

MUSLIM VIEWPOINT(S) ON CURRENT AFFAIRS

impact

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THE PARADISE LOST

■ Saudi Foreign Policy ■ Chinese Agriculture and Ideology ■ Indonesian Tourism Revolution ■ Fidayin's Black May ■ Who are the Collaborators? ■ From Dialectical to Pure Materialism ■ Qaddafi's Libyan Revolution ■ Algeria Notes ■ The Oil Money

Books New Spectrum News Brief

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What is the future outlook for the new Europeans of today, the newly arrived community of Muslims in West Europe?

Would these brown, black and non-teutonic white immigrant Muslims end up as did the African slaves brought to the British Isles in the 16th and 17th centuries? Assimilated totally within the native British race, leaving their trace only in some thick lips or curly hairs? Or become like the Afro-Americans in the U.S.? A sub-proletariat: neither assimilated nor having any identity except the colour of their skin! Or like Muslims in Spain? Beautifying and culturising the country and the region for over eight centuries but eventually expelled! Expulsion is not just a past and pre-modern phenomenon. This very century it was attempted by Hitler, accomplished by General Amin, and is being processed by Israel. Then there are the communist models as in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Russia. However, there can be hopeful answers too. And the most optimistic one seems to lie in the Malay-Indonesian history of Islam: of a gradual but natural extension of Islamic understanding through the example and influence of the first arriving Arab traders. Good things also are contagious, and they catch on provided the carrier too is healthy and infective.

The vital element here is the carrier community and it is the community's state of intellectual and moral health that care and attention would need to be paid to. Now the whole situation of this community is vastly different from that body of individuals whose simple day to day life became a magnet and a catalyst in the Islamic experience of South-East Asia. Not only that they were better Muslims, generally, they also represented a sovereign civilisation. Despite the fact that the near-perfect model of the first four righteous caliphs was no more there, the average Muslim society at that period of history was still an attractive society! Islam then was not like debating and explaining an abstract concept. Those who wanted to know had the opportunity to touch and feel it, and those who represented Islam had the advantage arising from the privilege of representing a living and progressive civilisation.

The Muslim Europeans, on the other hand, owe their origin to a reverse phase in Muslim history. The qualitatively distinct and politically independent Muslim homelands having been virtually demolished through foreign

THE NEW EUROPEANS

The first conference of Islamic centres and bodies in Europe meets in London, 17 - 19 May

colonialism and native collaboration, we come across the unique phenomenon of a reverse *hijrah*—migration from Muslim to non-Muslim lands, and in significant numbers. The stress for this migration lay in the economic and intellectual underdevelopment of the Muslim countries and the motivation to migrate was naturally material and monetary.

Thus we have a community which is not only ill-equipped otherwise, but its transitory attitude has given rise to a situation where the Pakistanis of Britain, the North African of France, the Turks of Germany, and others, all find themselves faced with the reality of having become quasi-permanent residents, without having prepared for it. So, far from being able to improve the understanding of Islam within the new environs, this community, caught as it is within the medley of its own small problems, has acquired an insular and a semi-introvert personality.

It is for this reason that to the average European, Islam remained an immigrant, an exotic religion, and by implication only for the wog—wily oriental gentleman. The lack of response to the presence of at least a few million Muslims in Europe is remarkable, though understandable. The number of Europeans who have come to Islam is very very small. Among those who do so, the preponderant number is of those women (and men) who marry a Muslim spouse. Then there is an emotionally stressed type which seeks and finds solace and comfort in Islam (perhaps, just as some others seek it in meditation, Hare Krishna etc.); they add no doubt to the number of the faithful but not necessarily to the qualitative strength of the community. There is also the intelligence

type, who would suddenly emerge on the scene, and perhaps outdo even the fanatic, but would equally suddenly vanish into thin air. Yet another type is of those who can better be described as crypto-Muslims. A sort of secret Muslims, claiming to follow the mystic way and scrupulously keeping away from Muslims and Islamic activities.

And finally the small minority of the normal type who came to Islam either through personal search and enquiry or through a chance contact with some ordinary Muslim and being inspired by his clean and simple life. These really are an asset but the traditional Muslim community is neither oriented nor equipped to help them become an active part of the Islamic brotherhood. The sum total thus remains almost negligible. Besides, it must be also accepted that Islam and Muslims have as yet no real contact either with the sensitive masses or the intellectual elite in the European society.

What clearly emerges from this very brief treatment of the background situation is the need to help and prepare the Muslim European community so as to enable it to shoulder its duties and responsibilities. Any plan of work in this regard, demanded a clear laying down of priorities between the immediate and the long-term. Much of the Muslim work nowadays betrays both lack of goal-orientation and priorities.

Equally important is the question of the community's attitude towards its fellow communities. Europe no doubt has a history of prejudice and hostility towards Islam and Muslims, and one could even to this day discover a certain crusade complex in many attitudes. But there is no question of Muslims developing a persecution-complex or any counter-prejudice. The problem with regard to the great mass of people is simply ignorance: not having the right facts. It is ignorance (including its own) that the community and its leadership should try to be concerned rather than the hostility and prejudice, that it generally is hyper-sensitive about. Islam views man as intrinsically righteous: fallible but not a compulsive sinner. To presume any permanent prejudice on the part of the host community would, therefore, be wrong. What the Muslim Europeans need, is to avoid falling into a negative trap and instead develop a conscious and positive attitude of service and sincerity. For, as the blessed Prophet said, Islam is a (sincere) counsel.

Survey

● SAUDI-US RELATIONS ● ANGLICAN TRANSFORMATION

Shaping of Saudi Foreign Policy

After the Beirut killings of Palestinian leaders, anti-American feelings in the Middle East have reached a new, intense pitch. There have been calls for an all-out attack on American interests in the Middle East in places like Kuwait and Saudi Arabia and there has been more talk of using the oil weapon to teach the capitalist imperialists a lesson and force it to reduce its backing for Israel. There is nothing essentially new about these calls to make the U.S.A. unduly worried about its position and influence in the Middle East. What is new are two Saudi pronouncements which could make the Americans sit up a bit.

The first statements was by Saudi Minister of Petroleum and Mineral Resources, Sheikh Ahmad Zaki Yamani to the *Washington Post* reaffirming that Saudi Arabia was willing to make sacrifices in order to contribute towards solving the energy crisis in America but making the proviso that this willingness must be reciprocated by a change in American policy towards Israel and the creation of "the right political atmosphere."

Saudi thinking was also reflected during the visit to Riyadh of General Ahmad Ismail, the Egyptian War Minister and Commander in Chief. The Saudis are reported to have assured Egypt that if the present situation in the Middle East continues as it is, then Saudi Arabia would keep up its present rate of production but would abstain from increasing exports. Further if a war were to break out, export of Saudi crude oil will be stopped at Gulf and Mediterranean terminals.

From what appears now on the surface, America cannot now be sure of pumping out as much Saudi oil as it wants or needs. Previously they could rest smugly in the thought that Faisal spurned any idea of using oil as a leverage in attempting to change American policy. He once said, "It is useless to talk about the use of the oil weapon as an instrument of pressure against the U.S.—it is dangerous even to think of that."

There are now at least three factors making for a change in Saudi attitudes. The first is the fact that present oil output is more than sufficient for Saudi Arabia's internal financial and economic needs. To limit production at this level would mean that the American's would be hurt. Saudi Arabia has therefore realized that it can use oil as a weapon without being adversely effected economically.

Willingness to take this stand must stem from Saudi Arabia's concern for the Palestinians and for the Muslim holy places under Zionist occupation and anxiety over America's unqualified support of Israel. There have been several recent instances of continuing American support. America voted against the UN resolution condemning Israeli action in Beirut and in the Security Council the motion had to be modified in Israel's favour otherwise it would have faced an American veto. In more practical and substantial terms, there was Nixon's undertaking to Golda Meir during her recent visit to Washington to strengthen Israel particularly in military equipment. In addition, the U.S. Congress has appropriated a \$50 million sum and handed it over to the United Israel Appeal to help Soviet Jews settle in occupied territories. America is making the emigration of Soviet Jews a vital issue in the relations between the two countries and a condition for according the Soviet Union "the most favoured nation treatment" so far as trade is concerned. Another indication of the U.S.A.'s position is that the U.S. Congress is being asked to issue 60,000 special American immigrant visas for Jews from 10 Arab countries. (This in some curious way is supposed to affect Saudi Arabia where so far as is known there are no Jews.)

This unqualified American support for Israel is likely to affect a greater change in Saudi's policies especially since Saudi Arabia has been coming in for very bitter criticism from the Palestinians and others who lump America, Israel, Iran and Saudi Arabia in the same category of capitalist imperialists in league with each other. There can

be no question of Saudi Arabia's having dealings with Israel but Saudi policy in the Gulf area especially has been interpreted as a reactionary one supporting western imperialist interests. It is true that Saudi's national interests and its stand against communism has unfortunately coincided with the disquieting policies of Britain, America and Iran. But Saudi Arabia apparently has not shown itself sufficiently cautious, with regard to Iran for example and whatever power or powers are working through her. Instead Saudi Arabia seems to have acquiesced in Iranian action in the Gulf area and King Faisal may be said to be on good terms with the Shah as evidenced by personal messages of congratulations on Iran's New Year's Day. Perhaps this was only a matter of polite protocol but it seems more than this when set against some current Saudi opinion which calls for a more positive Arab attitude towards Iran.

The Soviet Union in particular has been plugging away at what it calls the reactionary policies of the Saudi monarchy and its collusion with the western imperialists. This apparently is mainly for the consumption of the so-called progressives in the Arab world because apart from these condemnations the Soviet Union has been making some discreet moves for better relations with Saudi Arabia which all go to underline the extraordinary virtuosity of Soviet foreign policy. The desired effect has been produced on one side so far. The Arab progressives are in full cry against the Saudis and their likes. King Faisal may have looked upon the burning of the American oil installation in Lebanon following the Beirut killings as a harbinger of things to come within his Kingdom.

All these things induced a slight change in the Saudi position with regard to the United States. It may of course be fanciful to expect any dramatic developments soon. The fact is that Nixon has shown no inclination to change his mind in giving full backing to Israel. A press officer at the State Department speaking after Sheikh Yamani's visit said that obviously access to oil was an important aspect of American policy in the Middle East but added that there were other policy factors involved and important priority had to be given to the search for peace.

In this search for peace and "some kind of lasting settlement between the protagonists", the Americans cannot be expected to impose anything on the Israelis nor can it do anything that can be construed as being pro-Arab. The position so far of maintaining almost unconditional support for Israel and providing all the military and financial assets for strengthening it has been, and most likely would remain, the nucleus of American policy in the Middle East. This has tended to serve Israeli instead of purely American interests. Supporters of this policy assume that Israel is a bulwark of American interests and therefore must be strengthened at all costs; one can thus speak of the ludicrous spectacle of the Israeli tail wagging the American dog.

This would continue to be so under the Nixon administration because of one fact—that the United States Congress is controlled by pro-Israeli democrats. Nixon has had to accept their most raucous demands and cannot offend their pro-Israeli sentiments because it is said he has much domestic legislation that he wants to push through. Also, Americans do not believe that Arabs, including Saudi Arabia, can effect an oil policy that could be used as a political weapon. Even if one country refuses to let the oil flow, there would always be another which would oblige. Even so the United States are not taking any chances and must have the situation constantly under review. This is evidenced by the meeting of American ambassadors from the Middle East, Africa and South East Asia in Tehran last month. The meetings were also attended by Joseph Sisco, American Assistant Secretary of State for Near East Affairs who incidentally was also present at the impressive ceremony in the State Department

at which America handed over the first instalment of \$31 million to the United Israel Appeal.

Perhaps the real significance of the Saudi statements on limiting oil production lies not in its immediate effect on American foreign policy but in the indication it gives that Saudi Arabia is more willing and able to pursue a more imaginative foreign policy. This is likely to find a response from some American officials (of whom unhappily there are not many) who have called for a more even-handed American attitude to the Palestinian cause. So far as Saudi Arabia is concerned, the sooner it can rid itself of the taint of being a docile pro-American imperialist ally, the better will be its position in the Middle East.

The Next Archbishop of Canterbury?

For the first time in its history, the Anglican Church has more members abroad than in England, and the expansion rate abroad has been more than four times as great.

This is revealed by a survey entitled "Membership, Manpower and Money in the Anglican Communion" which contains the most complete figures ever produced for the Anglican Church.

In 1972, Anglicans outside England numbered 32.9 millions while the number in England was 32.5 million. After England came the U.S.A. with 6.4 millions followed by West Africa (5.4), Australia (5.1), Uganda (3.2), Canada (2.8), South Africa (1.8), Wales (1.24), New Zealand (1.21), West Indies (1.1), Japan with 150,000 has more Anglicans than the whole of Europe combined with 100,000.

Commenting on the Report, a senior bishop said that it showed great discrepancies between England and the rest of the world. Annual baptisms which totalled over 1 million were 38 per cent English and 62 per cent overseas while confirmations split 24 per cent and 76 per cent respectively. Only 28 per cent of Easter communicants came from England.

On the wealth of the Church, he remarked on "the incredible imbalance between wealth and availability of resources." England and America alone used up 81 per cent of all Anglican money. The bishop said that the figures should not be taken to mean that the position of England in the Anglican Church was fading out but that its role was changing. It was becoming a member of a world team, but still world-wide Anglicans would always look to England for certain things such as spiritual and intellectual resources.

Regarding the changing role of England, the bishop was asked whether perhaps the next Archbishop of Canterbury might be from Africa. The bishop said he would be surprised if this were so, but there were increasing grounds for considering that at some time in the future someone who belonged to the Anglican communion who might not even be English would be considered. "It might happen," he added. "In the future, I suppose, it could be a man or a woman."

Indeed the question of the ordination of women is almost certain to come up at the meeting of the Anglican Consultative Council to be held in Ireland on 17-27 July. Regulations on divorce and marriage which are not uniform or static in the Anglican communion would also be discussed. According to the bishop, polygamy is still widely practised in the Church and poses acute pastoral problems for the Church. Slavery, violence, social justice, mission and evangelism would be some of the other topics on the Council's agenda.

