence and its loyalty today to the Alliance principle is regarded, equally, if not more strong than the MCA. Malaysian Chinese Association is one of the 'inner three' constituents of the Alliance. Perhaps it is this success that led the Alliance to pursue the politics of coalition as a means of political consolidation.

With a two-thirds majority in the Parliament, the Alliance went on to introduce an important constitutional amendment and a few legislative pieces which had the effect of restricting the freedom of those groups which were vocal against its rule.

The UMNO (United Malay National Organisation) the dominant constituent of the Alliance, too underwent a streamlining. In January 1971, the 25th Annual Congress elected Tun Abdul Razak in place of Tunku Abdul Rahman as the party president. The Constitution too was amended though by a narrow margin, to extend the leader's term of office from one to three years.

When Parliament was restored in February 1971, the first bill tabled was about the constitutional amendment making it illegal to criticise (even in the Parliament) the constitutional clauses relating to the national language, the Special Provisions for the Malays and other indigenous people, the status of the Sultans and citizenship rights of the immigrants. Before the bill had been

tabled, Tun Abdul Razak and senior ministers had warned that if it was not passed, the country would not have parliamentary democracy. The amendment got an easy passage.

The Act was seen as a move to disarm the two strongest opposition parties i.e. the DAP (Democratic Action Party) and PI (Parti Islam), on issues which were legitimate subjects for political agitation by the opposition. During the 1969 elections, the DAP had received great support from the Chinese and Indian voters because of its stand on the Special Malay Rights and the status of the non-Malays. Likewise the PI (then PAS) was able to focus on the UMNO failure to ameliorate the economic position of the Malays through the Special Rights clauses.

Opposition to the ruling Alliance came also from the university and college students. Students' internal politics is in itself 'not so dangerous' but what the Alliance could not tolerate was their involvement in the national politics. During the 1969 election, the University of Malaya Students Union formed a team which went round the country and told people to vote for uncorrupt and non-racialist candidates. Even otherwise the student leadership has always been mainly socialists-oriented, though not necessarily from the country's socialist parties.

In March 1971, the parliament passed the Act to forbid student organisations from doing anything which "can be construed" as expressing support, sympathy or opposition to political parties or trade unions. The Act also stated that the objects and functions of student organisations should be to organise welfare activities 'subject to the direction of the Vice Chancellor'.

The second Alliance coup came in February 1972 when Gerakan agreed to coalition in the Penang State. The Gerakan (Malaysian People's Movement) which controlled the State of Penang had earlier split in mid-1971 after a leadership crisis. While Lim Chong En, the Penang Chief Minister took over the party chairmanship, others broke away and with support from other States formed the Social Justice Party (Pekemas).

Another political party which had rallied support on a multi-social and anti-Special Rights stand was PPP (People's Progressive Party). The 1969 elections produced a deadlock in the Perak State when Alliance won 19 seats as compared to 12 by the PPP and 9 by other parties. The Alliance, was, however, able to win two PPP assemblymen and make a majority. The Alliance position in Perak, however, remained insecure because an analysis of the 1969 election figures revealed that the non-Malay voters had no confidence in the two non-Malay constituents of the Alliance i.e. MCA and MIC (Malayan Indian Congress). The Alliance, rather the UMNO, thus stood in the need of "pulling in" at least one of the remaining opposition parties into its folds. PPP was suitable for two reasons; first, with the death in 1969 of its uncompromising leader, D. R. Seenivasagam, it had toned down on its anti-Special Rights stand, and, secondly, it was the largest opposition party in Perak.



On 5 May 1972, the Alliance-PPP joint statement announcing the Coalition accordingly declared: "The PPP will give full support to the Federal and State governments in implementing measures which will benefit both the Bumiputras (sons of the soil) and the depressed sections of the other communities . . ."

Having got most of the opposition parties and opposition-controlled States into its coalition scheme, the Alliance turned to wooing the PI and the PI controlled State of Kelantan. The coalition achieved later on 1 January 1973 with the PI now gives the Alliance a complete control over the whole of Malaysia.

From the Alliance viewpoint this coalition was a great political victory, particularly for Tun Razak. Since the first nationwide general elections in 1955, the PI had always been the most powerful opposition party and understandably an Alliance problem. Sometimes prior to the 1969 elections, a number of Kelantan State assemblymen belonging to the PI announced they were going over to the Alliance. However, before these defections could have brought the downfall of the PI government in Kelantan, some of these assemblymen returned to the party fold. They explained their Kuala Lumpur declaration as having been under 'external influence'. Another Alliance bid to defeat the PI was made during the 1969 elections. The Alliance issued a special election manifesto for the State of Kelantan promising a 'New Deal' and M\$5.48m for development projects. The Kelantan campaign was led by Tun Abdul Razak himself. During the same period, an International Islamic Conference was held in Kuala Lumpur, to demonstrate to the Malays the Alliance concern for Islam. In his opening speech Tun Abdul Razak went as far as to accuse "a certain group of Muslims (for) exploiting the conservatism of some of the people".

To a significant number of the PI supporters as well as those who see the dangers of a creeping totalitarianism, the PI's willingness to enter into a coalition with the Alliance has come as a great surprise. Many regard it as a political mistake which may have far-reaching consequences for the future of Malaysia. The gamble—to Islamise Malaysia that way—was really a gamble.

The most unhealthy outcome of this coalition may be the re-emergence of communalism in Malaysia. The PI, though admittedly not a truly Islamic organisation was the only non-racialist party which had the potential to extricate the country out of its communal and racial straitjacket. A racial polarisation of Malaysian society and a renewed strive might bring the fledgling Malay-dominated military into politics, and one knows for certain what military involvement has meant in other situations. Alternatively a too faithful coalition could lead to a total 'de-Malayisation' of Malaysia.

But would Malaysia be able to exist that way? Moreover, a country without an alternate leadership must of logic live precariously.

## Aligarh Muslim University Better close, than "back to Jinnah"

Z. K. Durrani

The last months All India Muslim University Convention has caused quite a stir in the Indian corridors of power. The Convention, attended by five hundred delegates, representing all opposition parties of India except the communists, has called for drastic changes in the A.M.U. Act, 1972 and restoration of its minority character. The speeches of many of the non-Muslim delegates to the convention were much more militant in tone than of the Muslim leaders. The Convention has appealed to the Muslims to "dissociate themselves from all functions of the Union Government, and of those State Government in which the ruling Congress Party is in power, either through its own ministries or through the President's Rule", and in the coming elections not to support the Congress or any other party candidates, who do not favour the demand for the University autonomy. The opposition parties attending, promised all help in the restoration to the democratic and Muslim character of the University.

Taking part in the Convention were a host of non-Muslim opposition leaders: Pilo Mody of the Swatantra Party, S. N. Mishra and Banarsi Das of the Cong-O, Rabi Ray of the Socialist Party, Shamlal Yadav of the BKD and many others. The main organisers of the Convention were the Muslim League and the Muslim Majlis. Ibrahim Suleiman Sait, General Secretary of the All-Union Muslim League, and Dr. A. J. Faridi, leader of the Muslim Majlis, were amongst the prime movers of the Convention. Sheik Abdullah was also there.

Those "of us who had been trained by Mahatmaji" would not be scared by the "brute majority of the Congress which was riding roughshod over the cherished fundamental rights", thundered S. N. Mishra. He went on to say that whether India would continue to live up to its "glorious traditions" would be decided very much by the battle for restoration of the Muslim character of the Aligarh University. Pilo Moody reminded the Muslims of their support to the Congress in the recent elections despite the fact that it had declared its intentions of amending the Fundamental Rights. Shiekh Abdullah deplored the silence "in India" when "democracy was butchered" way back "in Kashmir".