China - agriculture and ideological recitude

When the People's Republic of China decided to have trade and other relations with the running dogs (an unusual phrase nowadays) of American capitalism, it laid itself wide open to charges of revisionism with which crime it still continues to denounce the Soviet Union.

Unhappily for China, the situation of its agri-

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CHINA AGRICULTURE • INDONESIAN TOURISM • GUERRILLAS

cultural production has reached a crisis point and is forcing the party leadership to adopt measures which could strengthen the charges of revisionism and ideological backsliding. The trouble is that for the third successive year poor climatic conditions have seriously undermined the foundation of the Chinese economy, agriculture and, through it, industry. For the first time, "famine" has been used to describe local conditions in many areas and other provinces are said to be "disaster-stricken units".

Some communes have been able to overcome the problems, to achieve self-sufficiency and even surpluses. Tachai is the outstanding example with others like the Holo commune meriting much praise. Their success has been attributed to improved strains of grains, better fertilizer supplies and irrigation but, above all, increased production is put down to the high level of political consciousness generated by the Cultural Revolution.

In many other areas, however, political consciousness and ideological rectitude have not been sufficient to make the peasants work harder and no amount of cajoling to "learn from Tachai", to "implement better Chairman Mao's important instruction 'dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere and never seek hegemony' or to "follow Chairman Mao's teaching 'practise Marxism-Leninism, and not revisionism; unite and don't split; be open and above-board, and don't intrigue and conspire' have brought about the necessary peace and plenty."

So while continuing to insist on intensifying criticism of revisionism, rectifying the style of work and denouncing swindlers like Liu Shao-chi, recourse has been made to policies which would appeal to the interests of individual peasants and which can be described as a climb-down or a falling away from the communist ideal. To take a few examples of what has been happening in different areas and the attempts to justify them ideologically:

In Liaoning Province, a Party branch wrote: "We maintain that as long as the collective economy is given first priority, the commune members' engagement in proper household subsidiary production in (their) spare time and on holidays will benefit the state . . . and is a necessary supplement to the socialist economy."

The *Kirin Daily* newspaper argued that "care should be taken not to criticize a proper diversified economy as a capitalist tendency," adding "nor should we regard those who are heavily engaged in sideline production, and so increasing their income, as pursuing the capitalist role."

The Hunan Provincial Revolutionary Committee, meeting in March to discuss animal husbandry, concluded that "the principle of 'walking on two legs,' that is, collective and private breeding, must also be applied to goats, rabbits, chickens, ducks and geese," and resolved: "We must ensure that the material for rewards stipulated by the state are given out in good time, so as to fully mobilise the commune members' activism."

In Heilungkiang, it was decided to let the masses know earlier how much grain would be reaped and "the extent to which their income will increase and how much they will contribute to the State after working hard this year, thereby further stimulating their enthusiasm."

In Holo, the chairman of the brigade explained the new system of work points and remuneration. Strong or able-bodied men and women get more work points and therefore more pay: "We pay as the State instructs—to each according to his work. Equal work get equal pay. Less work gets less pay. Strength is not everything. Skill also counts in the allocation of work points."

Material rewards are therefore obvious for those willing or able to work harder than some of their fellows and not primarily because of ideological commitment, though the communists would argue that this commitment does make a person more willing and able to work harder. But it is undeniable that more "revisionist" or "capitalist" policies are being adopted. It is not the communist

dictum "to each according to his needs" which is being applied but the less lofty and unequal one "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work". It is a question of pure materialistic incentives.

In reality these policies sound remarkably similar to those adopted after the collapse of the 1958 Great Leap Forward, for which former Head of State Liu Shao-chi was and is being so bitterly denounced. His heresy was to call for the "three freedoms and one guarantee"—extension of private plots, more free enterprise, free markets for the peasants' spare-time output and household production of fixed quantities under contracts with the State.

Ideological tangles and backsliding on this scale cannot detract from the mammoth problem of trying to keep the bellies of more than 700 million people filled. The great problem is and would be for the Party to try to convince the masses that its own ideological rectitude is as sound as it makes it out to be. Perhaps, however, when the reckoning comes it won't be difficult to find another Liu Shao-chi as scapegoat.

Indonesia - revolution through tourism

The Indonesian Government has been given a gold star award by the International Federation of Tourism in Paris for tourist promotion in the country. Total investment on tourism by the end of the First Five Year Plan would be U.S.\$200 million, half of which is being spent on hotel construction and the other half on ancillary facilities and attractions like upkeeping old monuments, restoring temples, building roads, restaurants and developing tourist resorts.

So far only the island of Bali with its reputation for exotic excitements—music and topless dancing girls—and romantic tropical flora has captured the attention of foreign tourists. Now emphasis would be placed on developing other islands for the tourist industry in the attempt to quicken the pace of money-spinning which seems to have become the major preoccupation of the government. The gold star award is meant mainly to encourage this trend since it is certainly not a medal for the best tourist facilities.

There are many signs that the tourist industry is developing very fast. In Jakarta itself there is a hotel building boom. Jakarta's governor, Ali Sadikin, is fully behind the development and was hoping to provide 7,000 hotel rooms by the end of next year. Special tourist facilities—like night clubs and *judi* or gambling establishments—proliferate. The number of prostitutes in the city is now estimated to be more than 5,000 and the government has recently recognised prostitution as a legitimate form of livelihood providing housing and free medical checks to the girls once a week. English classes have also been arranged for the prostitutes to help them communicate with their clients and even beauty contests among them are being promoted.

Tourism is also being taken to remote, simple, unsophisticated villages and this is said to be having a revolutionary effect on the lives of the people. In the Sumatran village of Danau Minjau, for example, a lake has been developed as a nucleus for a tourist resort. The mode of living of the tourists and their requirements have reportedly changed the aspirations and habits of the village folk who had a reputation for simplicity and religious behaviour. Critics of the tourist syndrome thus say that the government has not given adequate thought to the effects of the manner in which it has gone about promoting tourism so far.

The pace of tourism development would certainly increase with the decision to hold the Pacific Area Travel Association (PATA) conference in Jakarta next year. Several international travel agencies have applied to operate in Indonesia and the Holland-American shipping line will soon begin a tour from Singapore to Sumatra, Java and Bali. The French consultants Socié

Centrale pour l'Équipement Touristique, using Tahiti as a model, is to promote various parts of Java, Sumatra and Sulawesi as tourists attractions over the next twenty years.

The attractions of the tourist industry for the government is that it would provide revenue and employment. By the end of the first Five Year Plan tourism expansion is expected to provide jobs for 60,000 persons. On foreign exchange earnings it would take a long time before the Government could offset its capital investment on the industry and pay back the loans it is contracting to do this. However by 1990, the number of tourists visiting Indonesia is expected to be 2.22 millions yielding foreign exchange earnings of U.S.\$213.2 million, the first time that earnings in a year would exceed the initial capital investment.

It would seem that the international companies would stand to gain the most and the quickest from the Indonesian tourist industry which is having and no doubt would continue to have a far from salutary effect particularly on the social life of the country.

Black May for Guerillas?

Fighting between Lebanese Armed Forces and Palestinian guerillas was the heaviest since 1969. About thirty people were killed and more than 100 wounded in the fighting on the outskirts of Beirut in which mortars, tanks, armoured cars and bazookas were used. In addition rockets were fired at the United States Ambassador's residence reflecting the strong anti-American feeling which is prevailing particularly in Palestinian quarters.

The fighting began when guerillas captured two Lebanese soldiers. The army responded by setting up check-points at the entrance to a Palestinian camp and demanded the release of the two soldiers. Negotiations were in progress, but fighting broke out and quickly spread to other areas. The serious clashes were brought to a temporary halt after a meeting between Dr. Amin al-Hafiz, the new Lebanese Prime Minister, and Yasser Arafat. They agreed to pull back forces to lines occupied before the clashes.

On the face of it, the guerillas are clearly to be blamed for what could have escalated quite easily into a Black May for them similar to the Black September events which brought about their liquidation in Jordan. This would be exactly what the Israelis want. One of the purposes of their raids into Lebanon was to bring pressure on the Lebanese government to take a harder line against the Palestinians. Up to now the powers would have apparently been quite content to allow the guerillas to stay in Lebanon presumably because surveillance could more easily be maintained over them. Now the Palestinians would not be able to sit easily even in their refugee camps.

It is not easy to discount the possibility of a conspiracy, in which Israel is having a hand, designed to force a showdown with the guerillas. But it seems correct to say that the guerillas by their indiscipline have played right into the trap. Supporters of the Palestinians are now beginning to say that there is hardly any discipline in the liberation movement and too much talk of revolution in such a way as to downgrade genuine *fidai* action. Moreover, there is too much readiness, even eagerness, to hit at 'soft' targets like the Lebanese army for example rather than to take up the real burden of liberation.

The group mentioned as being responsible for starting this latest outbreak of hostilities is the Left-wing Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine. With Israeli strategy clear as it is to provoke a showdown against the Palestinians it would seem foolhardy for these leftist guerillas to provide the Lebanese government with any *casus belli*. One important thing which the fighting indicates is that the guerillas have not reflected deeply enough or at all on the implications of the Israeli raid against them and therefore have not come up with any strategy capable of meeting the challenge placed before them.

Survey BANGLADESH COLLABORATORS • PRAYER TROUBLE

Who are the Collaborators?

In the last issue was published a letter from a Bengali "East Pakistani" stranded in the Middle East. Bangladesh has no place for him because he had collaborated to preserve the integrity of his country. But he has no place also in Pakistan which refuses even to give him a passport. Another letter received last week was from a "so-called Bengali Muslim" scientist in America. He wants to go back, but is worried because he had not sympathised with the Bangladesh Crusade.

The two, however, represent only a fringe of the big agony. The number of East Pakistanis outside both Bangladesh and Pakistan leading a fugitive life in the Middle East, Europe and elsewhere is quite considerable. Besides former politicians, there are teachers, lawyers, journalists and even former diplomats who badly need shelter and succour but both the European and Middle East Muslim countries have been unwilling to grant even political asylum. There is no international agency whether Muslim or other which is ready even to know about them. Yet compared to the problem of those inside Bangladesh, this too is a minor fraction.

In October last year the authorities held 41,000 persons as collaborators; the unofficial estimates being many times higher. Last month the Bangladesh Home Minister reported that till then only 12,000 cases had been instituted. Of these 6,000 were charge-sheeted but only 5,000 cases placed before the Special Tribunals which had so far disposed of 592 cases. This primitivestateofjustice was blamed on a "dearth of magistrates" and the cases now are to be reviewed by district committees compromising the police superintendent, public prosecutor and the local M.P. It is notable that 279, i.e. nearly half of those actually tried were acquitted. An eloquent testimony to the political nature of the whole collaborator drama, but surprisingly such a massive violation of Human Rights has not merited the attention either of Amnesty International or International Commission of Jurists.

Be that as it may, perhaps the imprisoned collaborators are a luckier lot as compared to their families and the very large body of the fugitive collaborators within Bangladesh. These ordinary political workers, lawyers, teachers, journalists and their families stand reduced to complete destitution.

The London based Society for Defence of Human Rights (in Bangladesh) while inviting Pakistan's attention to her obligations to those who had fought shoulder to shoulder with Army has appealed to the Pakistan president also to take up the collaborators Human Rights issue. One hopes that they do so, but it is their disconcert that seemed so apparent. The collaborator law is based on the claim that Bangladesh came into a *de jure* existence on 25/26 March 1971 when independence is said to have been declared. Sheikh Mujib's plea before the Yahya Khan's tribunal which tried him for "waging war against Pakistan" is a categorical and unequivocal contradiction of this (*Impact* Vol 2 : 13).

The publication of the trial proceedings would have demolished the whole basis of the collaborator law. Since Pakistan refuses to do so, this gives rise to the suspicion of collaboration between the two regimes. Recently the wife of Bangladesh Foreign Minister who is related to a ruling Peoples Party official in Sind is understood to have visited Pakistan. Not that she should not have been allowed, but obviously she did not travel on a Bangladesh passport. This suggested both duplicity and collaboration.

The simple question is why cannot the Bengali Muslims be allowed to leave or live in Pakistan or Bangladesh like simple and ordinary human beings.

Prayer and production line

The prospect of dismissal which an employee of a Ford's factory here at Langley, Buckinghamshire, faces because he leaves the assembly line to pray, underlines issues which are not normally associated with industrial relations in this country.

Mr. Mohammed Rafique, 30, who became a Muslim two months ago was found by his personnel officer kneeling on his prayer mat in a corner of the shop floor. He was warned that he would be sacked if it happened again since, according to a Ford spokesman, "every time he (Rafique) leaves the assembly line another man must relieve him" adding, "We just cannot work this way".

The management just cannot understand that Mr. Rafique's prayers are compulsory at certain times of the day. In fact as he has pointed out to them it only takes five minutes at a time. But this apparently is too much. The management has pointed out that other workers of the same faith do not think that keeping a rigid prayer timetable is necessary. This in itself is a serious indictment against the other Muslim workers and an eloquent commendation (though not intended) of Mr. Rafique's firmness of faith and his single-mindedness of purpose.

The Ford spokesman has further advised Mr. Rafique that he should contact a religious leader who, to be sure, would give him dispensation. This of course shows a gross ignorance of the Muslim religion. One need hardly point out that there is no priesthood in Islam and therefore no one who could grant 'dispensation', relief or excuse from the injunctions of Islam, especially those which are binding and compulsory. This absence of a priesthood implies a great stress on personal responsibility and this is what Mr. Rafique has been exercising. The management would do well to cultivate this particular character trait and ultimately they would find that it might do their production no end of good. Incidentally, one wonders what the management does when a worker has to abandon the assembly line, say, to answer a call of nature.

people

Faruk al Kaddumi alias Abu al-Lutf, new Chief of political dept. of PLO, succeeds Yusuf Al Najjar assassinated in Beirut. Life imprisonment to former East Pak. Min. Obaidullah Majumdar for "collaboration". Ahmad Abu Zayd and Ali Dunqula new members of Socialist Union Committee of Sudan. Miss Bernadette Devlin, 26, Independent MP for Mid Ulster married Michael McAlaskey, 24, a school master. Pir Ali M. Rashidi, journalist with all regimes, former amb. appointed Adviser in Pak. Inf. Min. Mother Teresa, founder "Missionaries of Charity" given American Templeton Foundation £34,000 prize by Prince Philip. Stane Dolants, 48, named to succeed Pres. Tito as Yugoslav C.P. Leader. French novelist, Andre Malraux in Dacca: "to help establish a government structure in Bangladesh". Francois Mitterand, French Socialist Party leader fined £165 for falsely attributing to de Gaulle's nephew Michel Cailliau the remark that "I must get rid of all the Jews and all the Freemasons". Mehdi Bennouna, President of the Moroccan News Agency elected first Chairman, IINA—International Islamic News Agency. 1972 Lenin Peace Prize to Brezhnev, Pres. Allende, James Aldridge British author and Eurique Pastorine Pres. WFTU. A. K. Faizul Huq son of Sher-e-Bang Fazlul Huq imprisoned in Bangladesh as collaborator released on mercy petition. Peter Nieswand, Rhodesian journalist acquitted but deported to Britain.

DIPLOMATS

Hung Ming-ta new Chinese amb. to Maldives. Dr. Amin Al-Hafiz new Lebanese Prime Minister. Prof. Baiquni new Director General, BATAN, Indonesian Atomic Energy Agency. M. Bernucci, Italian amb. in Baghdad transferred to Malta. Mihai Levente, new Romanian ambassador to Kuwait. Pres. Amin accepted resignation of his brother-in-law FM Kibedi. Libyan FM Mansoor Rashid Kikhiya resigned. M. A. H. Ishani, a senior Pakistan movement politician appointed Pak. amb. in Kabul. Donald Maitland, head of PM Heath's information office to head British delegation to UN in September. Anwarul Huque, new Bangladesh amb. to Senegal, Gambia and Mali. Abd-as-Satar ad-duri, Iraq's first amb. to Cuba.

DELEGATIONS

Albanian Trade to China. Muslim World League delegation to North Africa and Gulf—no date fixed. French Communist Party to Baghdad. Tunisian Press to Ankara. Lebanese Communist Party to Baghdad. Bangladesh Parliamentary to West Africa. Japanese Muslim Association to Saudi Arabia. Sudanese economic to Czechoslovakia. Chinese Trade to W. Germany. Philippine Economic to China. Yugoslav Parliamentary to Burma and Indonesia. Chinese Friendship to Japan. Pakistan Art Troupe to N. Korea. Sudanese Industrial to China. Chinese Gymnasts to Egypt, Libya, Nigeria etc. Somaliese Trade to China. Chinese Medical to Mali. Congolese Parliamentary to Romania. Chinese Insurance to Albania. Indian Communists to Berlin. Albanian Trade Union to Syria. Oman Liberation Front in Croatia. Canadian Petroleum and Medical to China. Chinese Banking and Insurance to Albania, Algeria, Lebanon and Britain. Canadian Petroleum to China. Algerian Labour Ministry to East Germany. Kurdistan Students from Baghdad to Berlin and East Europe. Soviet Friendship to Ghana. Somali Trade to Pakistan and China. Iranian Economic to Romania.

VISITS

Gen. Ismail Ali, Egyptian War Min. to Saudi Arabia. Prince Mawlay Abdullah of Morocco to Kuwait. Muhammad al-Awadi, Saudi Min. of Foreign Trade in Casablanca. Manu-chehr Shahqoli, Iranian Health Min. in Amman. Pres. Tombalbaye of Chad in Saudi Arabia, Baghdad and Gulf. Pres. Traore of Mali to Libya. Diaramouna Soumare, Mauritanian Finance Minister in Casablanca. Japanese Foreign Trade Min. to Saudi Arabia. Shaykh Muhammad Mahmud Sawwaf of the Muslim World League to East Africa to acquaint himself with the conditions of Muslims there and to emphasise Islamic solidarity. King Faysal to France. Bangladesh Finance Minister Tajuddin to Manila. Saudi FM, Omar Sakkaf to West Europe. Nigerian FM, Dr. Arikpo to China, Pakistan, etc. Burmese Pres. Ne Win to Thailand. Tunisian FM Masmudi to Yugoslavia. Prof. William Ralph of Columbia University to Saudi Arabia to conduct a field study of Islamic places. Dr. Nizar Sabbagh, Pres. of Muslim Students Association in Spain to Saudi Arabia for meeting with Minister of Education. Iraqi Edn. Min. Dr. Jewari to Pakistan. British MP, Peter Shore to Israel. Bangladesh Commerce Min. M. R. Siddiqui to UK and Europe. Gen. Yakubo Gowar to UK. Algerian Information Minister to Paris. Tun Abdur Razak meeting with Pres. Suharto in Egyptian Minister of Power and Khalid Mohiuddin Gen.-Sec. Egyptian Peace Counsel to Prague. British Education Secretary, Mrs. Thatcher, to Kuwait. Pakistan's Health Minister to Jordan. Somali FM Omar Ghalib to Somalia. Singapore PM to Japan. US Treasury Under-Secretary Volcker to India. Dr. Kissinger to Moscow.

DIED

Saudi Prince Abdullah Ibn Muhammad Abdul Rahman, 58. Gen. Fuad Chehab, 72, Lebanese Pres. 1958-64, on 25 April. Kemal Tahir, 63, Turkish novelist on 21 April. Sir Ambrose Dundas 74, last British governor of NWFP. Saleh Alulaqi, S. Yemen FM and 21 senior diplomats in air crash on 1 May. Sir Frederick Burrows, 85, last governor of Bengal on 20 April.

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Russian Reshuffle From Dialectical to Pure Materialism

Ibn Nizam

At the end of a two-day plenum in Moscow on 27 April, the CPSU Central Committee "having heard and discussed Leonid Brezhnev's report" said it "unreservedly approves the work done by the Politburo to ensure a lasting peace throughout the world and reliable security for the Soviet people". The plenum "expressed full agreement with the analysis of the international situation made in the report of General Secretary", Brezhnev. The speakers at the meeting "noted the great personal contribution made by Leonid Brezhnev" for implementing the Soviet peace programme. This over-statement of approval and confidence in Brezhnev suggested that there did exist a certain amount of doubt if not a definite opposition as to the wisdom of shifting from the dialectical to a pure materialism—what the Chinese termed revisionism.

The plenum adopted its resolution unanimously. But before it did so, it had pensioned off two of the Politburo members Petr Shelest and Gennadiy Veronov; promoted Yuriy Andropov from candidate membership to a full membership; elected Andrey Gromyko and Andrey Grechko as Politburo members; and brought in Grigoriy Romanov, first Secretary of the Leningrad Party as a Candidate Member.

Both Shelest and Voronov were known as critics of Brezhnev. In May 1972 when Nixon was about to visit the USSR Shelest was relieved of his post as the First Secretary of the Central Committee of Ukraine and brought to Moscow as Deputy Premier. He had recently been criticised by the magazine *Partiynaya Zhizn* for "nationalism, republican smugness and non-Marxist views". Shelest's book "Our Soviet Ukraine" published in 1970 came in recently for strong criticism, and he is regarded to have been the hawk in the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. Earlier, Mazhavanadze, a former Secretary of the Central Committee of Georgia and a Candidate Member for Politburo had also been dismissed and retired.

It is, however, not the retirements rather than the promotions which seem to have caused surprise even in East Europe. Gromyko and Grechko, the Foreign and Defence Ministers, respectively were elected to Politburo without passing through the intermediate stage of candidate membership. Andropov, is the Chairman of the State Security Committee (KGB) and it is after a long time that a Security Chief and a Foreign Minister have been given Politburo membership. Grechko's promotion too is departure from a tradition since Stalin of not taking in a Defence Minister in Politburo.

These promotions do signify a desire to reward and recognise the services of the Defence, Foreign Affairs and Security Chiefs, but their role in protecting and implementing the new Soviet policy of controlled detente would appear to be no less important. Brezhnev travels to West Germany this month and to the U.S. in June. This is to be followed by an all Europe security conference. Such a strengthening of his position in the Party set-up seemed no doubt essential if the current peace offensive was to continue uninterrupted.

The 24th CPSU Congress had instructed "the CPSU's Central Committee to continue to carry out consistently in practice the principles of peaceful co-existence and to widen the mutually advantageous ties with capitalist countries". The Congress stated: "The Soviet Union is ready to develop relations with the U.S.A. too, bearing in mind that this meets the interests of both the Soviet and American peoples and the interests of general peace". As for the "aggressive actions of the U.S.A. and . . . a policy of force", it said, "the Soviet Union will always come out resolutely against it".

Since then and since President Nixon's visit to Moscow last year, a number of agreements have been signed with the U.S.A. on economic

Yuriy Andropov: (b. 1914). Graduated from the Young Communist League to the Party in 1944. Ambassador in Hungary 1953-57; from 1957 head of a department in the CPSU Central Committee and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Since 1967 Chairman of the State Security Committee. Also a Deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Andrey Gromyko: (b. 1909). Ph.D. in Economics. From 1936 worked at the Economic Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences. In diplomatic service since 1939; Soviet Ambassador to the USA, permanent USSR representative at the UN Security Council, Deputy Foreign Minister of the USSR and Soviet Ambassador in Great Britain; Foreign Minister since 1957.

Grigoriy Romanov: (b. 1923). Graduated from the Leningrad Ship Building Institute; served in the Soviet Army during World War II. Since 1946 positions in the Party; from 1970 First Secretary of the Leningrad Regional Committee of the CPSU. A Deputy of the Supreme Soviet and Member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Andrey Grechko: (b. 1903). Marshal of the Soviet Union; in the Army since 1919. During World War II commanded a division, a corps, an army and was deputy commander of a front. Later Commander of the Kiev Military District; Soviet Troops in Germany; and Commander-in-Chief of Ground Forces. In 1958, became First Deputy Minister of Defence and Commander-in-Chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact countries. Defence Minister since 1967. A Deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

questions. In Europe too, the post-Czechoslovakian climate has undergone a great favourable change. The signing of treaty between the USSR, Poland and West Germany; the Four-power agreement on West Berlin; the treaty on principles of relations between East and West Germany; and Brezhnev's meeting with Pompidou were part of the anticipated convergence between capitalism and communism.

More people seem now to question the supposed and much publicised diversity of and antagonism between the two systems. They see the two, as merely two situational approaches to the problem of social and economic control of the demos/proletariat and point to the philosophical and intellectual identity between them. That may well be so, but the present keenness to pursue "large-scale, long-term and mutually advantageous" political and economic cooperation is necessitated otherwise too. First, there is the realistic acceptance that the inevitable World Revolution as prescribed in the text book was not really inevitable: either through crude force or through the force of the ideology. The West has been able to demonstrate that the balance in terror, if not in ideological quality was in her favour. Therefore, what is now more sensible for the Empire is to consolidate rather than look forward to any direct territorial expansion. Undoubtedly the goal of imperial conquests could still be pursued, but the erosion in revolutionary zeal and authority, and the resultant economic indiscipline, production inefficiency and a desire for better life made it impractical. The Soviet press itself, from time to time, provides an account of the economic crisis: thefts, frauds, embezzlements. In certain State sectors, these are so well organised that they would even drive away the workers sent by State enterprises.

The sanctity and inviolability of the capitalist democracies in America and West Europe having

been tacitly accepted, the only possible hope for any kind of pro-Russian world socialism now lay in those parts of the Third World which do not lie within any exclusive European or American "ghetto". A socialist revolution can now come only through the traditional colonial channels of aid, trade, diplomatic intrigue and "military interference", where possible.

Strangely, challenge to this came, however, from the fellow Marxist-Leninist China, and the plenum had, therefore, to stress that "the persistent struggle waged by the leadership of the People's Republic of China against the cohesion of the socialist countries and the World Communist movement and against the efforts of peace-loving States and peoples striving for international detente, and the anti-Soviet line of Peking, are detrimental to the cause of peace and international socialism".

Brezhnev speaking to the joint celebration meeting of Politburo, USSR Supreme Soviet and RFSR Supreme Soviet on 21 December 1972 had repudiated the Chinese apprehensions that "the Soviet Union had any territorial and economic claims on China". He mentioned the Chinese refusal to sign a treaty on the non-use against each other of "any type of weapon, including conventional, rocket and nuclear weapons". He asked China to remember the "enormous help given by the Soviet Union in the creation of heavy industry, strengthening defence and training national cadres" and "that the objective interests of the peoples of both our countries" were the same.

But barring the Chinese rivalry and counter-manoeuve, Brezhnev does deserve to congratulate himself for this vote of confidence. He can well look forward to retire in peace and in confidence that the policy of controlled detente may not be abruptly reversed after him.

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In a number of speeches and interviews, Colonel Mu'ammar Qadhafi has spoken about Libya's domestic situation, the future of the Revolution, Libya's role in Arab and world affairs—and in the process has attracted attention and controversy, aroused hopes in some quarters and fear and anxiety in others. Significant parts of these speeches are here documented so that the 'phenomenon' of Qadhafi can better be understood.

Expectations of Libya

The Arab nation expects a great deal from our revolution which represents a great upsurge of civilization (Press Conference, 18 April 1973).

For three years since the revolution you have been following the path of Arab unity, fighting Britain for the sake of Northern Ireland, fighting the United States because of the racial discrimination against black Americans, fighting in the Philippines because of the Muslims there, fighting Israel in Africa, preaching Islam and new principles. You are reviving the mission of Islam. You should preach Islam not only to the Arab world but also in the whole world. . . . The Libyan people, who number barely two million and who have been unknown for years, are now known by many peoples in the world. They not only know the Libyan people but also place great hopes in them. . . . Europe, France, Spain, Italy, Germany, the Scandinavian countries, Malta and Cyprus, all pin their great hopes on the friendship of the Libyan Arab Republic. Friendship with the Libyan Arab Republic is considered the real key to the Arab homeland. It is the friendship which is desired. . . . The entire world and the Arabs pin their hopes on the Libyan people, who are leading Arab unity, waging the battle of liberation, advocating socialism and Islam and supporting the oppressed people.

There is really no more progressive state—more progressive than the East and the West—than the Libyan Arab Republic. Your (Libyans') progressiveness and popularity are out of this world. They exist neither in Korea, Russia nor China. (Prophet's Birthday Address, 15 April 1973).