In his presidential address Justice Basheer Ahmad Saeed, a retired judge of the Madras High Court, called for the Aligarh Muslim University to be placed in the hands of the Muslim community. He traced the origin and growth of the Muslim University, and placed some of the arguments against the Muslim character of the A.M.U. under the microscope. He noted that out of 95 universities in India, only two have Muslim Vice-Chancellors and only Aligarh University provides any facilities of higher education for the Muslim minority; perhaps this is why it has become such an eye-sore to the majority

community. Ever since independence attempts have continuously been made to deprive the university of its democratic and Muslim character and to make it a focus of "regimented socialism" of the Indian variety. He contrasted the Benares Hindu University with Aligarh Muslim University and said that just as the Benares Hindu University is controlled by the Hindu community so should A.M.U. be handed to the Muslims to run it independent of government intervention. The minority community, under Article 30(1) of the Constitution, has the right to "establish and administer educational institutions of its choice". And just because the Government pays grants to such institutions, it does not mean that they should cease to be minority institutions and become "governmental institutions". In fact, under the Constitution the Government is obligated to pay grant to minority educational institutions.

Discussing the amended Aligarh Muslim University Act 34 of 1972, Justice Sayeed said that it deprived the Executive Council of the University of all powers. "The procedure laid down in the amended Statutes for appointing the head of the University amounts to nothing more than that the Executive Council, the governing body of the University, has only to be told by the Central Ministry of Education in advance, though unofficially and informally, as to who will be the person acceptable to the ruling party for the office" and, the Executive will be forced to accept the *fiat accompli*. Furthermore, under the 1972, Act the Executive Council has no freedom even in the matter of the choice of the Pro-Chancellor. In fact, the new act even strips the Executive Council of the power to fill up "casual vacancies" which may arise in the office of the Pro-Chancellor. In other words, the Executive Council has been deposed as being not competent to discharge its functions and duties. The right of the members of the Court and the Academic Council to serve on Selection Committees has also been denied under the new act. The Act shows that no confidence could be reposed in any of the university authorities and thus deprives the Muslims of their right to run the University.

The Indian press gave a sympathetic coverage to the proceedings of the A.M.U. Convention, however, with the notable exception of the communist daily *Patriot* and weekly *Blitz*. Both went as far as saying that "it is better to keep it (A.M.U.) closed . . . rather than hand it back on a platter to the Mullahs." On 5 April, the university was closed *sine die*.

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

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Where is Pakistan heading to, remains an intriguing question, or is it a question of intrigue? Many actions and policies of the present leadership seem *ad-hoc*. But do all such feats of 'ad-hocism' fit into a pattern? Is there, one can justifiably ask, any method in the madness?

## WHAT METHOD IN THE MADNESS

### President Bhutto's strategy of crises

K. B. Nazir

Every observer of the Pakistani scene is intrigued by the question: where is Pakistan heading to? Is it towards further disintegration or some kind of dictatorial consolidation? Has the nation, particularly its political leadership, learnt any lessons from the tragic catastrophe of 1971 or is a similar macabre show in progress? Was the fall of Dacca and the emergence of Bhutto to power the end of the beginning of the Pakistan story or the beginning of the end? There are no simple answers to these questions.

While Pakistan was established as a result of a national movement which rallied the Muslim *ummah* of the subcontinent around a clearly defined ideal—the establishment of a homeland for Islam in the sub-continent, the nation's troubles began with its establishment. Almost no preparations were made during the phase of the struggle to face the challenge of reconstruction. The Muslim League, which piloted the movement, was a motley of diverse elements, from sincere workers of Islam to opportunists and those with vested interests. Before a serious start was made in putting the ideological goals into practice, civil and military bureaucracy stepped in. The original idealism gave way to a medley of confused thinking and pursuit of personal interests. Foreign influences multiplied and the country became a hot-bed of international conspiracies and internal exploitation. The Indian invasion of 1971 represents a 'tragic' culmination of this process.

It was not unreasonable to expect that this catastrophe would shake the nation to the roots and give rise to a determination to rebuild. The odds were heavy, but they also presented an historic opportunity. This was the background in which President Bhutto came to power. Although he was inducted into the Presidency by the then military dictator, Yahya Khan, he was the leader of a party which had won majority seats in West Pakistan in the 1970 elections. Although he got less than 15 per cent of total votes cast in Pakistan, and about 38 per cent of votes cast in West Pakistan, he got 83 out of 144 seats from the West. He was assured support

by all political parties and groups. He started with a maximum of sympathy and support. He also responded to this by reaffirming an explicit commitment to Islam as the ideology of Pakistan and promising to act as the leader of the nation, and not as head of a party or group only. He was faced with a difficult situation, but he also had the promise of great prospects. Now, however, looking back on his fifteen months in power many a political analyst has been constrained to say that his has been a run of missed opportunities, hectic ramblings and incoherent pursuits. Is this really so or can one discern some pattern behind the apparent wanderings?

Bhutto is reported to have said that he is a man of crisis. Instead of taking the nation out of the crisis in which she was caught in December 1971, he apparently has tried to create one crisis after another with the result that Pakistan today looks in greater disorder and disarray.

Most of Pakistani troubles can be traced to two sources: hypocrisy and selfishness at almost all levels. The name of the ideology has been exploited but no effort has been made to fashion public policies in accord with Islam. The political process has not been allowed to operate in a natural way. It has been tampered with at every stage, just to serve personal ends. Both these afflictions have been eating at the vitals of the nation over the last twenty five years. But they seem now to characterize the policy of the regime.

President Bhutto has tried to establish a new style of politics—rule by rhetoric and repression and a combination of the two is the hallmark of his politics. The target seems to be not the consolidation of the nation and of the political process as such, but consolidation of personal power. This lies at the root of Pakistan's present predicament.

President Bhutto invokes the name of the people and of democracy. His policies, however, reveal that he is not prepared to repose even a minimal degree of confidence in any of them. He likes public applause, but not public vigilance and participation. The real trouble, it seems, is somewhat psychopolitical. His rise to popularity and power is enigmatic. Upto 1957 he is supposed to have held an Indian passport and was trying to convince the Indian courts that he was an Indian citizen and as such entitled to inherit his father's property in India. He was the youngest member of the Governor-General and later President Iskandar Mirza's private bridge club. After Martial Law in 1958 he graduated from the club to the cabinet and served as a central minister under Mirza and Ayub. His role in and before the 1965 war remains ambiguous and unknown. The prospects of Ayub's imminent fall brought him in to opposition. Again the part he played in the final stages of the anti-Ayub movement leading to the failure of the all-party conference and the transfer of power not to the political leadership, but to Yahya Khan, remains conspicuous. From March 1969 onwards the behind-the-scene-events in Islamabad, Karachi, Dacca and Larkana remain mysterious. Upto October 1971 Bhutto

continued to insist that India was not going to attack Pakistan and that the threat of an Indo-Pakistan war was not imminent, and on the other hand he led a military delegation to China and joined Yahya as his deputy Prime Minister-designate. His role in denying to Mujib the chance to participate in the political process is also unexplained. His eagerness to come to power is no secret, but could this not have been done without driving Mujib and the Eastern wing out of the field? He possesses both charm and charisma, yet remains shy of democracy. Instead of facing things straight, he tries to approach them in a roundabout way. He tries to generate crisis after crisis and then play the Messiah to resolve them. He remains mercurial and dramatic. This has produced some accords many more discords. The strain so caused colour his psyche as well as becloud his relationship with the people.