Cultural Revolution

You must build yourselves up first. . . . You will not be able to do anything abroad unless you are strong at home and know yourselves at home. . . .

In the name of freedom, democracy and consultation, we have been amiss even in regard to revolutionary incentives.

Some sick people speak of freedom of expression, freedom and democracy. . . . and say: We do not want criminal investigation or Intelligence. . . . Intelligence exists in every state of the world. Even Sayyidina Muhammad had his Intelligence. Intelligence has nothing to do with democracy, freedom or consultation. I have reduced the military Intelligence to a few whose job is surveillance. Because people see them they start talking about military Intelligence.

There is a new disease these days. Everyone wants to continue his studies in the United States. I stopped this for a while but then said: Let them go to hell. . . . Go out and continue your studies. After a few years bring back American wives. They use the pretext of studies to evade their responsibility and duties. . . . In the name of freedom and democracy, we cannot send a policeman to them who cannot read or write and put them in prison.

There are people in prison because they plotted against the revolution. Plotting against the revolution means plotting against the people. They were beaten up in prison because they plotted against the revolution. They deserve more than this. Despite this we announced that there were beatings in the prison and an investigation had to be conducted. . . . but the Arab Socialist Union national congress refused to have the Free Officers

brought to trial because they beat up enemies of the revolution. We and nobody else announced this fact. We could have kept silent and said that nothing of this sort had happened. But our conscience does not permit this because there is a revolution here I cannot use tyrannical and dictatorial methods.

The Five Points

1. We must suspend all the laws which are now in operation and revolutionary action will continue by enforcing the penalties and the measures. . . . All the measures which are taken cannot be contested by legal terms. . . . This does not in any way mean that people should start to fear for their life or security. We are Muslims and rule by the Islamic Shari'ah and under the shadow of God's Shari'ah we cannot in any way administer injustice to anyone.

2. The country must be purged of all sick people. For the past three years we have arrested nobody who opposed the people. . . . I prohibited the arrest of those people who, in one way or another, were plotting against the people, against the revolutionary transformation and against the cause of the revolution. . . .

According to the principles of democracy in today's world, the minority should submit to the will of the majority. This is a principle of democracy in this age. If someone wants to philosophize, he must shut up when he faces the principle which has been established by modern democracy.

I therefore tell you, anyone who talks to me about communism, Marx and atheism we will put in prison. If I find that any member of the Muslim Brotherhood or the Islamic Liberation Party carries out secret activities, I will consider this to be subversive activity. . . .

3. We will distribute arms to the masses. . . . This is a new and strange experiment. Others who are afraid of their people arm their armies and the police. Anyone who is opposed to the people's revolution will not be given arms. Indeed arms will be directed at his breast. . . .

4. Point four is the. . . administrative revolution. Any slanderer, anyone who offers a bribe, should expect a (beating) from any ordinary person or citizen in the street. . . . Even if we have to remain a month or two or a year without offices and without government work, it is not important.

5. We must enter into a cultural revolution to refute and destroy all misleading books, imported books, books which have made youth insane and sick. . . . We must reject every misleading idea and uphold the true idea stemming from God's Book. If God's Book, if the Qur'an was wrong, we would follow the wrong path. . . .

We must trample under our feet any one who opposes Arab unity. We must trample under our feet anyone who opposes socialism. We must crush under our feet anyone who opposes the freedom of the Libyan people—the real freedom of the toiling masses. We will trample under our feet anyone who opposes the agricultural revolution. We will trample under our feet anyone who opposes the provision of all services to the masses in every place, no matter how distant.

There will no longer be courtesy. I want no pampering or forgiving of some people. I have allowed three years of forgiveness, reason and overlooking things. The revolution must become disciplinarian. The Libyan revolution is not a simple event which will tolerate its own destruction. (Prophet's Birthday Address, 15 April)

The real Revolution

The real revolution only began today brothers. What happened before was only a prelude and an inlet. The real revolution is the revolution started by the masses this morning. Accordingly, every village, town, college, factory and school must form popular committees under the control of the masses to fulfil the five points we announced yesterday in the name of the people.

The aim is to wage a cultural battle to destroy the imported literature and to destroy the reactionary ideas, whether Eastern or Western, which are

Qadhafi and the Libyan Revolution

Impact Report



The Revolution: "from leadership to people" as seen by *Al Fajr al Jadid*, the official Libyan daily

rotten and alien.

Great people, tear up all the imported books which do not express Arabism, Islam, socialism and progress—the socialism which emanates from the Qur'an not the misleading socialism which is not socialism. Down with the rotten capitalist ideology and the destructive communist ideology. People, destroy all libraries and bookshops from which the real light does not shine. . . . Destroy the libraries which are the sources of darkness and dirt, the dirt of imported, reactionary, capitalist and Jewish-communist ideology. Destroy everything except what is genuine, what unifies the people and what pleases God.

As for the administrative battle, trample under your feet any bourgeois who closes the doors in your face and does not wish to meet your needs but seeks to live as a parasite at your expense. Destroy and trample him under your feet forever.

There is no room among us for any partisan who exploits Islam and wishes to dominate the masses of the people by deceiving them through Islam.

Henceforth, there will be no place among us for any partisan, putrid capitalist, reactionary or psychopath who wants to mislead the masses with his disease and to spit his venom among the healthy masses. Henceforth, there will be no place among us for a hypocrite, an opportunist, a regionalist, a secessionist, or for a putrid partisan.

The Revolution Command Council is leading the popular revolution today. The armed forces will be the shield which will protect the scene in which the masses will forge ahead to achieve real popular authority, to lead themselves, and to make their better future, God willing. All freedom is for the people.

(Speech to Mass Rally outside RCC HQ, 16 April 1973)

Libyan Defence

(It) is naturally a disgrace before the world that your forces should buy arms and then beg for engineers, technicians. . . . Your armed forces are still at half strength. There are no soldiers. We made announcements but none came to be inducted.

If you want to defend your country there should be conscription. We have Mirage planes, the

biggest air force in North Africa and the most modern planes, but these have no pilots . . . At some time all studies will be suspended in all schools and institutions, particularly in universities, because all of us must be trained . . . The 20,000 or 30,000 regular soldiers must be increased to 500,000 regular soldiers, so you can fight and protect your country. You shout Arabism, Arabism; unity, unity; Islam, Islam; but Islam is in danger. (Speech to Libyan University students, 5 March 1973)

Palestine and the Fida'iyin

Where is the Palestine Resistance today? The Palestine Resistance today does not exist. There exist radios without a Resistance. The Resistance has been finished. The Arabs have finished it in cooperation with Israel . . . The Palestinians are fighting continuously but they are helpless. They have been helpless since 1948. They were slaughtered in Jordan. The Libyan Arab Republic called an urgent summit conference to prevent the slaughter of the Palestine Resistance in Jordan. But the Arab regimes wavered and after the Jordan massacre, the Palestine Resistance was buried.

The Palestine Resistance was then banned in the other fronts. There was not a single place on the border of occupied Palestine from which the Palestine Resistance could launch its attacks. The thing being said over the radios and in Arab conferences are lies. The Palestine Resistance, in plain language, is banned, non-existent and exterminated . . . Henceforth the Libyan Arab Republic is not to be blamed after it has volunteered its sons who spent more than one year at the front waiting for the opportunity to take action against Israel. (Prophet's Birthday Address, 15 April 1973)

The question of liberating Palestine and the return of its people is no longer in the minds of Arab rulers. As far as they are concerned the Palestine problem is finished. You notice how talk about Palestine, the Palestinian people and the return has shifted to talking about the rights of the Palestinian people, i.e., the rights of Palestinians as refugees. Even the word Palestine is being dropped . . . Refugees' rights have been interpreted as those of Jewish refugees.

The Palestinian people's position is similar to the person whose property has been nationalized and who is claiming compensation.

We believe that all the (major powers) are exerting pressure to deprive the Arabs of their arms by involving them in a losing battle so that surrender and pacts will be imposed. Recognition of the Zionist entity will also be imposed as soon as the arms of Egypt and Syria are destroyed in a place remote from enemy territory, either on the Golan Heights or in the sands of the Sinai.

Both America and Russia are conspiring against the future of the Arab area. While the USA generously gives our enemy its Phantom aircraft, other kinds of weapons and money, Russia provides him with manpower through the immigration of Russian Jews.

We say frankly that if Egypt falls there is no one else capable of thwarting the Zionists all along the North African coast. We are a small people and have an even smaller army. We cannot do it, but we will certainly not surrender. We shall all fall martyrs. But this will not solve the problem. There is not a single major power in North Africa capable of repelling the danger. Consequently, if Egypt falls, all North Africa will subsequently fall. Orders from Tel Aviv will then be carried out in Mauritania. If Syria falls the whole northern area will fall. Then Israel would invade Jordan at any time and reach Medina and occupy the whole Arabian peninsula. (Address to Arab intellectuals, 6 March 1973)

Asked whether as a military man, he believed that the Egyptian forces could cross the Suez Canal, Qaddafi said: Attack across the Suez Canal would be a strategic mistake militarily. (From Lebanese *al-Bayraq* interview 9 February 1973)

Arab Nationalism and Unity

For the sake of Arab unity, I do not mind even if a civil war breaks out and lasts 60 years. (Prophet's Birthday Speech, 15 April)

The question of Arab nationalism is overwhelming and will make this nation unite even though there may be contradictions. There is no retreat . . . from this Arab unity. Arab unity even by iron and fire and civil war. Arab unity is something serious which will change history, the march and the map. We can put up with all misfortunes under it. By God, we will accept civil war for the sake of Arab unity . . . (To Libyan University Students, 5 March 1973)

Arab situation and regimes, and The Federation

It seems that Arab reality is at a low ebb. With the exception of Libyan Arab Republic, the rest of the Arab nation is a stagnant pool.

We know that Arab countries and foreign countries in the Third World follow many methods which we do not apply. There the Arab states regarding which little or nothing is said abroad whose prisons are full. Oppression is exercised secretly.

The method of the Arab police regimes is a method we reject. I do not accept it. I do not approve of imprisoning people secretly nor do I take away some without a warrant or break someone's neck and say that he fell over the wall. (Prophet's Birthday Address, 15 April 1973)

Some Arab regimes stage political revolutions, but then turned them into personality cults. The first mistakes these movements committed is that they closed themselves in because they claimed that those who stage the coup were the best of people.

Once the condition under which their movement was formed came to an end, they became afraid of opening the doors because the new revolution was considered foreign.

Several Arab people have been fettered, and they still are, because they have been afraid of openness. This nation keeps churning out talk continuously. (Libyan University, 5 March 1973)

We (Libya) constitute a bridge which connects the Arab East with the Maghreb. We reject narrow regional groupings. No unity is genuine unless it is comprehensive and extends from the Ocean to the Gulf.

It is not true (that the Federation has been exposed to a setback). The Federation will take shape in time. (*Al Bayraq* interview, 9 February)

Islam

Do not belittle this message (of Islam). Do not belittle this responsibility. You can achieve the aspirations of the Arab nation. You can then make this nation resume its role in the civilization of mankind if you believe, return to the course of the pioneers of Islam; and become like our fathers and forefathers in the beginning of Islam, who turned from warring small tribes into a great, mighty power which invaded the world from the Sind to the Atlantic Ocean and built beacons of knowledge in Europe, which then lived in darkness. (Prophet's Birthday Address, 15 April 1973)

We refuse to allow Islam, which is a world religion, to be turned into cells and into secret work in the dark. In addition, we totally repudiate the talk about the Muslim Brotherhood's influence (in Libya). We have a law providing for the execution of any partisan.

Islam's vision of divinity covers all religions regardless of whether the adherents followed the Prophet or some other prophet. There is no contradiction between nationalism and religion.

On the reported transformation of churches into mosques in Tripoli, Qadhafi said: The truth

is that there is not a single Christian in Tripoli. The churches belonged to the colonialist Italians and the other foreigners whom we have expelled. Thus the churches remained without worshippers. Some of the churches were turned into schools and the churches without worshippers were used for the good of the Libyan people. (Cairo ASU Seminar, 8 February 1973)

Nasirism

Jamal Abd an-Nasir's struggle brought about an era in the history of the Arab nation full of methods, views, battles and results. Nasirism now forms a stage of our history. Abd an-Nasir's era in Arab history has been a rich experience in which positive and negative things and successes and setbacks interacted. For this reason, it has been an integral experience providing us with lessons and examples which stressed the greatness of the experience.

If we look upon Nasirism in this perspective, then we shall not err. Classifying people as Nasirists and non-Nasirists and saying which of the two groups should dominate the other are things which have nothing to do with Nasirism. Nasirism is a historic movement which put landmarks on the road. We can be guided by these landmarks. The Nasirist era was an era rich with struggle for socialism, unity, positive neutrality and nationalism. (Cairo ASU Seminar, 8 February 1973)

Jamal Abd an-Nasir tried hard until he burnt out. He tried hard to make the masses from the Gulf to the Ocean, masses who had no faith in their abilities at the time, believe in themselves and shoulder their responsibilities. But the nature of the stage through which we are passing is such that the harder he tried to make them believe in themselves the more they clung to his person. This is a fact that Jamal Abd an-Nasir himself realized. (Libyan University, 5 March 1973)

Self Portrait

Personally, I cannot deceive the people. We (are) speaking on the great occasion of the birth and death of the prophet of truth and guidance. Therefore we must speak the truth and we must say things which will guide and not mislead the people.

Most of the Arab rulers and governments have made a practice of misleading the masses . . . They addressed themselves to the emotions of the masses and the masses applauded the rulers. In the end, the masses fell into the trap.

I personally cannot be held responsible for any pan-Arab failure. Should the Arabs fail again and suffer a calamity. God forbid, I do not want to be among the defeated leaders. This is because I have nothing to do with any defeat. Should the Arabs join in a losing battle, a battle in the planning of which we have not participated, and our views on it have not been heard, I personally cannot be one of the Arab leaders defeated by Israel.

My conscience does not permit me to exercise any methods which I do not make public and believe in. If I had such an intention, I would have not carried out this revolution. If I were to exercise a method which I did not make public, then there would be no revolution. There would be treason and I would be a traitor . . . If we were traitors, we would not have risked our lives year after year to achieve the aspirations of the Libyan people.

We cannot accept responsibility for a revolution which is in danger because of reasons beyond my control. If it was threatened by me I could accept that responsibility, but when it is threatened from other directions I must announce this so that I will not be blamed. (Prophet's Birthday Address, 15 April)

I want the people to rule themselves. Come and tell me . . . we do not need you any longer. I am prepared to go at any moment. God willing, in six month's time I will divorce (myself) from politics . . . the politics of Arabs, of hypocrisy and of charlatany. (Libya University, 5 March 1973)

"The Far West for the Arabs is like one wing of a gigantic butterfly, *al-Maghrib* as it is called in Arabic. The *Mashriq* or the East makes up the other wing, while the Nile valley forms its body. This western wing long ago lost a large piece from its ancient whole, while the rest of it was trimmed of some of its beauty under the attack of predatory enemies. The lost piece is called Spain, or *al-Andalus* as the Arabs called it. They also called it "Paradise Lost," *al-Firdaws al-Mafqud*. This lost land has exercised an undying fascination over the mind of the North African Arab and even in the Western mind. The fascination reached Europe though in a twisted form, and this is the image received vaguely by the American mind, in both North and South."

THE PARADISE LOST

Prof. T. B Irving's brief historical survey on the rise and fall of the Spanish paradise has many lessons to draw upon by the contemporary Muslim societies.

The *Firdaws al-Mafqud*, like most dreams of the past, is interpreted through the hopes and fears of the dreamers. The European view has prevailed generally, in the twisted form engendered by its imperialism and missionary zeal. Their power prevailed until the second World War, and now it must pass if the Arab world is not to fall a victim of these same illusions. Since the middle ages of western Europe, the world of Islam has been viewed as a hostile area whose interpretation has been left to Christian missionaries and more recently to social scientists who may be Christian, Jewish, or Marxist. Their attitude has been anything but scholarly or scientific, but responds rather to imperial or ideological interest whose bias and vocabulary has subtly affected the whole Western approach to this area. This is seen in our textbooks where our students must still be trained

and also in our newspapers which reach the general public: news from the Middle East is less reliable than is news from Japan or India, and only Soviet Russia suffers from a similar prejudice.

The chief difficulty in understanding the Arab or Islamic era in Spanish history results from a confusion in terminology plus a careless use of Arabic. Yet though it lasted for nine centuries, this period divides into three clear segments: the Umayyad or pure Arab period (711-1030); the disruption of Arab rule that followed (1030-1231); and finally, the decline and expulsion of both the Muslims and the Jews (1231-1610). The Arabs arrived in Spain in 711, only eighty years after the death of Muhammad, and so they could draw upon the experience of the initial commonwealth which the Prophet had established at Madina, but which was soon overlaid with military considerations as well as Persian, Byzantine and Roman bureaucracy which the Arabs encountered in Iraq, Syria, Egypt and within Spain herself.

The Umayyad or Arab period likewise divides into three sub-periods: first, the colony, to speak in contemporary terms, when Spain was administered directly under the Umayyad caliphate with its seat in Damascus, and its administrative centre for the western Mediterranean in Qayrawan, the first Arab capital of the Maghrib or western province in what we know as Tunisia. This colony lasted from 711 till 756, or only 45 years, for the Umayyad caliphate fell in 750 to the Abbasids, and the shock waves of that revolution reached Spain six years later. This period was characterized by rivalry among the governors, and displays the Arabs' tendency to tribal anarchy; in this it reminds us too of the civil wars in Peru following the Spanish conquest of that country in the XVI century.

Then came the independent Amirate, which was established by the great ruler 'Abdurrahman I ad-Dakhil or 'The Newcomer' (756-788). When the 'Abbasids killed off the Umayyad princes, he was able to flee to Morocco to the Berber tribe to which his mother belonged; from there he passed to Spain, where he put down a civil war over the governorship and set up his own regime. He had been trained as a possible caliph by his grandfather in Syria, and his thirty years reign was one of the few periods of real prosperity which a united Spain has ever enjoyed. Umayyad rule was based on Byzantine precedents which had been observed and adopted in Syria and Egypt by the conquering Arabs.

This amirate lasted until 929. Under 'Abdurrahman II (822-852) some Persian influence appeared with Ziryab the singer; but this was cultural more than political, and affected customs like music and manners. Nevertheless it shows how Spain enjoyed broad contacts with the world during the otherwise dark Middle Ages of western Europe. Spanish Islam was cosmopolitan and embraced the native Spaniard as well as the immigrant; even Christians spoke Arabic and were called *Mustarabun* or 'would-be' Arabs (*Mozárabes* in Spanish).

In the year 929, 'Abdurrahman III an-Nasir bi-Liah (or 'Victorious through God') (912-961) proclaimed the Umayyad caliphate of Córdoba. Up till then, the Spanish Umayyads had respected even 'Abbasid claims to universal rule; but by then there were rival claimants, notably the Fatimid dynasty in Tunisia founded in 909. Under the third 'Abdurrahman, there was glory; but dictatorship appeared under his grandson and the ambitious minister Mansur (Almanzor in Spanish texts) who brought down the Umayyad dynasty just as Mussolini ruined the house of Savoy. A century after this caliphate had been proclaimed, in 1030, the city council of Córdoba, wasted by renewed civil wars, gave up its pretension to be the capital of Arab Spain. The diverse racial elements had fused, but they had not yet discovered political stability. However industry and education were both flourishing. Arab Spain had passed the colonial period and was conscious of her own identity.

Then we have a period of disruption and the collapse of Arab rule. This is also divided into three sub-periods.

First we have the Taifa kingdoms or *Muluk at-*

Tawa'if ('kings of groups or parties') as these are called in Arabic. These lasted for over half a century, from 1030 to 1092; when each of the score or more metropolitan centres of Spain tried to rule its region under its own king or leader, Christian or Muslim. The Cid in Valencia was one of these swashbuckling rulers who became the hero of a Castilian epic. This was a period of political anarchy but of cultural glory, and it resembles greatly what happened with the disruption of Spanish rule in South and Central America during the XIX century when the "Taifa republics" could be said to have been established; or the Arab world to-day, under their kings and army presidents. Yet it was glorious, and we can remember names like that of the great romantic poet Ibn-Zaydun or better still, the poet-king of Seville, Mu'tamid bin'Abbad, whose luxurious habits brought about the next phase, when the Moroccans intervened in Spain.

The real Moors from Morocco formed two separate dynasties. The first which arrived were the *Murabits* or 'Almorávides,' as the Spanish and Western historians usually call them; the name means 'the men who live in a fortress' or *ribat* (like the present capital of Morocco). They arrived in 1092 under their great leader Yusuf bin-Tashfin, although they had been there in 1086 at the battle of Zallaqa, to help King Mu'tamid against the Castilians. They stayed for half a century, until the year 1145. They were veiled warriors on horse or camel back, whom we recognise now from their kinfolk the Touaregs or *Tawariq*, the 'Nightriders' like the first one, Tariq of Gibraltar or Jabal Tariq ('Tariq's Mountain'). Constitutionally the Murabits were important, for their *amir* or prince Yusuf consulted the great philosopher Ghazzali, who was living then, to see whether he might depose the Spanish kinglets who were not living as good Muslims; Ghazzali said that he could, and so came this intervention. However these veiled cavalymen became a military autocracy whose arrogance while policing the towns eventually brought them into disfavour. Also, although they had been missionaries from *ribats* along the Senegalese frontier, their religion was more emotional than theoretical.

They were replaced by the *Muwahhids* or 'Almohades,' who ruled for about 80 years, from 1145 till 1223, although the battle of the Navas de Tolosa in 1212 marked their real strategic end in Spain as this left the plain of Andalusia open before it. Under their founder ibn-Tumart, their religion had a philosophic basis in the strict *Tawhid* or 'Oneness' of God. Intellectually they were very great; this is when ibn-Tufayl wrote the philosophic romance *Hayy bin-Yaqzan* ('Alive son of Awake'), a clearing of the tables which resembles Descartes' *Discourse on Method* and influenced *Robinson Crusoe*. Ibn-Tufayl, who was tied up with administrative duties at the Muwahhid court, encouraged his brilliant pupil ibn-Rushd or 'Averroes' to establish the text of Aristotle in Arabic by getting him a research grant from the emperor Abu-Ya'qub Yusuf. Ibn-Rushd's painstaking work prepared for the European scholastics almost in his same century. In architecture one of the most "Spanish" monuments, the Giralda of Seville, was built by the Muwahhids; people forget that it is twinned with the great lopped Hasan tower in Rabat and the Kutubiyya or 'Book' tower of Marrakush, their Moroccan capital.

Then came the final phase, of decline and expulsion. This belongs at first to Granada, which lasted as a kingdom from 1231 till 1492, the same year as America was discovered. Granada covered only three of Spain's modern provinces, Málaga, Granada and Almería, in the south-eastern mountains along the Mediterranean coast opposite Morocco. She existed as another Taifa-like state, a petty kingdom lying between the two powers of Castile and Morocco. Technically she was a vassal of Castile, but she was saved for over two hundred years by the civil wars which raged not only in the Iberian peninsula, but also over North Africa and between England and France.

Granada seemed European or "Frankish" to

Eastern visitors, and "Moorish" to northerners. She found her strength in encouraging industry and agriculture, and her products were exported all over the Mediterranean, especially figs, textiles and leather work. The Genovese helped in this trade. The XIV century was noted for the great prime minister Lisan-ad-Din bin-al-Khatib, one of those excellent civil servants turned out by the universities in Islamic Spain; he befriended and then broke with the renowned philosopher of society and history, Ibn-Khaldun, who visited Granada at that time. Ibn-Khaldun, though born in Tunis, was from an ancient Sevillian and Hadramawti family; he told King Peter the "Cruel" of Castile that while he would like to accept the monarch's offer to return his family's possessions in Seville, he did not want his grandchildren to become Christians.

All through this period, Muslims had existed in the Christian kingdoms, under various statutes which made them *mudéjares* in Spanish or *mudajjanum*, 'tamed ones,' in Arabic. The political status of these people deserves to be studied, for they had no Islamic government to protect them, and thus anticipate the colonial status which Muslims have known in Asia and Africa during this past century, or the Yugoslav Muslims who were sold as galley slaves to the French navy by the conquering Austrians. Their artistic achievements gave Spain a cultural grandeur which has never left her, for they built churches, homes and palaces, and filled them with their handicraft. The Alcázar of Seville is their masterpiece; it was used in the film "Lawrence of Arabia" for it surpasses anything further East, although it was built by Peter the "Cruel" in the XIV century.

In 1499 seven years after the Treaty of Granada, which had promised the Granadines their religious freedom, Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros started to persecute them (his name is still on the capital of Spain's colony in the Sahara southwest of Morocco). Many had to leave for Morocco and elsewhere in North Africa; some remained behind, for they felt they were Spaniards, and others went to Spanish America. During the reign of Philip II, those who remained in Spain grew desperate and rose in the mountains east of Granada during the years 1568-71, in the War of Alpujarras; and they were defeated. Their leader was a young noble Fernando de Valor, who resumed the name of Muhammed bin-Umayyah, recalling in this last resistance the glories of the Umayyads six centuries before. The remnant were exiled to Morocco too; but some *mudéjar* workmen were able to go to Mexico and the American colonies. However it was without their womenfolk, so that they married Mexicans and other natives; thus the handicraft of Granada passed to Mexico, and you can see the geometric designs of their Mestizo descendants in leatherwork, carpentry, pottery, ironwork and many other arts, in the marketplaces of Latin America and North Africa to-day. It can also be seen in churches and convents from Tlaxcala to Quito.

In the years 1609-10, a final expulsion occurred from the adjoining kingdom of Aragon, when the orange, olive and rice farmers there were forced off the plain of Valencia along the Mediterranean coast, where their scientific agriculture had made them prosper, and also subject to envy. Most of these latterday refugees settled in Tunisia where their descendants still live.

Their rights have been ignored, as they still are in Ceuta on Moroccan soil today; in that city, the only mosque permitted lies next to the toilets in the basement of the public market. The Spaniards themselves are still paying for their genocide and prejudice; even in its negative aspect, when today's Spaniards deny such influence, the spectre of vanished Islam distinguishes Spain from her Catholic neighbours France and Italy, and makes her resemble her Moroccan and Algerian sisters across the Straits of Gibraltar. This applies even to her government now, and to the governments which she left in her American colonies, with their restless dictatorships and military leaders.

Prof T. B. Irving, a Muslim, teaches Romance language and literature at the University of Tennessee.

ALGERIA NOTES

Where farm equipment is named after a Sheikh

From a Correspondent

"We take upon ourselves the full responsibility for the physical and spiritual well-being of the Algerian people. Our aim is to establish the sovereign, socially democratic Algerian State based upon the principles of Islam and to respect all basic rights with no discrimination against anyone because of race or creed."

This was the historic first communique of the National Liberation Front (FLN) heralding a struggle which lasted seven years and in which a million Algerians died fighting against some of the best NATO-equipped French soldiers. A visitor to Algeria ten years after independence would naturally try to see how close are present-day Algerians to the spirit of the struggle and how far the aims of the revolution have been accomplished. There is a lot to remind Algerians. Every town and village, however small, seems to have its martyr's cemetery. On the memorials are etched the eternal words: "In the name of God Most Gracious Most Merciful, Do not think that those who were slain in the cause of God are dead. Indeed they are alive and with their Lord being provided for". There are posters of Algeria's popular hero, Sheikh Abdul Hamid bin Bedis who founded the Jamiat al-Ulama al-Muslimin al Jaza'irin which provided the leadership for the struggle and inspired the people with a patriotic love of freedom and revolutionary Islam. On the posters are the words of his well-known poem which begins: "The Algerians are Muslims and to the Arab people belong". Algeria is probably the only place in the world which has farm equipment and other factories named after a sheikh—the late Sheikh Abdul Hamid, or as he is popularly called, Sidi Bin Bedis.