Mr. Bhutto's second trouble is his own party. The People's Party is a conglomerate of diverse elements. It has communists, socialists, Islamists, nationalists, industrialists, feudalists and vested interests, and opportunists within its fold. Even the otherwise undesirable occupy a place of esteem and power. The real unifying force is neither Islam (which it claims to be its religion) nor democracy (its acclaimed politics), nor socialism (its alleged economy) but affiliations with its chairman, Mr. Bhutto. It is a tribute to Bhutto that he has come to power with such a party but the cracks and dissension are not easily masked. Over a dozen of his lieutenants, some of them from the top, have crossed the floor. Mahmud Ali Qasuri, his law Minister and Party vice-chairman and Mir Rasul Bakhsh Talpur, the Governor of Sind, are the most challenging defections. He has to keep the whip moving to keep the party circus going. This also makes it essential for him to see that things do not settle down and start taking their normal course. Abnormality alone can keep things 'normal'. The strategy of crisis is a natural demand of this situation, whatever be its cost to the nation.

The strategy of crisis consists in not settling the real issues, but in creating newer and peculiar problems, and in keeping people engaged in petty or non issues. The aim appears to be to make people feel that their survival depends on one man and that therefore they should remain loyal to him. The state of flux should remain as long as it served to provide greater authority and manoeuvrability.

Rhetoric and repression seem to have become major tools of this policy. Rhetoric is essential to whip up public feelings and to change focus. Repression is needed to maintain a climate of fear and uncertainty and to punish the non-conformist. Opposition must be tamed if it cannot be silenced.

The first major act of this policy was war—a phony war—against capitalists. The foreign exchange so recovered was less than that recovered under similar moves by Ayub and Yahya. It did not even touch the fringe of the problem. Bureaucratization of certain industries took place which did not affect the

problem of economic concentration but did produce a climate of fear and uncertainty. When private investment started to fall, the crisis was resolved by reaching a compromise with the capitalists and industrialists and by appointing for example a scion of the richest family to head the national airways. This may be a poor economic policy, but it did help maintain the rhetoric repression syndrome.

Some two thousand Government servants were arbitrarily dismissed without even being told why action was being taken against them. The Government was in such a hurry to dismiss that the entire broth was cooked in a week's time. On public demand it was promised that charge-sheets would be furnished, but these are not ready even a year after the civil servants dismissal.

The relationship with the political leaders of those two provinces where PPP was not in a majority is another example of this strategy. The ban on NAP was lifted without proper judicial probe and it was promised power in the two provinces. Then Governors and advisers from the PPP were appointed who tried to bribe or blackmail members of assembly belonging to other parties. After creating a crisis-situation the conflict was resolved by a tri-partite agreement. At no stage the demands of political stability and fair play were kept in view. If from the very beginning non-Party Governors had been appointed in all the four provinces things would have been very different. But a situation was developed where two provinces were seen to be arraigned against the centre. Arms-running has been going on for several years. No action was taken until it was felt necessary to dismiss the Governments of NWFP and Baluchistan. Yet those who were alleged to be involved in anti-state activities were not tried under the law. The crisis seemed handy on the eve of constitution making.

The language crisis in Karachi and Sind, labour-troubles in Karachi and other parts of the country, confrontation and clash with the students, public controversy over the recognition of Bangladesh, "revolt" in Lasbela, are all illustrations of this very strategy of crisis. To implement it politicians and political workers have been assassinated, hundreds of students have been imprisoned and maltreated, labour and even police were baton-charged and fired at resulting in heavy casualties. The press has been muzzled and silenced. A large number of political leaders and workers including some from the Peoples' Party itself were arrested. Mian Tufail Muhammed, the Jamaat-e-Islami Amir is reported to have been abused and beaten in the prison.

It is proposed to concentrate all powers in the hands of the Prime Minister. He would be elected by simple majority but once elected, he would be the arbiter of everything including the fate of the Parliament. Such absolute power is bound to corrupt even the incorruptible. But as it "should" be, the constitution making itself is being carried on in the shadow of a series of pseudo-crises.

Where is Pakistan heading to, remains an intriguing question, or is it a question of intrigue?

## Books

### The Afro-American Saga

**Ebony Pictorial History of Black America** (3 vols.), Johnson Publishing company, Chicago, Illinois, 1971. Each volume 312 pages. \$27.95 (U.S.)

"What's wrong with Afro-Americans? Why do they complain so much?" asks many a European or Asian immigrant to the U.S. They see America as a land of relative freedom and economic progress, a great improvement on the dictatorial regimes or underdeveloped lands from which they came. They wonder why Afro-Americans are always at odds with the rest of the people! Always the outsiders. They argue that even poor Afro-Americans are better off materially than the middle classes in some European or Asian nations. So why all the racial antagonism, riots and crime?

History provides compelling answers. Only the stark evidence of the past four hundred years in the history of African people can explain why the darker race of mankind had, and still has, more than its share of dark days and tribulation.

*Ebony* magazine, a black-owned enterprise which published this masterful three-volume history, has a monthly readership of five million people. It has impressive files of facts and photographs on every aspect of Afro-American life, which it has put to excellent use in compiling this work. *Ebony's* staff has done a fine job in presenting the African Experience in the North American diaspora. Volume One of this profusely illustrated library covers the African Past to the Civil War, a period stretching from the ancient Ethiopian and Egyptian empires of 2000 B.C. to 1861 A.D. Unlike many other books on this subject, the *Ebony* history commendably gives ample space to the great, extensive Islamic history of West Africa, the ancestral home of Afro-Americans, a history which began in 850 A.D. when the Dya'ogo rulers of Tekrur (modern Senegal) accepted Islam.

Thus, Islam has been a part of West African culture for 1,123 years, a fact not generally noted by historians! This volume details the stories of the great African Muslim rulers Sundiata Keita (1230 A.D.), Mansa Musa (1307 A.D.), Mansa Sulayman (1333 A.D.), Sunni Ali (1462 A.D.), Askia Muhammad (1493 A.D.), Idris Alooma (1581 A.D.) and others. Several Afro-Islamic civilizations arose in West Africa from 1000 A.D. to 1600 A.D., remarkable for their astute government, high literacy, schools, universities and craftsmanship. These were the very Africans about which European colonialists sought to convince the world were a barbaric people, devoid of civilization, education and culture. (The African Muslims did not need Colonialism to "bring Christ to the infidel"; they

knew already about Jesus from the Qur'an).

Portugal began the New World slavery saga in 1441 A.D. Under the aegis of Prince Henry the Navigator, captain Antonio Gon-salves landed near Cape Bajador in Senegal. He captured ten Africans which he presented to the prince, who in turn gave some of them to the pope, "who promptly conferred upon the prince full possession of all West Africa's costal regions." Portugal was soon challenged by the Dutch, English, French, Swedes, Danes and Prussians, who established slave trading posts of their own. In 1713, Britain moved in and made the slave trade "a highly specialized industry," selling 303,737 Africans into slavery just in the decade between 1783 and 1793. Slaves were packed like sardines and forced to crouch below the cargo decks for the whole 5 to 8 weeks it took the ships to cross the Atlantic and some 30% did not survive the crossing. All the sordid horrors of American slavery are poignantly illustrated by words and pictures in this volume, as well as the remarkable, unexpected accomplishments of slaves who were able to gain an early emancipation. The narrative of Ayuba Suleiman, an African Muslim who was brought to America as a slave, was published in London in 1734. The first novel by an Afro-American, *Clotel*, was published in 1853; the first newspaper, *Freedom's Journal*, in 1827. Afro-Americans like Frederick Douglass and Henry H. Garnet (a descendant of Muslim African Mandingoes) were able spokesmen for the anti-slavery ("abolitionist") movements of the 1830's. Benjamin Banneker, a descendent of slaves, gained distinction as a scientist and served on the commission which surveyed and laid out the city of Washington, D.C. In 1796, just 20 years after the English colonies became the U.S. of America, Banneker compiled a widely-used almanac.

Volume Two covers the Post Civil-War period (1865 on) to the U.S. Supreme Court decision of 1954 which abolished racial segregation in the public schools. (Complete implementation of this order has not been affected even in 1973!) The migration of Afro-Americans from the ghettos of the south to the "liberal"; ghettos of the north their military service during World Wars One and Two; and their great influence on American art and literature from 1918 to 1929, are magnificently portrayed here. This was the era of social activists W.E.B. Dubois and Marcus Garvey, whose red, black and green flag is popular today as the "banner of black liberation." James Weldon Johnson, who wrote the black national anthem "Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing," novelists Langston Hughes (*The Weary Blues*) and Arna Bon-temps, scientists George Washington Carver and Dr. Ernest Everett, noted for his work on chromosome structure, singer Josephine Baker and actor Paul Robeson. Slavery had been abolished, but replaced, not by full freedom, just by a rigid segregation which conferred second-class status on Afro-Americans, despite their many useful contributions to American life. In 1954, lawyers from the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) successfully

## ... Afro-American Saga

petitioned the U.S. Supreme Court to end the practice of having separate schools for blacks and whites. This decision had favourable implications later on other aspects of American society.

Volume Three encompasses the Civil Rights Movement to the 'Black Revolution' (1955 to 1970). The struggle to gain for Afro-Americans *in fact* those rights supposedly already guaranteed by the Constitution, but effectively abrogated by white racism, was long and bloody. This was the age of Dr. Martin Luther King, the second Afro-American to win the Nobel Peace Prize (the first was Dr. Ralph Bunche, who as U.S. representative to the U.N. won the prize in 1950 for mediating the first Arab-Israeli conflict). It was also the era of the emerging radical "Black Muslims" of Elijah Muhammad and a fiery revolutionary-turned-orthodox-Muslim, Malcolm X. The age of Stokely Carmichael, now the chief apostle of "Nkrumahism" and of the violent, police-hating Black Panthers. White America, faced with a second civil war along racial lines, reluctantly began to acquiesce to demands for black freedom and equality. New job and educational opportunities open up, along with housing and independent business enterprises. Black faces could be seen in high positions of government, in the press and on television. Colleges established credit courses on Afro-American history (after satisfying the cynics that Afro-Ams had enough history to comprise a course!) and African languages. Finally, after 400 years, full of strife and struggle under the most inhuman circumstances, Afro-Americans gained a *measure* of freedom that white Americans had always possessed. The *Ebony* history is meticulously researched, very well written, interest-holding and outstanding in its written and pictorial presentation of the diverse history of Americans of African (and, in several instances, *Muslim*) descent. It mirrors the significant achievements and contributions of Afro-Americans in the arts, news media, science, sports, government, religion and social activism. Though written and published by Afro-Americans, it maintains objectivity, neither unduly glorifying nor over-dramatizing that history. It is fair and balanced in its approach.

Anyone who wants to know the story of Africans in North America should read this impressive set of books.

S. S. Mufassir

## The Enigma of Yemen

**The War in Yemen** by Edgar O'Ballance. Faber & Faber, 218 pages. £2.25.

The political situation in Yemen does not lend easily to clarity. There are very few comprehensive accounts of what is happening or, for that matter, what has happened there for the past few decades or so.

*The War in Yemen* is a critical study of the complex affairs in that most unknown of

countries. It is based on the first hand experiences of the author and gives a step by step account of the happenings in Yemen, from the overthrow of Imam Mohammed Al-Badr in September 1962, to the famous siege of Sana in September 1969.

Imam Ahmad ruled Yemen for years with singular despotism: those who displeased him or his officials saturated the dungeons while his argumentative subjects decorated his walls by their heads. The story starts when Imam Ahmad "a most hated and feared ruler . . ." cheats his assassins by dying in his bed on 18 September 1962 (some sources say 19 September). If ever there was a country ripe for a political change, it was the Yemen. So when a week after, Imam Ahmad's successor, Imam Mohammed Al-Badr, faced a *coup d'etat*, assisted by President Nasser, the only surprise was that it had been delayed so long. Colonel As-Sallal, the leader of the revolution takes power; while President Nasser watches from above.

The book strips apart the Royalist facade and shows the Imam to be an autocratic ruler seeking to re-impose his domination on the country. The republicans too come under criticism while Nasser's role as a puppeteer is made quite clear. First he engineered the rise of as-Sallal by sending Egyptian troops hours after the 1962 *coup* to back the republicans; and in November 1967 when as-Sallal displeased him, he made arrangements for his removal.

The Egyptians remained in Yemen till December 1967. In the spring of 1963, with their help, Field Marshal Amer, in a smart campaign, brought two-thirds of Yemen under Republican control. Later Royalist forced the UAR to withdraw and reduced this area to one-half. Ever since the proportions held by each has remained the same with little or no variation. That neither side has been able to defeat the other can be ascribed to the nature of the terrain and the imbalance of arms.

In 1967 Nasser withdrew his army. The power-vacuum was soon filled by the Soviet Union active, in its quest for influence and naval bases in the Red Sea, and to further its naval presence in the Middle East and the Gulf. Meanwhile, the Royalist got active support from Saudi Arabia which gave money and arms to Imam Mohammed al-Badr, even though, Faisal does not seem to have had any particular liking for him.

The next main round between the Royalists and the Republicans came at what became known as the 'siege of Sana'. Hassan al-Amri, who emerged as 'strong man' after as-Sallal, formed a militia and turned back the Royalist tribesmen who wanted to storm the city.

Edgar O'Ballance relates all this in a very readable manner. His book concentrates mainly on characters, politics and the events of the Yemani civil war, rather than facts and figure on military happenings. Of the Egyptians he says that they "caused considerable tensions by their actions, attitudes and overbearing presence" and that they "looked down with contempt" on the natives.

Jamal Sardar

## Follow-up

### The Sahih of Muslim

The publishing house *Muhammad Ashraf* is to be congratulated for undertaking, after the completion of the translation of the *Mishkat*, the translation of the *al-Jami' as-Sahih* of Imâm Muslim ibn al-Hajjâj. It is the duty of English-knowing Muslims to enrich this language with Islamic literature; for instance, the Six Authentic Collections of Hadith—*sihah sittah*. A working abridgement of the *Sahih* of Bukhari exists, it is by Muhammad Ali Lahori. The progress on the translation of the same work by Muhammad Asad (Leopold Weiss) is not known.

We to pray God that He vouchsafes the completion of the task. The translation is fairly good, as I found on comparison of part of it with the original.

The translator has perhaps his reasons, but there are points on which I humbly beg to differ with him; to begin with the beginning:

*Alif* and *hamza* do not always stand for (a); they can as well be pronounced (i) and (u). They are in fact all the three according to their vocalization.

In the notes there are practically no references to sources. In all important cases they should be given. There seems also an "over-referring" of the "orientalists" opinions. Islamic work can better base itself on its own merits.

The life of the great Hadith scholar Imâm Muslim, is presented very superficially and hardly brings his towering personality to light. One instance: One of the teachers of Muslim was Sa'id ibn Mansur (whose name is lost under the expression "and others"). Part of the *Sunan* of Sa'id has been discovered and even published by *Majlis 'Ilmi* (with a branch in Karachi of which the translator seems unaware). It is the work of one of the teachers of Muslim. That is to say, if someone thinks that the Imam Muslim had merely collected hadiths on mere hear-say, there is a refutation in this work of Sa'id, and there is also the possibility of comparing it with Muslim, and finding out whether Muslim was or was not extremely careful and scrupulous in transmitting to posterity what he had learned from the earlier generation.