Sidi Bin Bedis, along with his successor as head of the Ulema Society, is particularly remembered for his fight to keep the Arabic language alive when the only place it was taught was in the Quranic schools and at the Bin Bedis Institute. Undoubtedly this has inspired the "Original Teaching" system under the direction of the Ministry of Original Teaching and Religious Affairs. There is a great emphasis on Arabic and the mosques of Algeria double as supplementary schools where reading, writing and the Qur'an are taught. At Kitshawa mosques which stands at the highest point in the city of Algiers and which was turned by the Count de Bourbon into a church in 1830 as a symbol of French colonialism, I could read on the blackboard lines of what were probably the day's lesson. "The full moon has come out to us from the Folds of Farewell . . ." the song which the women of Al-Madina sang to greet the Prophet on his arrival from Mecca on the occasion of al-Hijra. The song also happens to be one of the popular Algerian songs frequently broadcast by the national radio.

With the exception of the Marinide Andalusian style mosque at Tlemcen and the Ottoman Jami' Jadid in Oran, most mosques in Algeria are functional, exhibiting their beauty in the simplicity of white-washed domes Arabesque arches, and the lack of distractions. Many are adorned with cardboard plaques printed in Arabic calligraphy

which bear Qur'anic verses or sayings of the Prophet Muhammad enjoining hard work, co-operation, reading the Qur'an, cleanliness, etc. There are slogans such as, "Islam is the Religion of Social Justice". An interesting feature of the mosques are the bulletin boards which carry notices for people who wish to enrol their children or themselves in evening classes or which state that no unauthorized speakers are permitted in the mosques. The students of Algiers university also have a mosque which on Fridays is filled to overflowing. The students publish an excellent mimeograph magazine, "What I know about Islam" in Arabic and French.

Algerians do not appear to be well served by their bookshops and the literature available. The importation of books is controlled by the SNED, the National Publishing and Distribution Company. Works by the noted Algerian writer, Malek Ben Nabi, are difficult to find but Franz Fanon's books are available. A person looking for factual documents such as FLN communiqués of the Algerian revolution would not find his search easy. Young Algerians probably relish the beautifully illustrated comic book called *Imgadish Newspaper* which has coloured pictures illustrating the adventures of Sindbad the Sailor, historical heroes of Islam and the liberation struggle. It also has stories about the villain landowner whose land has been expropriated.

These latter stories reflect the importance being placed on The Agricultural Revolution the aim of which partly is to help landless farmers. Farmers were the group who bore the greatest losses in the War of Liberation and they are the people who are the worst off economically. One of the slogans of the agricultural revolution is, "No person should own more land than he and his family can personally farm". The government has been recruiting college students to go out and explain the aim of the revolution but the reception they get is often mixed. Some farmers say it is un-Islamic to expropriate land. Others resent ignorant city brats coming to 'teach' them. One of the methods used to 'teach' the farmers is the new red-roofed Agricultural Revolution model villages which include a mosque, a school and better homes for the farmers.

Part of the agricultural revolution involves uprooting the vines planted by the French. Wine is still causing the Algerians much trouble. Drunkenness is on the increase and bars and liquor-serving restaurants catering to the Frenchified Algerian clientele proliferate. During the armed struggle, the FLN forbade drinking or the sale of liquor and punished repeating offenders with death as traitors to the Revolution.

A high government official summed up the situation rather well. He said, "Of course, the Algerian people are Muslims and wish to implement Islam. But in the ruling group we have different points of view represented. There is a group which wishes to go towards Marxist socialism and to reject Islam. . . . However the Islamist point of view is also present in the ruling group. I would not say it is dominant, but, God willing, it will be."

Follow-up

Neither ideology nor prescription

The brief report of Khalid Dar's talk on cybernetics (*Impact*, Vol. 2:21) prompts me to write a slightly longer note on the subject. The report on Dar's talk ended on an unfortunate note—"cybernetics, in wrong hands, can be dangerous . . . though man will use it for control of other men, but they will not succeed"—which gives the impression that cybernetics is something akin to Fascism, Nazism, capitalism, communism, or imperialism. Cybernetics, in fact, is neither an ideology nor a prescription. It is a methodology for the scientific analysis of the functioning of any system from the biological to the most complex machine (computers) or social, economic or political organisation. Indeed, cybernetics may be defined as *the systematic study of communications and control in organisations of all kinds* whether they be communist, Fasist, Nazi, capitalist, democratic, totalitarian, military, or Islamic.

Cybernetics is least study of simple systems—systems that do not modify their own behaviour. An example of such a system is a clockwork: its parts break down or wear out. Malfunction in one part will not be corrected by the combined effort of all other parts in the system. Neither can the clockwork correct its own speed.

Cybernetics is most useful when applied to complex self-adjusting systems. Such systems may be called *behavioural systems*—they continuously respond to inputs of information from their environment. But the input of information must include results of the system's own past (memory) or current behaviour. This is called *feedback* which may be defined as information about the system's response or output which is returned to the system enabling it to change or not to change its subsequent behaviour. *Positive feedback* confirms previous or current action; *negative feedback* causes the system to change or "correct" its behaviour (output or action). A child who wants more ice-cream is experiencing positive feedback (it likes it); the child who pulls his hands away from a hot radiator is experiencing negative feedback (it will not touch it again!).

Let us now apply cybernetics to political systems. Some political systems don't like negative feedback; so they control or suppress the press and ban foreign publications and broadcasts. Newspapers and broadcasting media are used to publicise only *positive feedback*, true or manufactured. This is called *propaganda*. Some decision-makers, often dictators, deliberately cut themselves off from sources of negative feedback which might force them to learn something new and modify policy. They surround themselves with "advisers" who will only communicate positive feedback. Most political systems have their own feedback channels—CIA, MI5, KGB and other spy networks. But these spy networks may develop into states within States and acquire a vested interest in feeding back wrong information. Thus the CIA managed to prolong the Cold War and the war in Vietnam.

Corrective action is often delayed by faulty feedback or an inability to learn and adjust to the environment. This is where the *power* of a political system is important. Power in the language of cybernetics is the ability to afford not to learn and not to change course and policy (action). Powerful political systems can and often do fail to learn for long periods of time and survive such as the U.S. over Vietnam. But those lacking in power must either learn, change course and policy, or perish—Pakistan in 1970-71. If the political system of Pakistan had been responsive to negative feedback it would not have persisted on the course it set itself in March 1971. By October of that year it was clear that India would invade and occupy East Pakistan and set up Bangladesh, and that the civil war there could not be won to a decisive

victory. The release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman could have saved the country. Even after the Indian invasion had begun the Russian-Polish resolution in the Security Council could have been accepted and final humiliation avoided. It did not happen.

To say that Yahya Khan was too drunk all the time is an over simplification. The answer lies elsewhere—the Pakistan political system was no longer in control of itself, or, in the language of systems analysis, it was no longer system dominant. It was in 1971, is today, and has been since Ghulam Mohammad's *coup* in 1954, a sub-system dominant system. The subsystems that have dominated and controlled the Pakistan political systems' behaviour are the army, the bureaucracy and feudalism and capitalism. During 1971 another subsystem, the Pakistan Peoples' Party, had become dominant though it was still not formally in office. For these subsystems to remain dominant it was necessary that East Pakistan should be "lost". They combined to prevent the Pakistan political system from changing course before it was too late. The "loss" of East Pakistan was in the best interests of those who dominated the political system.

In the cybernetic framework, we must also examine why systems fail and why they survive. Political systems that fail display the following symptoms: (a) loss of intake of information, (b) loss of depth of memory, (c) loss of capacity for learning new patterns of behaviour, (d) loss of capacity for fundamental rearrangement of social and economic relationships, and (e) loss of initiative and creativity. In the case of Pakistan, the loss of intake proposition has already been dealt with. The alienation of Pakistan's ruling classes (the dominant subsystems) from Islam illustrates the "loss of depth of memory" . . . This loss of memory also creates such phenomena as regional nationalisms—*Joi Bangla, Jiyay Sind*, and autonomy for Baluchistan and Sarhad. The refusal of the feudal capitalist and bureaucratic systems to modify their parasitical behaviour is illustrative of their inability to learn new patterns of behaviour and to accept fundamental rearrangement of social, economic and political relationships with the masses of Pakistan.

Little wonder then that the system failed and is still failing.

Conversely, still using the cybernetic model, for survival the system must (a) increase its openness for intake of new information, knowledge, manpower, talent and motivations, (b) draw deeply from its past (memory), (c) inner rearrangement must allow the fullest possible participation and identification for *all* its members, (d) the system must set itself new goals that can be attained within its capability in place of goals that have not been and cannot be achieved, and (e) the much needed innovation in the system's own structure and social relationships should be introduced. Above all, the system must be made system dominant and its subsystem dominant condition must be ended. For example—and this is only an example—a constitution for Pakistan must be written for the system rather than for the subsystems or individuals who might be dominant at this or any time.

In short the system must allow for and admit change. The habit of calling those who propose change "traitors" must be given up. A rigid system is a sure prescription for disaster.

Cybernetics can be very helpful. It throws up surprisingly familiar ideas, conclusions and prescriptions. Next time a group of Muslims get together to plan a new future, let them use the concepts of cybernetics.

Dr. Kalim Siddiqui

Letters

Agenda for Unity

Your front page article "Agenda for Unity" (*Impact* Vol. 2:21) reflects vividly on the present state of Muslim apathy. Usually people who have no centre to look to and who have lost their identity behave this way. I think the solution for this would be the revival of the caliphate.

I venture to say that this would revolutionise our masses. The rediscovery of their identity by the Muslims would provide them with both self-respect and a sense of concern. We would then have unity without apathy. I don't know whether you agree with me or not but I am confident the Muslim newsmedia can do wonders if it does not indulge in "get nowhere" discussions.

DR. OMAR S. KHOKHAR
Evanston, Ill., U.S.A.

Haykal and Bangladesh

It is strange that the political mentor of the Egyptian ruling class, Mr. Haykal, has had very little to say (*Impact* Vol. 2:19) about the trial of the federalist East Pakistanis going on in Bangladesh and the immoral detention of thousands of opposition leaders, and workers or about the tactics adopted by the ruling Awami League to eliminate their political opponents. The shooting of Major Jaleel is but one of the many glaring instances of the negation of democratic values by the Mujib regime.

S. M. K. CHOWDHURY
London, NW

Arab oil Boycott

Allow me to agitate for an Arab oil boycott of the West. The Arabs now have a classical opportunity to pressure the West into recognising Arab rights, but all I hear are excuses!

For capitalist countries, money (real and potential) talks. God has blessed the Arabs with oil while the West has great need but short supply. New sources of oil in the West will take years, perhaps decades, to verify and exploit. True, a boycott will cost the oil-producing nations a bit of revenue, but certainly less than another war with Israel for which they are unprepared. Those states refusing to participate or that engage in clandestine operations should be ostracized as traitors to the Arab cause.

Really, I don't think the boycott would last long before the West takes action to force substantial Israeli negotiation. But what the world wants to see from the Arabs is the guts to take some kind of drastic (but not fanatical) action. Better to lose *dirhams* than lives, where possible. What good is money without respect?
Maryland, U.S.A.

S. S. MUFASSIR

Swine Diseases

I was very interested to read about the article on pig disease—a lecture given by Dr. G. M. Khan—as reported in *Impact*, Vol 2:20. I would like to know what chemicals (in the pig brain) cause the animal to behave differently from other animals.

Also I would like to know why aren't the present day hygienic methods enough to destroy all the parasites and pathogens present in the pig flesh.

Southsea, Hants, U.K. A. J. VERSI

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Books

Nasser Source Book

Nasser by Anthony Nutting, *Constable*, 492 pages, £3.95

Anthony Nutting is obviously one of the best qualified people, including Egyptians like Muhammad Hassanein Haykal, to write about Gamal Abdel Nasser, the colonel turned *Rais* and 'deified as a Pharaoh of old by the Egyptian populace'. An overwhelming impression on reading Nutting's *Nasser* is that western and foreign diplomats who associated with the President knew more about him than the great mass of Egyptians, Arabs and people from the third world, for whom Nasser was the embodiment of national dignity against foreign dominance and oppression.

Nutting, of course, was a Minister of State in the conservative government of Sir Anthony Eden and in this capacity negotiated in 1954 with the new revolutionary government, of which Nasser had already become the dominant personality, for the withdrawal of British forces from Egypt. From that time onwards he struck a very close and cordial relationship with Nasser which was strengthened by Nutting's principled resignation from Eden's cabinet over the Suez Affair. Nutting also had contact (sometimes quite close) with many of Nasser's contemporaries—within the RCC, with successive British and American diplomats in Cairo, with Arab leaders and politicians in Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Jordan etc., and with people like Israel's former Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion.

His account of Nasser and his times is, therefore, very much an 'inside' one. It is simply presented. The exciting prose moves swiftly along with few embellishments and an occasional lyrical flourish. At places there is an almost blow by blow description of events yet he manages to deal with some of the most complex diplomatic moves involving a variety of personalities and strategems with consummate skill. This is important to the story because one of the most significant aspects to emerge of the 'remarkable' man that was Nasser is Nasser the 'conspirator' whose 'principal weakness and besetting sin' was suspicion which contributed to making him an 'autocrat' and caused him to die an 'extremely lonely' man.

For all this, this portrait of Nasser and his 'reign' is essentially a sympathetic one and the balance sheet favourable. 'Egypt and the whole Arab world,' it concludes, 'would have been the poorer in spirit as well as material progress, without the dynamic inspiration of his leadership'. Nasser personally was a charming man with 'a nice sense of humour'. He was incorruptible, a 'peaceful man' who eschewed violence and had an aversion to capital punishment, and did not, in his own words, 'believe in war as an instrument of policy'. When wars did happen, they did not happen out of desire and calculation but because either prestige was at stake or Nasser was a man 'trapped'.