The translator has also omitted the chains of narrators, retaining only the name of the first narrator, the companion of the Prophet. This disregard of the importance of the chains of narrators is serious. Suppose, one of my readers wants to compare the *Sunan* of Sa'id ibn Mansur with the present translation of Muslim but it will not be possible.

As to the translation itself, a few suggestions will be offered here. "Poor due" is a very poor translation of the term *zakât*. Even if the first two beneficiaries of *zakât*, as laid down in the Qur'an, are *fuqâra'* and *masâkin*, none of the rest concerns the poor. *Zakât* (and its Quranic synonyms *sadaqa*, *sadaqat*, *haqq*, *infaq* etc.) really mean "Muslim government's revenues from Muslim tax payers". It has had its long history from the pre-Hijra to post-Hijra life of the Holy Prophet, from recommendation to obligation, yet without changing the term. Further the words (p.12) "gourd, wine jar and receptacle" fail to give an idea of the kinds of pots whose use was prohibited by the Prophet to the Muslims of 'Umân (tribe of 'Abd al-Qais). A little bit more of the philological research would have clarified to the reader the basis of such prohibition. Again (p.162) the term "wiping" is used for *mas'h*. Wiping means to clean or dry a surface object, whereas *mas'h* is passing over a surface, e.g. the wet hand over the dry body surface, as in ablution.

These are naturally minor points. We commend highly the translation.

Prof. Muhammad Hamidullah

## Briefing

**Socialism and Development** by René Dumont with Marcel Mazoyer, translated by Rupert Cunningham, *Deutch*, £3.50

The book underlines the unresolved dilemma of a European socialist who is unhappy at both the Russian interference in Czechoslovakia and the U.S. intervention in Vietnam.

An agronomist, Dumont sees agriculture as the true emancipator of the Third World. His recipe, no doubt is simple: simple and commonsense approach to land reclamation, cropping, irrigation and farm management. He argues for techniques and methods which preclude large scale dependence on foreign aid and expertise. Easier said, but the crunch comes when the governments, albeit socialist, fail to motivate and mobilise the proletariat, the *fellahin* and the *kisans*. And there we find all kinds of socialism, varying only in degrees of coercion, corruption, and a success which needs to be accepted as an article of faith. Dumont notes the failure of the collectives in the USSR; examines performance in the "socialist" Mexico, Zambia, Tanzania, Egypt, India, Cuba and Algeria. In Tanzania there is evidence of success in the country's voluntary farm organisation. But elsewhere, there is bureaucratic distaste for manual work, waste and inefficiency. In Cuba the peasants are reduced to a dependant status. Algeria's autonomous farm communes also show some originality and some success. So socialism is, what you call it.

**The Water Closet** by Roy Palmer, *David & Charles*, £2.50

A civilisation can be judged better by its personal hygiene norms and toiletry. With bath considered derogatory of virtue and holiness, the science and sociology of personal cleanliness in Europe had

thus had an interesting evolution. Even today while it is considered uncivilised to wash oneself in the toilet, the toilet-paper in some hygiene-conscious establishment would carry the printed note: Now wash your hands. That is, just the hands.

In Britain, the water closet, or W.C. as is more commonly understood reached the patent stage only in 1775. Before that and even later people either used the garden "to pluck a rose" or lived with the pot in the bed-room or even kitchen. The disposal too was a problem for human ingenuity. When the pot landed on the head of an unwary street walker, it produced its own tragi-comedy. The "invention", could, however be put to use only slowly and gradually. It was during the second half of the last century that domestic sanitation was made compulsory under law.

Roy Palmer's water closet story though partly technical, provides a most interesting study in social history. In the water closets, wash basins and bath tubs of today, an "evolutionist" could well see the outdoor water pool transferred to within the four walls of the house, albeit through the help of technology.

**Sugar and Slaves: The rise of the Plantation Class in the English West Indies** by Richard S. Dunn, *Cape*, £4.50

A well researched history of yesterday's Rhodesia: of a harsh, brutal and opulent white minority and its thriving slave commune. English settlement in the Caribbean started at the same time as North America and Prof. Dunn does well to bring out the contrast and compare the subsequent evolution and development of the two colonies.

● Fifth volume of the famous Egyptian scholar, the late Syed Qutb's translation and commentary of the Qur'an, *Fil Zilal al Qur'an*, published in the Turkish language.

### The Media

## Radio Iran Courier

'Listener'

"This is Radio Peyk-e Iran—Radio Iran Courier. Radio Peyk-e Iran is the propagator of the thoughts of the Iranian Tudeh Party. Radio Peyk-e Iran is the outspoken voice of all the Iranian forces fighting for the independence, democracy welfare and progress of our country." So introduces itself 'Radio Peyk-e Iran' at the start of its 50-minutes daily Persian programme at 7 p.m. Tehran time. The programme broadcast on 25, 26 and 31 metreband is repeated at 8.50 p.m. Tehran time.

First heard broadcasting in December 1957, the station is highly critical of the Shah, the Iranian government's repressive policies and its pro-western connections. From time to time it would present the decisions and resolutions of the outlawed Iranian communist party, 'Tudeh' or articles from its organ, 'Mardum'—people. Apart from commenting on topical affairs, 'Peyk-e Iran' would from time to time provide practical guidance on the 'revolutionary struggle' in Iran: The correct selection of recruits; the need to create small, separate and independent groups with absolute minimum contact between them; and to provide the party with information which can be used as an expose etc.

The present location of the station is not known. In 1957, when it was first heard, 'Peyk-e Iran' was transmitted from Leipzig, East Germany on short wave. In August 1960, Leipzig added a transmission in Azerbaijani; in May 1961 in Kurdish; and Arabic broadcasts in February 1963. Four months later in June, the Arabic broadcast was renamed "The Voice of the Iraqi people".

Until the second half of 1962, 'Radio Peyk-e

Iran' announced an East Berlin address. In September 1969, listeners were invited to write to Post Box 49,043 Stockholm 49, Sweden. In March, 1970, Peyk-e Iran said its Stockholm bank account had changed to 'M:040012050'. Currently the station broadcasts twice daily in Persian, Kurdish and Azerbaijani; a total of 1540 minutes in a week: 50 minutes each transmission in Persian and 30 minutes twice in Kurdish and Azerbaijani.

There is another clandestine 'Iranian' radio which identifies itself as 'Seday-e Milli Iran—national voice of Iran. First heard in April 1959, its location has not been announced, and lately it has come in for heavy jamming by Kuwait radio. Seday-e Milli started a Kurdish transmission in August 1963 but it was discontinued in January 1972.

● **Race Today**, the British Institute of Race Relations magazine which faced closure last year is being published now by "Towards Racial Justice", a new society registered under the Friendly Societies Act. *TRJ* membership will be open only to the members of the Institute of Race Relations, but the "reorganisation" will enable *TRJ* to take a political position on the issues which the Institute being registered as a charity could not otherwise take. *TRJ* has received £20,000 from an unnamed British trust. The Institute had a £20,000 grant from the Ford Foundation and £3,000 from the World Council of Churches.

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## Letters

**Muslims and Black Muslims**

In your respectable paper (Vol. 2:19-23 February — 8 March) an interesting article, "The Washinton Killings" mentioned some points regarding the black Muslims and the attitude of the Islamic Centre that seem to need clarification.

First, the reporter said "After the January murders, Dr. Abdul Rauf is reported to have said, 'We (Muslims) are all united in one faith. There are simply different groups. When people become Muslims from one race or ethnic group, they are free to develop their own way of speaking to their own people.'" It seems to me that inserting the quotation by Dr. Abdul Rauf in this context might mislead the reader to think that Dr. Abdul Rauf was referring to "the Black Muslims" when he said, "We (Muslims) are all united..." In reality he was referring to the "Hanafi Madhhab" and another "Sunni" group that was involved in a New York incident.

Secondly, the reporter failed to take note of my observations carried in the *Washington Post* report of 28 Jan. I had said: Muslims fast in Ramadan and the Black Muslims in December "Muslims believe that Muhammad was the last... prophet... while Black Muslims know Elijah as a prophet." I also said that traditionalist Muslims "do not believe God is incarnated in any human form". The Black Muslims on the other hand believe, the Elijah's teacher, W. D. Fard, was God incarnated in human form.

Thirdly, it seems to me that the reporter was not aware of an article written by Dr. Abdul Rauf, and published in the August issue of the Islamic Centre's *Bulletin*, in which he discussed the confusion created by 'certain group' in the U.S. on the Islamic position on the fundamental concepts of "God, Resurrection, the Prophet and Equality."

It will be greatly appreciated if your esteemed paper would help clarify this critical issue, because it has been a source of great confusion and misunderstanding to many brothers and sisters.

**Dr. MAHMOUD E. SIENY**

*Assistant Director*

*Islamic Centre, Washington, D.C.*

**Whose Failure in Pakistan?**

I read Mr. Khurshid Ahmad's reply to Dr. K. Siddiqui's criticism on Jamaat-e-Islami (*Impact*, Vol. 2:18). Perhaps Dr. Siddiqui made a mistake in choosing his words but no one can deny that the Jamaat has failed in its 25 year's experiment in Pakistan. Prof. Khurshid is right in saying that the Jamaat received 10% of total votes in East Pakistan, but it is also true that it has since lost everything that it had achieved in those elections. Now the Party is completely banned by Sheikh Mujib and it will be an illusion to think that it will comeback in Bangladesh.

I heard from almost every active member of Jamaat-e-Islami whom I have met that the Jamaat is for the intellectual people in the Muslim World, rather Pakistan. I would like to remind that Islam did not come for the intellectuals alone and the blessed Prophet did not form a Jamaat consisting only of intellectuals.

Mr Khurshid's statement that the Islami Jamiat-e-Talaba (Islamic Students' Association) has been very successful in almost all colleges and universities in West Pakistan, is quite true. But again, once these students graduate from their institutions and take up government jobs, they are banned from taking active part in the Jamaat and thus would go the whole success astray.

*Glasgow, C.5, U.K.* **K. MUZAFFARUDDIN**

● **Colourscope** ●**Culture and Curriculum**

*Impact Report*

In the last quarter of this century, Britain has become from a unilingual to a multi-racial, multi-lingual and multi-religious community. This fact, says Professor Jac Williams of University College of Wales in a recent issue of *The Observer*, should be realized and appreciated by the host community if a thing similar to the rise in 'black militancy' in the United States is to be avoided in Britain. The cultural heritage of immigrant children, says Professor Williams, is usually regarded as a handicap, to be undermined and replaced by another culture and not as a personal asset to be preserved and developed. Because of this many immigrants are becoming frustrated, if not embittered.

"The traditional insularity and unilingualism, based on an imperialistic outlook" says Professor Williams "may render it difficult for the average Englishman to understand and to tolerate linguistic diversity, let alone develop an appreciation for it". Professor Williams suggests that schools must introduce the culture and languages of the immigrants into the curriculum. "The immigrant child", he says "has the same right to literacy in his mother tongue as the English child, and the same right to knowledge of the history and geography of the country that is his ancestral home". Such a system will promote social confidence in the immigrant child by abolishing the rift between the mother tongue and the school language.

**Not only humorous but significant**

A poem published in the Battersea Rotary Club magazine has raised controversy in Wandsworth. The poem describes Pakistanis living in Britain as surviving on the dole, eating dog food and living dozen to a room. The Pakistan Welfare Association of Wandsworth secretary Mr. Gulzar Ahmad Butt said "We shall take our complaint to the Race Relations Board. We have pleasant relations with the host community and we want to live peacefully and fairly but this poem is not a joke". Certain members of the Club too have expressed shock and some have called the club to dissociate and apologise.

The poem carries a note by the editor Mr. Albert Waite: "We think the following not only humorous, but also significant, since it was sent to my daughter Pam, by a friend resident in Canada.

The poem, in parts, reads:

I came to England poor and broke,  
Go on dole see Labour bloke,  
Fill in forms have lots of chatters  
Kind man gives me lots of akkers,  
I thank him much and then he say...  
'Come next week and get more pay.  
You come here we make you wealthy,  
Doctors too to make you healthy...  
... All get nicely settled down,  
fine big house in busy town.  
Fourteen families living up,  
fourteen families living down.  
All are paying nice big rents,  
cash rolls in, not much spent.  
Soon I send for wife and kids—  
they won't have to live in digs.  
... We think England damn good place  
—too damn good for white man's race.  
If he not like the coloured man  
... Plenty of room in Pakistan.

The club chairman is, since, understood to have apologised.

*(Impact News)*

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The PoWs debate

**To release or to recognise?**

Impact Report

"Anybody with an intelligent head over his shoulder", said Sir Fredrick Bennet, "cannot vote against the motion for to do so will mean breaking international law; voting against an international treaty." Sir Fredrick Bennet was defending the motion "the PoW problem should not be linked with the recognition of Bangladesh by Pakistan" at a debate held recently at the Inns of Court and organised by the Pakistan Society of the Court.

Introducing the motion Mr. John Wilkinson, M.P., asked the question: Has pre-recognition ever been used as a condition for the release of PoWs in history. There are numerous examples which prove that this has never been done: the case of the PoWs after the second world war, after the Arab-Israel war of 1967, and more recently after the war in Viet Nam—in all cases PoWs were released immediately after hostilities had ceased. "There is no question of Pakistan recognising the puppet state of Bangladesh as a pre-condition for the release of the PoWs", he said. At this stage he drew an uproar from the Bangladeshi section of the floor which threatened a walkout. At Simla, Pakistan and India agreed to settle their differences bilaterally. PoWs are surely a bilateral issue which they can settle between themselves. Bangladesh, a creature of armed attack and aggression, is not included in the Simla Agreement. After further uproars and interruptions from the Bangladesh section, Mr. Wilkinson said that during a recent visit to the country of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, "Reincarnation of Bismarck", he asked Mr. Swaran Singh, the Foreign Minister: "Did the Indian government and Bangladesh regard recognition as a precondition to the release of PoWs?". Mr. Singh gave a simple "no" as his answer. Furthermore, Gen. Aurora, before the surrender at Decca, had assured: "Persons who surrender will be treated with dignity and principles of Geneva convention". Who are we to disagree with them?

First to speak against the motion was Mr. John Stonehouse, M.P. He said that he was not opposed to the return of the PoWs but Pakistan must face the realities. Bangladesh would have emerged even if India had not intervened. During the "civil war" Pakistan ignored the Geneva Convention and now it asks India to observe it! He said India came at the invitation of Bangladesh and the whole battle was fought under a joint command and therefore the PoWs are responsibility of them both. And unless Pakistan recognises Bangladesh no further progress can be made.