Intimate and not much publicised aspects of Nasser's personality and career are given—the fact that he was a Saidi or Upper Egyptian

and its implications, his links with Israeli premier Moshe Sharett and his being on the 'best of terms' with the CIA with whom there was contact from the beginning of the revolution almost to the end with the expulsion of the American O'Dell in 1965. A wealth of detail is also given about Nasser's ministers and associates and reasons for their appointments and dismissals. The favoured position of Abdel Hakim Amer as C-in-C despite his waywardness, corruption and his known predilections for hashish, remains, however, inexplicable. At one or two places some of the details given do not fit in one with the other and little attempt is made at explanation. For example, earlier on we are told that Nasser had 'an avid interest in the problems of the Arab world outside Egypt' and later that Nasser's miscalculations in places like Syria and the Yemen mainly due to his 'ignorance' of the land and peoples whom he sought to bring into closer contact with Egypt. So total was this ignorance, we are told, that Nasser had to go to the American ambassador in Cairo to find out information about the Yemen, its geography etc, before deciding what policy to adopt with regard to Sallal.

Besides this occasional lack of consistent explanation, the attempts at serious analysis are lacking even in places where one might expect them. For example, the chapter on the Socialist State does deal with the process and results of land redistribution which was to pay 'still further handsome dividends to the rich'. It also explains Nasser's evolution to socialism as an essentially 'pragmatic process' and notes that 'to be bound by ideology was to be limited to one's sphere of manoeuvre and this was something (Nasser) would never accept'. One would have liked to see more of this analysis but the chapter goes on to deal with Nasser's loss of true friends and his quarrelling with important allies abroad. This sort of treatment is what one might call 'journalistic biography' which would primarily be considered as source material for later definitive work.

Nutting's *Nasser* moreover is source material which does not reveal all. Nutting obviously knows much more than is included here. The manuscript of the book was 'vetted' by Lord Trevelyan and Sir Harold Beeley, former British Ambassador in Egypt, which calls to mind the political document prepared by the private secretary to Eden and Macmillan which has been embargoed by Macmillan for 100 years. (See *Impact* 2:17).

This should not detract from the valuable nature of this book but it does leave Nasser—a man violently loved and violently hated both during his lifetime and after his death—very much an enigma.

A.W.H.

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Books

Slavery and liberation

A History of Slavery in Islam and Other Religions (in Swahili), by Muhammad Kasim Mazrui, former Chief Justice of Kenya, *The Islamic Foundation*, Nairobi, Kenya, 1970. 28 pages.

A few months ago, *South African Radio* had the audacity to warn that the march of Islam in Africa would lead to a "new imperialism" and slavery of Black Africans (*Impact*, 2:17). This spectacle of those nations—who have enslaved and colonized more Africans and Asians than anyone else—accusing Muslims or Arabs of slavery may be viewed in Europe and America, too.

Historia ya Utumwa katika Uislama na Dini Nyengine in its brief 28 pages documents the difference between the theory and practice of slavery among the Muslims as compared to other religions and the nations supposedly guided by those religions. It relates how "for several centuries Christian and European governments continued to attack and plunder the African continent, carrying off between 100 and 150 million of its people. They were victimized by inhuman deeds and were enslaved so that the colonialists in North America and the isles of the West Indies could prosper. It has been just since the 19th century that the European countries prohibited the slave trade, yet to this day those countries have been unable to resolve the problems of colour-prejudice. The subsequent victimization of the black people in America and South Africa has proven to be a thousand times worse than outright slavery."

Unlike the hideous European slave trade, what "slavery" existed in the Islamic society was never based on doctrines of racial inferiority or skin colour. The slaves among early Muslims were mostly war captives; it follows that they must have been predominantly Arab rather than African. Nor was this a function of commerce, as European slavery was. War captives were "enslaved" by the Muslims only because their enemies made slaves of any Muslims which fell into their hands. The Qur'an called for liberation or ransoming of the captives when hostilities ceased (Surah *Muhammad*, 4). The slave trading and kidnapping of Africans engaged in by Muslims or Arabs of later centuries, however, was not based upon Islam and stands condemned.

Judge Mazrui's booklet has two major divisions: (1) Slavery in Religion and (2) Slavery among the Nations of the World. The first part gives references from the

Old Testament to demonstrate the harsh life of slaves among the Hebrews. For example, Hagar, mother of the Arabs, was the slave-girl of Ibrahim's wife, Sarah, who had freedom to treat her as she wished. Sarah, who was barren, became jealous of Hagar for giving Ibrahim a son, Ismail, and she ill-treated her. The Jewish Law also prescribed harsh treatment for slaves taken as war captives (Deut. 20:10-14) and allowed the Jews to purchase slaves from the gentiles. "These may become your property and you may leave them to your sons after you; you may use them as slaves permanently." (Leviticus 25:44-46)

Even Christianity, the religion of "love", was usually rough on slaves. At Ephesians 6:5 St. Paul recommends: "Slaves, obey your earthly masters with fear and trembling." In the Americas, at least, Christian slavemasters did their best to inspire "fear and trembling" in their slaves, using the whip, the rope, the knife, the gun and assorted tortures to keep the slaves outwardly docile. The European Christians revived the doctrine of the so-called "Curse of Ham" mentioned in Genesis 9:22-24, giving it a new twist designed to institutionalize racism and teach black inferiority. Genesis says merely that Ham was cursed by Noah for gazing at Noah's nakedness after Noah allegedly became drunk from wine. Noah vowed that the descendants of Ham's son Canaan would be the *absolute slaves* (Swahili Bible: "mtumwa kabisa") of his brothers. This verse was a rationalization for the Jewish conquest of Canaan, but the Jewish Talmud extends its meaning to a curse upon the African races which turned their hair kinky, eyes red, lips swollen, skins black and doomed them to loving "theft and fornication." The good Christians loved this interpretation and used it to "prove" the Divinely-ordained eternal servitude of the African.

Mazrui gives a powerful contrast to these attitudes with that of Islam, which preached the equality and common humanity of all races and called for the ransom or free release of war captives. Islam demanded that slaves be treated with kindness while in the condition of servitude, encouraged marriage to believing slaves and highly recommended (and simplified) the total emancipation of slaves. The booklet quotes non-Muslim authorities like Dr. Edward Blyden, an African Christian missionary, and W. E. B. DuBois, the Afro-American "Father of Pan-Africanism" whose books testify to the sharp contrast between slavery under Islam and under Christianity. Islam allowed many liberated slaves to become giants of Islamic history. The history of slavery in Islam proves definitely that "Muhammad did not like slavery and he hastened the emancipation of slaves."

Part Two relates in brief detail the wretched plight of slaves in ancient Greece,

Rome, Portugal (which began the European slave trade), Spain, America, France and England, as compared with the condition of slaves in Africa and Arabia, which historians refer to as a family-based "benign servitude". It also touches lightly upon the essential inter-relationship between European slavery and European colonialism, since this slavery received its greatest impetus from the capitalist monopoly system.

"In Egypt, Khalifa 'Umar said to his governor, 'O Amr! Since when do you enslave people, as their mothers have born them freemen?' " This is Islam's attitude: all men are Allah's vicegerents; they are born free, therefore, slavery is un-natural and anti-Islamic. Where such an un-natural system existed, Islam worked diligently and effectively for its eradication. None of the religions of the world, or nations of the world, have been the Champions of Emancipation that Islam has been both ideologically and historically.

It is a bit distressing that the booklet uses "Mwenyezi Mungu" (Almighty God) exclusively, since *Allah* is well-established in Swahili for "God". But it should be of excellent assistance to Muslims in Swahili-speaking areas (Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda). To the modern African mind, nothing could be worse otherwise millions of Africans who are "born" Muslims need to be intelligently educated as to the liberating principles and characteristics of their faith.

S. S. Mufassir

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Briefing

Defeat of an Ideal: The Self Destruction of the United Nations by Shirley Hazzard, *Macmillan*, £3.95

From what Miss Hazzard, a UN insider for ten years, says about that glasshouse citadel, it is pretty obvious that the UN has failed, shamefully and miserably. It was obvious even otherwise, so what Shirley Hazzard has done is simply to illustrate and document the whole failure story. Trygve Lie, the first Secretary-General was shallow, vain and incapable. Under the Charter, the UNO is "neither to seek nor receive instructions from any Government" or any external authority, but the FBI was there, checking on the US citizen in the Secretariat. Dag Hammarskjöld and U. Thant who succeeded Lie, well-meant by themselves, did or could do precious little to place the UN on a truly international and independent footing. Instead the UN has grown into an international white elephant, a bureaucracy sans idealism. Miss Hazzard feels it would have been more worthwhile for the UN to have concentrated instead on poverty, population and development in the Third World. This indeed is a simplistic view, as is, her underlining the need for a new supranational world authority. An all powerful World Government would, under the circumstances, aggravate and not mitigate the malady.

Ben-Gurion looks at the Bible by David Ben-Gurion, *W. H. Allen*, £4.00

The Bible is a unique book and the Jews are a unique people—that is perhaps one way of summarising how Ben-Gurion looks at the Bible. One may not necessarily have to quote the Scriptures, but it no doubt helps to follow the Book provided the Book too is made to follow you. Ben-Gurion's study suggests that the Jewish connections with Palestine date back to a period long before Abraham, and thus more antiquated and stronger than so far understood. The Exodus? No doubt it took place, but he finds it hard to believe that all the 600,000 or so Jews would have left Egypt and survive the rigours of a barren and an inhospitable desert. Ben-Gurion, therefore, feels that both the original number and the number of remnants must have been fewer than presumed. The important point, however, is that some members of Abraham's household must have been staying all the time in the land of Israel proving thereby that the Jewish habitation of Israel was unbroken.

Eleanor: The Years Alone by Joseph P. Lash, *Deutsch*, £3.50

When President Roosevelt died, Eleanor was 61, and when she died she was 78. Joseph Lash's chronicle of those seventeen lonely years highlights the fundamental quality of his subject: femininity. Eleanor, the daughter of an alcoholic father and the wife of a husband who did not hide his relations with other

women tried to seek a Protestant fulfilment in devoting herself to as many human causes as she could possibly cope with. Being not regarded as beautiful and therefore lovable, she tried to lend her own compassion to these causes. She upheld the rights of women when it was not regarded as fashionable. But visiting Pakistan in the fifties she could not help asking the emancipated feminist mothers of the A.P.W.A. (All Pakistan Women's Association) who were waiting upon her round the clock as to who looked after their children. Her political views are no less interesting: her optimism about a detente with Russia, her suspicion of the British, her high regard of Adlai Stevenson, her opposition to John Kennedy because he was Roman Catholic, all these events and attitudes serve to help understand America, more than Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt.

An Untold Story: The Roosevelts of Hyde Park by Elliot Roosevelt & James Brough, *Putnam*, \$7.95

The object of son Elliot in telling the untold about Mama Eleanor and Papa Franklin is to set the records straight for the sake of historical objectivity. The Roosevelts were great, but not so great! But it is Ma Eleanor who really is the villain: nagging and terment; a poor house-wife and an indifferent mother, and more seriously, one who feigned anti-semitism. A revelation which Elliot now makes, and which the family know obviously, is about Roosevelt's extra-marital relationship first with Lucy Mercer and later with Lettand. In a situation of monogamous promiscuity there was not much that either the father Roosevelt or the mother Roosevelt could do anything about. As for Mrs. Roosevelt, she turned out her husband's first "girl friend"; offered Franklin a divorce; and finally accepted Lettand as a *de facto* second wife, and started loving her like her own daughter.

British Military Intelligence by Jock Haswell, *Weidenfeld and Nicolson*, £8.40

Haswell deals in main with the intelligence organisation within the Army. Beginning with the Peninsular War and then on to the Crimean War, the Boer War, the First World War and then finally, the Second World War, the book conveys a saga of organisation emerging out of improvisation. Not everything or everyone, here, is necessarily intelligent and what is really important is the intelligent use of the tools. According to Malcolm Muggeridge, himself a once-intelligent man, these come handy from amongst "school masters; journalists encyclopaedia salesmen, unfrocked clergymen and other displaced *New Statesman* readers".

The Almanac of World Power by T. N. Dupuy and W. Blanchard, *Arthur Barker*, £8.40

Conference of Islamic Cultural Centres and Bodies in Europe 17, 18, 19 May 1973, Piccadilly Hotel, London W.1.

TENTATIVE PROGRAMME

Thursday, 17 May, 1973—14 Rabi

Al-Thani, 1393 A.H.

10.00 a.m.—Registration of participants; delegates and guests arrive.

10.30 a.m.—Recitation from the Qur'an.

10.40 a.m.—The Secretary General of Islamic Conference calls the meeting to order.

11.00 a.m.—Welcome speech by the Chairman H. E. Abdur Rahman al Helaisi.

11.10 a.m.—Opening speech by the Secretary General, Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra.

11.30 a.m.—Coffee Break.

11.45 a.m.—"Da'awah Islamiah—Theory and Practice". Address by Dr. Mohamed Mohamed Al Faham, former Sheikh of Al Azhar or Dr. Abdul Aziz Kamil, Deputy Prime Minister, Religious Affairs, Egypt.

12.15 p.m.—Address by Mr. Mohamed Asad.

12.45 p.m.—Lunch and Zuhr Break.

4.30 p.m.—Tea.

5.00 p.m.—"Modern Approach to Da'awah Islamiah". Address by H. E. Moulou Qassim, Minister of Religious Affairs of Algeria.

5.30 p.m.—"Western Views of Islam". Address by Prof. J. D. Latham, Professor of History, University of Manchester.

Friday, 18 May, 1973—15 Rabi Al-Thani, 1393 A.H.

10.00 a.m.—"Da'awah Islamiah and the establishment of Islamic Centres in important areas". Working paper presented by Mr. Khurshid Ahmad.

10.45 a.m.—Procedural matters and election of Committees.

11.30 a.m.—Coffee Break.

11.45 a.m.—Workshop Discussions:

1 Propagation of Islam: (a) Problems of Da'awah in Europe; (b) Recommended methods and approach; (c) Requirements for Propagation.

2 Education: (a) For Converts; (b) For Muslims living in non-Muslim countries; (c) General

Education.

3 Social Welfare and Relief: (a) Objectives; (b) Nature, Scope and Extent of Relief.

4 Finance: (a) Sources of Finance; (b) Methods of Financing.

1.00 a.m.—Lunch and Zuhr Break.

Afternoon—Workshop Discussions continue.

Saturday, 19 May, 1973—16 Rabi Al-Thani, 1393 A.H.

10.00 a.m.—Workshop Discussions continue.