Sir Bennet replied that whatever arguments one may bring against the motion they can only call to return to the law of the jungle. Even if Pakistan did not respect the Geneva Convention during the civil war it does not justify India's actions. "India", said Sir Bennet, "is not saying that we will release the PoWs after Pakistan recognises Bangladesh but that she will consider the case of PoWs when Bangladesh gains recognition". The fact is, that under international law she is obliged to release

the PoWs at once. As regards the question of putting the 'war trials' how can one prosecute people who acting according to their consciences tried to prevent the country from breaking apart? Sir Bennet quoted Articles 116, 117 and 118 of the Geneva Convention and concluded: "Each of the detaining powers should itself establish and execute, without delay, repatriation of the Pakistani prisoners of war in accordance with the Geneva Convention."

Bangladeshi journalist, Mr S. Mohammed Ali argued by saying that Bangladesh will abide by the Geneva Convention but it has to be recognised by Pakistan before any negotiation can begin. As far as Pakistan is concerned Bangladesh does not exist. How can you negotiate with something that does not exist? He quoted the Qur'an as saying "O you who believe, fight for truth... even against your kith and kin" and said that Bangladesh will fight on until she is recognised by Pakistan.

Mr. Iqbal Idris and Mrs. Bilquees Banu further elaborated the arguments for and against the motion respectively.

Before the motion could be put to vote the Bangladesh section staged a walkout. The floor voted overwhelmingly for the motion.

● Three Pakistanis who on the 23 March, went on a till-death hunger strike near the British PM's residence, called off their protest after 130 hours and after appeals from the Pakistan ambassador and community leaders. The strikers, Mr. Salamat Ata (Halifax Peoples' Party) and two others were calling attention to official British indifference to the PoWs issue (Impact news).

**Yugoslav Hajis punished**

Dr. Nikolw Georgijevski, a Yugoslav Social Welfare Ministry official said Muslims who went for Haj early this year had their passports "taken away". For the fear that they might have brought infection they were also put under quarantine. A ban on travel to Saudi Arabia was imposed last year when the authorities said the Hajis brought smallpox germs in Zam Zam water. The Saudi statistics on 1973 Haj listed 18 Hajis from Yugoslavia.

● The Seventh North Central Regional Conference of the Muslim Students Association of America and Canada is to be held on April 20-22 in Milwaukee.

● Investment Cell in London's Pakistan Embassy established to advise overseas Pakistanis and others on investment facilities in the country.

**Muslim Education Trust, Year of Achievement**

Impact Report

"Great Britain has over 13,100 Muslim children—1.8% of the total number of school children—studying in various county schools all over the country"—says the Annual Report of the Muslim Educational Trust U.K. Established in 1966, after fourteen months of relentless efforts the Trust has succeeded in obtaining permission to teach Islam to Muslim children during school hours. M.E.T. is now imparting Islamic education to over 2,000 Muslim children in 47 county schools in London, Manchester, Birmingham, Bradford, Luton and Walsal.

The report says that the Trust is presently sending fourteen teachers to the various county schools.

The teaching programme of the Trust started in 1969 when it got permission to send Islamic teachers to county schools and dispatched its first teacher, to two schools who were then willing to co-operate.

Early last month the MET held its Annual prize distribution presided over by Shaikh Abdul Aziz-Al-Turkey, the Saudi Cultural Counsellor. Twenty students belonging to different London schools were awarded prizes on the basis of the recent examination results. The function was attended by about two hundred parents, students and teachers.

The report mentions the Trust's publication programme. It has so far published two Islamic Primers for English Medium schools: The first primer deals with basic teaching of Islam and the second covered the 'Ibadah in Islam. The third primer on how to perform *salat* is in the press and expected to be released soon. Recently it published a note on "Muslim Way of Life" for the guidance of the education authorities in Britain and non-Muslim students and teachers of comparative religion.

MET also has submitted a memorandum on religious education to Her Majesty's government seeking a more enlightened provis-

ion on religious education in the education enactment presently being revised. The Trust also used to publish *Zenith*—a monthly magazine for young school students, but it had to be discontinued due to lack of funds. The Trust hopes to restart its publication as soon as necessary funds are available.

The report surveys the vast and crucially important areas of work that remains unattended due to lack of resources; and has appealed for a wider community support in stabilising, expanding and improving its work programme. MET's teaching programme is supported by a grant from the Rabita Alam-Islami, Mecca. It had also received an initial grant from the Ministry of Auqaf, Kuwait which enabled it to produce the primers. Recently the Union of Arab Emirates too made a contribution and it was only after the receipt of this that MET was able to push through the production and publication of third primer, long since held up due to lack of funds. Most welcome and generous, as these contributions have been, the problem is too vast to be coped through periodical munificence. The report urges community awareness of the importance of Islamic education and the need for local voluntary action, without which all the progress achieved so far could come to nothing.



SHAIKH TURKEY WITH PRIZE WINNERS

**Birmingham Mosque Project on to a promising start**

The long delayed Birmingham Mosque project seems to have got off to a hopeful re-start. The East African Muslim Association in Birmingham, recently built a room for the mosque through voluntary community efforts. The Mosque Trust

(1 Woodfield Road, Birmingham-12) have appealed for £1,000 volunteers who can go round for six weeks and collect £6 per person. They have so far raised £20,000 and received names from 4,000 voluntary workers. (Impact news).

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

**AFGHANISTAN.** A government statement said it was watching situation in "occupied Pushtunistan"; stressed the issue was a national one, a historical right and duty of Afghanistan; proclaimed continued support for the right of self-determination of Pushtunistan and hoped Pakistan would not proceed in the former sterile course.

● The International Narcotics Board is urging the Afghanistan Government to phase out the production of opium as part of a long-term agricultural plan which proposed wheat as the main alternative crop but one which would yield only  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the income of opium poppy.

**AFRICAN AFFAIRS.** The Trans-African Highway Co-ordinating Committee met at Mombasa to study the *Progress Report* on the Highway published by the Economic Commission for Africa. The Highway will link Lagos to Mombasa and run through Uganda, Zaire, Central African Republic and Cameroon. A meeting on feeder roads to link Somalia, Ethiopia, Tanzania, Zambia, Rwanda, Burundi, Chad, Congo, Gabon and Niger to the highway, held in Addis Ababa. A 5-year programme is being prepared by the TAH Bureau. ● A conference of the African and Malagasy EEC—associated states committee in Kinshasa unanimously agreed to maintain and renew the association with the EEC.

**ALGERIA.** Scientific and cultural co-operation agreements with USSR and Cuba. Trade, customs tariffs, communications agreement with Libya.

**ASIAN AFFAIRS.** Representatives from eight Asian countries—India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Iran, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand and Indonesia, took part in 3-week seminar in Bandung on the eradication of illiteracy. ● Twenty-five bishops attended the episcopal meeting of the Committee of Asian Bishops held in Hong Kong last month. Bishops from Indonesia, Burma, Cambodia, Laos, Taiwan, India, South Korea, Singapore, Pakistan, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, South Vietnam, Japan, Thailand, Macao and Hong Kong attended. ● The intensification of military co-operation between the United States and Indonesia is meant to strengthen the position of the US monopolists in the exploited Indonesian economy and to further the Guam Doctrine intended to combat national liberation in Asian countries, according to a Moscow broadcast in Indonesian.

**BANGLADESH.** An international development conference in Dacca agreed to support a \$600m agriculture development and family planning programme. ● Lebanon recognised Bangladesh. ● Opposition daily *Ganakantha*, evicted from its office premises by A.L. volunteers. The paper claimed there was only 25% turn-out in recent polls and started publishing complete voting statistics. ● David Ennals (Friends of Bangladesh Committee) wrote to London *Times* appealing to British government and international agencies to help Bangladesh meet the needs of all people. He said some 260,000 Biharis face expulsion but

Pakistan does not want them. ● 300 Razakars, members of the paramilitary force raised by Pakistan army in 1971 captured by India to be handed over to Bangladesh government for trial.

**CHINA.** A delegation of the Chinese General Administration of Civil Aviation to Moscow for talks on opening of a Peking-Irkutsk-Moscow flight in accordance with 1954 air transport agreement between the two countries. ● The official Chinese news agency *NCNA* broadcast the Islamic F.M.'s Conference resolution demanding release of Pakistani PoWs.

**CYPRUS.** The Turkish community has asked for greater autonomy in talks which have been resumed. Supporters of General Grivas said they would sabotage any agreement that precludes Enosis or union with Greece. The Pro-Turkish *Voice of Cyprus*, has criticised a Moscow broadcast which called for the people of the island, without discriminating between Turk and Greek, to look after their own affairs. It said this was tantamount to suggesting the elimination of the Turks by the Greek Cypriots. Such a solution would be similar to the one imposed by the Russians on the Tartars living in the Crimea.

**ERITREA.** Uthman Salih Sabi, leader of the Eritrean Liberation Front petition to Col. Qadhafi to help obtain the release of the Front's representative and colleagues detained in Sudan 'at the request of Ethiopian authorities'.

**GHANA.** Fourteen Jehovah Witnesses school children dismissed for failing to salute the national flag during a parade—an 'unpatriotic and indisciplined act'. The children refused to salute the flag because it was "ungodly" to do so. ● All Muslim organisations have merged to form the Ghana Muslim Representative Council which is to be the only recognised authority on Muslim affairs in Ghana. Col. Acheampong, Ghana's Head of State, urged the Council and other religious bodies to get more involved in national development by combatting immorality, nepotism, corruption and other vices but not to become "independent organisations involved in the day-to-day politics of the country".

**INDIA.** Tripartite agreement between India, Yugoslavia and Egypt extended by 5 years. ● An advanced strike aircraft to remain serviceable for 15-20 years to be built by the Ministry for Defence Production. ● Official circles hoped for a slow thaw in Indo-Chinese relations once the Pakistan PoWs and the Bengalis' issues are resolved. India may soon send its ambassador withdrawn in 1962, back to Peking. New Delhi recently waived visa requirements for Chinese travelling on Ethiopian Airlines via Bombay.

**INDONESIA.** The acting Mayor of Surabaya Municipality said he would not tolerate anyone jesting or making fun of contraceptive equipment. He encouraged the use of condoms and urged small roadside stalls to sell them besides regular merchandise. ● The amount earmarked for religious activities in the budget for 1973-4

has been reduced by 34% and grants and subsidies to private religious organizations stopped. The Jakarta daily, *Abadi*, commenting on the cuts said it amounted to de-religionisation and was in line with a Golkar (Government Party) proposal favouring the ending of religious education in government and private schools. ● The Government has recognized prostitution as a legitimate form of livelihood because the profession is too widespread and deep-rooted. Government aid to prostitutes would include housing and medical checks. A team of doctors has been appointed for the task. Girls will be given courses in English to help them converse with their clients.

**ISRAEL.** The Armament Development Authority is developing various means of warfare, including electronic and advanced communications systems to meet the needs of warfare in the Eighties. New air-to-air missile developed and produced in Israel displayed. It has two kinds of homing device heads and has already been used in air battles and shot down enemy aircraft. Defence Ministry budget for 1973-74 of £6,065m. approved.

**KENYA.** A new Hanging Bill introduced making violent robbery a capital offence.

**MOROCCO.** The left-wing opposition party, the National Union of Popular Forces, has been outlawed by the government and many of its leaders arrested for conspiracy to overthrow the government by guerilla operations.

**NIGERIA:** The Kano State Ministry of Trade and Industry is facing many problems in connection with the Federal Government's indigenization decree. The main problem was the claims made by some aliens which did not encourage indigenous companies to take over the businesses. The federal Government is going ahead with its plans.

**NORTH YEMEN.** Saudi Arabia is to build schools, teacher training institutes, orphanages, hospitals, clinics, mosques and carry out irrigation and other projects in the Yemen in aid totalling 80m. riyals. Saudi Arabia, according to the Yemeni Minister of Works, is the largest aid contributor to the Yemen.

**PAKISTAN.** Twenty army officers (Brig.-1, Lt. Col.-3, Majors-14, Wing Comdr.-1, Sqdn. Ldr.-1); one retired Brig., one Lt. Col.; one police officer; and one civilian arrested under Defence of Pakistan Rules. Eighty other army officers interrogated. ● Pres. Bhutto said it took them three wars and the dismemberment of the country to come back to the democratic road and "I will not allow it to go back into chaos". He said there was no basic conflict of principles and his Constitution had more Islamic provisions than any Muslim country's. Negotiations began between the united opposition and President Bhutto. The opposition 12-pt. demand relates to the Islamic provisions, Fundamental Rights, irremovability and autocratic powers of the P.M. ● Sind High Court set aside government order to ban *Jasarat*, but banned again three days later. The Court granted

bail to the editor, printer and publisher; detained again; and torture alleged, while still in prison. Retd. Maj. Gen. Akbar relieved from cabinet, may be appointed amb. in Prague. Earlier *Jasarat* was banned for reporting Akbar's exit.

**PALESTINE LIBERATION.** A meeting between the PFLP and Fatah held to prepare merger of all Resistance groups. Ahmad Al-Yamani, making the announcement in Sidon, South Lebanon, attacked "the plotting Arab regimes headed by Jordan and Saudi Arabia and called for the strengthening of the alliance with the socialist countries" according to the Iraqi News Agency.

● Police in France have hinted that the Black September network uncovered in France last month was remotely controlled by Israeli security organisations to "disturb relations between France and the Arab countries".

**PHILIPPINES.** Pres. Marcos has promised to solve crisis in Mindanao by social and economic reform rather than by military action. Announced 2,000 scholarships to Muslim students. On the same day Government troops killed over 200 insurgents in a battle in Zamboanga del Sur Province.

**SAUDI ARABIA.** The Muslim World League has begun its yearly Islamic Cultural Season with a lecture on 'Minorities in Islamic States'. ● The Industrial Studies and Development Centre is studying the establishment of a special printing house to print copies of the Qur'an on the instructions of King Faisal in view of the frequent mistakes found in some Qur'anic copies. ● Rice production is expected to rise considerably to meet all internal needs and even have a surplus for export. A Chinese team is assisting in the cultivation of the crop. ● "The intellectual and social life of the Saudi Family in Jeddah" was the thesis of Soraya al Muhammad al Turki, the first Saudi girl to obtain a Ph.D from Berkley University.

**SENEGAL.** Prime Minister Abdou Diouf called on heads of companies to speed up the "Senegalization" of their companies by recruiting qualified Senegalese to relieve their senior cadres. All posts, excepting those closely linked with management of capital, to be Senegalized.

**SOUTH VIETNAM.** A Foreign Ministry spokesman has denied allegation by Mme Binh in Damascus that the USA was plotting to replace US military advisers in Vietnam with Israelis.

**TURKEY.** Justice Party Deputies are proposing that elections for the national Assembly be brought forward to 10 June instead of 14 October. ● Martial Law in Eskisehir region and Izmir province, in force since April 1971, lifted last month.

**VATICAN.** Roman Catholic laymen and women, monks and nuns are now enabled to distribute Holy Communion when a priest is unable to do so. These new orders of the Pope are designed to offset the acute shortage of priests particularly in mission countries and in Latin America. It is the first time that women would perform this function.