12.00 p.m.—Talk by Dr. Mujahid al Sawwaf.

1.00 p.m.—Lunch and Zuhr Break.

4.30 p.m.—Presentation of the Committee reports and recommendations.

Closing address by the Chairman and Do'a.

Organisations participating:

Belgium

Centre Islamique et Cultural de Belgique

Denmark

Islamic Cultural Centre Scandinavia

France

Association Etudiants Islamiques en France; Institute Musulman de la Mosquee

Great Britain

The Federation of the Students Islamic Societies in the U.K. & Eire; The Muslim Student Trust; The U.K. Islamic Mission; The Muslim Educational Trust; Shiah Islamic Society; Doctors Islamic Society; Muslim Women Association; Islamic Foundation; Islamic Cultural Centre, London

Ireland

Dublin Islamic Society

Portugal

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The Oil Revenue Looking for a decent investment

Z. K. Durrani

Last month witnessed drama on three major fronts in the oil crisis. President Nixon introduced sweeping changes to deal with the energy "crisis" in the United States, the oil producing countries of the Middle East started negotiating further price increases with oil companies in Vienna, and Mr. A. R. Salim al-Atiqi, Kuwait Minister of Oil and Finance, called for an Arab monetary and investment policy to deal with surplus oil revenues.

The current oil crisis revolves around three aspects. First, there is the simple conservation point: as the oil supplies of the world are finite, how long before the wells dry out? Then there is the economic aspect. As oil becomes scarcer, how much will it cost? And finally, there is the political question: will, or can, the Middle East nations use oil as a political weapon?

Conservationists have been warning about the approaching energy gap in the western world for quite a few years. Oil is a critical commodity in this energy shortage—as a result the oil producing countries have an upper hand in the bargaining stakes.

President Nixon knows that the US has no option but to import fuel and most of it from the Middle East, which has over two-thirds of the world's oil reserves, and control of 90 per cent of exported oil. At present the United States has been importing more than 15 per cent of its annual requirement. It is estimated that by 1980, even if much publicized and long delayed Alaska pipeline gets underway, the States will be importing about half of its annual requirement. President Nixon has accepted this: "Clearly we are facing a vitally important energy challenge. If present trends continue unchecked we could face a genuine energy crisis. But that crisis can and should be averted, because we have the capacity and the resources

to meet our energy needs if only we take the proper steps—and take them now." The steps the President has taken include lifting of import restrictions and direction for the development of more domestic resources—both oil and other forms of power.

The nightmare of oil crisis in the West has recently taken a more vivid shape because of another vital factor: the recent success of the oil producers in collective bargaining through OPEC—Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries for higher prices and a greater share in control of the international oil firms. Some Middle East countries have nationalised oil companies and those states which have not, have secured participation agreements with a 25 per cent holding this year rising gradually to a controlling 51 per cent by 1980. Thus as the energy gap widens, as the oil crisis becomes more acute, the power of oil producing nations, both economically and politically, will increase along with it. Middle East oil revenues are estimated to exceed £20,000 million by the end of the decade.

The Arab oil revenues have given rise to another fear in the West: they will disturb the world's monetary system. This could result if they were used commercially or if they were used as another form of political pressure. The political tension in the Middle East might well force the Arabs to use oil surplus revenues, or indeed the oil itself as a political weapon.

At present the Middle East surplus oil revenues are deposited in Foreign banks. "While this money is deposited at a low rate of interest", said Mr. al-Atiqi at the opening session of the recently held second conference of the Governments Council of the Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development, "the industrial countries where the money is deposited work to reduce its value and decrease its yield through repeated devaluation of their currencies and through almost unabated inflation increases in the cost of goods and services. This has led to this money consistently losing its purchase-power and real value." He continued: "instead of regarding our money which is invested in those countries as a prop to their balance of payments and a source for financing their projects and raising the rates of their growth, some foreign quarters are accusing our money of being the cause of financial and monetary crisis and of the instability of the international monetary system, and have asked for the imposition of restrictions or guardianship on it." The Arabs, says Mr. al-Atiqi, "are aware of the insidious political objectives of these accusations and attempts" and "it is high time we worked for the pursuit of an Arab monetary and investment policy, stemming from our interests consolidating our economy and developing our Arab and Islamic homeland."

Mr. al-Atiqi's suggestions could have far reaching effects on the West. So far the Arab nations have been financing the economies of the West, putting at their disposal a big portion of their national capital in return for meagre yield compared to what it gives the Western nations in terms of economic benefits, employment and prosperity. Kuwait has already established the Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development and has adopted the project of the Arab Establishment of Investment Insurance which is nearly established. The next big step would be the establishment of the Arab Fund.

According to Mr. al-Atiqi, "the greatest service the Fund could render . . . is to try and attract Arab investors, to urge them to invest their money and their savings in certain methods unlikely to be suspected of being usury, which is forbidden by God, but which would enable this money to be invested in a decent manner based on the provisions of Islamic Law with regard to the investment of money."

Politics only an aspect of Islam, says Dr. Torabi

Impact Reporter

"Politics", said Dr. Hasan al Torabi, "is only one aspect of Islam; and as Islam is a complete way of life, politics cannot be isolated from economic and social aspects of Islam—they represent an integrated, co-ordinated whole". Dr. Torabi was speaking at a public meeting organised by the U.K. Islamic Mission at the Islamic Cultural Centre, London on 29 April, 1973. Dr. Torabi is a former Dean of the Faculty of Law, University of Khartoum; M.P., and Leader of the now defunct Islamic Charter Front.

In the political system of Islam the *Shariah* is supreme. This is not to say that an Islamic state is a theocratic state. As there is no priesthood in Islam, the Islamic 'church' does not exist. This is in complete contrast with the medieval Europe where the Church had the monopoly of religion. Since the Church did not offer any concrete political guidelines, both the earlier monarchies and the later revolutionaries were able to displace it. Islam, on the other hand, provides precise guidance also on political affairs, "the Prophet of Islam lived to complete his mission, he was not only a prophet but also a statesman."

"After the *Shariah*", Dr. Torabi went on "the authority for defining laws and laying down legislation lies with the Muslim society (*jama'ah*) and this is done through consensus (*Ijma*). Next to the *Shariah* the consensus of all Muslims in all matters becomes the law. Due to practical and communication difficulties in the early days of Islam, this consensus was expressed through a representative body of Muslims. Later this became *Shura* of *ulama*. Nowadays, Dr. Torabi thinks, when the world has shrunk to the size of a global village, a universal *Shura* can be established. Dr. Torabi said the present state of education among the Muslims, however did, present a difficulty.

"Prayer, Fasting, Haj & Zakat seem easy to preach, but to stand up before a tyrant is not so easy. This explained a certain Muslim attitude to shirk responsibility in the domain of politics. The general rules of the Islamic political system needed to be applied to specific situations. This required hard work and intellectual efforts and perhaps this also explained the present Muslim attitude and distaste towards political affairs. Dr. Torabi said Muslims needed to develop an integrated attitude to politics; integrated within the Islamic life style. Prayer is formal worship; fulfilling one's political obligations too is an act of worship, apparently informal but very far-reaching. One cannot overlook his social and institutional obligations inasmuch as one can disregard prayer or fasting.

● *Eid Miladun-Nabi: Branches of U.K. Islamic Mission have been celebrating the birthday of the Prophet Mohammad by holding public meetings. In Reading the Milad was held on 20 April and speeches were delivered on the life of the blessed Prophet. On 14 April the Glasgow branch held a public meeting, and the following day on 15 April the newly formed Edinburgh Islamic Society held a similar meeting. The Mission plans to hold a bigger Milad meeting, in London on 13 May at the Conway Hall, Holborn; some well known scholars are expected to address the meeting. (Impact News)*

New Pakistani Voice

President Bhutto inaugurated a new powerful shortwave complex of transmitters at Islamabad for PBC (Pakistan Broadcasting Corporation) overseas services. He mentioned the problem of Pakistan's image abroad and asked listeners to join in the task of presenting the true and clear picture of the new Pakistan. The service broadcasts in English, Urdu and Sylheti from 1530 to 1545 GMT. (Impact News)

in the news

Cambridge Muslim Student Society (175, Chesterton Rd., Cambridge): Pres., Tayib Abdeen; Secy., M. Medani. Dublin Islamic Society: Pres., T. H. Hayat; Secy., B. H. Sayed. Pakistan Welfare Association, Doncaster: Pres., M. S. Chaudhry; V.P. Jahangir Khan; G.S., M. Sharif.

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Rabi al Thani 8—21, 1393

Amsterdam Letter

A Community in Transit

The majority of Muslims living in Amsterdam, writes M. Shafiq, come from Indonesia, Morocco and Turkey. Most of them have settled here and form part of the Dutch labour force. Totalling around 20,000, a great number of these Muslims seem to have got very much absorbed in the new industrial environs. The nature of their new pre-occupation can be appreciated from the fact that in spite of such big numbers, there is still no mosque in Amsterdam. Friday prayer is held in a consulate, but the average attendance is no more than seven or eight. Perhaps there is a Muslim organisation in Rotterdam, but Amsterdam does not show any such existence. Amsterdam, needs greatly social and welfare work particularly amongst the Turkish and Moroccan workers; these are mostly uneducated and have acquired a name, rightly or wrongly, for being quarrelsome.

Pakistanis, do not number more than one hundred or so. Most of them do not have permission to stay and are thus forced to work in restaurants, shops and on tourist-based jobs. During the four winter months they remain out of work as there is no tourist trade. Many here, only to wait for an eventual "immigration" to Britain and do not enjoy any favourable reputation; this was not helped when some months ago four Pakistanis were arrested for opium smuggling.

One can also pick out a small number of Muslims from Surinam (former Dutch Guinea). Of Indian origin these are so advanced in assimilation that many can hardly be identified as Muslim, except in name. But many Surinamese Muslims even carry Hindu names. Holland's only "mosque" is sited in Hague, the Dutch metropolis, and it holds the Eid prayers.

Religion and Industrial Relations

Impact Report

The problems associated with religious observances of the immigrants to this country have quite often assumed national proportions. The national press has reported many instances of conflict between Muslim workers, who wished to perform their prayers, and employers worried about meeting their production demands. Many employers have, however, shown consideration and even provided facilities for Muslims to observe prayers in the factory premises.

Rotherham Community Relations Council believe that through joint consultation, understanding and goodwill on both sides many issues relating to observances of religious requirements can be settled without difficulty. Many have expressed concern about the religious observances by Asian workers employment in this area. The Council has published a leaflet, "Religious Observances and Industrial Relations", in order to obtain a clearer picture of the problems and of

possible solutions.

The Council points out that some periods of a Muslim's prayer clash with his work time but there are a minimum requests for time off. "The demands of Islam in this respect are so strong that Muslims would be expected to risk losing their jobs rather than miss attendance at these particular prayers." In general, however, prayers do not interfere with work—with the possible exception of Friday prayer. During Ramadan, the Council suggest that those who fast be put on night shift, and on two Eid festivals, a two or three hours off from work.

In general, employers have shown consideration and appreciation of the importance attached to prayers by their Muslim workers. The Muslims, in their part "recognise the need for their employers to maintain production schedules and not to be subjected to requests at short notice, making it difficult for alternative arrangements to be made on the shop floor."

Turkey protests over the arrest of Muslim journalist in Greece

Following the jail sentence passed against the Western Thrace Turkish journalist, Selahettin Galip (*Impact* Vol. 2:21 *New Spectrum*) and the continued "second class treatment of the Turks in Greece", Turkey has recalled its ambassador from Athens. A Foreign Ministry spokesman described the situation as violation of the Treaty of Lusanne. Turkey is understood also to have demanded annulment of the jail sentence of Selahettin Galip. (*Impact* News).

Muslim Bulgar Emigrants to Turkey

The first group of Bulgarian Turks allowed to emigrate to Turkey during 1973 arrived in Edine on 4 April. During the last four years, 33,750 Turks have arrived from Bulgaria; in 1973, Turkey will allow in 10,500 Muslim Bulgars. (*Impact* news).

Muslim Students' Union, Italy

The Muslim Students' Union of Italy has seven centres located in Padova, Bologna, Modena, Sienna, Pisa and Perugia. Their headquarters is in Padova from where they publish a fortnightly newsheet and maintain a small library of Islamic books. Friday prayer is held regularly here but other centres are, at present, too small to have this facility. The Union teaches Italian to new Muslim arrivals and claims to have translated several Islamic books into Italian. (*Impact* report).

Grant for Washington and New York Centres

The Islamic Centres of Washington and New York are to receive a regular annual grant of \$10,000 from Saudi Arabia.

● World Muslim League has expressed willingness to help Muslim Youth Association in Spain. (*Impact* news).

Courses for Muslim Teachers at London's Islamic Centre

Islamic Cultural Centre, London, proposes to organise a course of ten week duration on methods of teaching Islam for Muslim teachers. The course will consist of a series of lectures given during weekly meetings. Each meeting would last some three to four hours during which two lectures would be given followed by discussion. The course is intended to equip Muslim teachers not only to teach Muslim children but also in explaining Islam to students with whom they come in contact. The Centre has invited Muslim organisations to submit names of teachers who might benefit from such a course of lectures. The course is planned to commence on Saturday 6 October 1973.

Details from the Islamic Cultural Centre, 146 Park Road, London NW8. (*Impact* news).

An Islamic Centre for North London

The Muslim community of Finsbury Park plans to establish an Islamic Centre, mosque and madrasa in the area. A community organisation, "Muslim Welfare Centre" has been formed and the association intends to request the local Borough Council to provide for a mosque-site in the area development plans. At present, a couple of rooms made available by Mr. Ismail Bawa serve as a prayer place at 9 Woodfall Road, London N4. (*Impact* news).

New M.W.A. in Nottingham

A Muslim Women Association has just been formed in Nottingham. The Association aims to acquaint the local muslim ladies with Islamic teachings, help them build their lives according to the principles of Islam, to provide a social and cultural atmosphere by holding functions, and provide facilities for recreation within the limits prescribed by Islam. The Association plans to hold regular fortnightly meetings on Sundays and to form and run a weekend school for muslim girls. The Association recently organised a meeting to celebrate the birthday of the blessed Prophet. (*Impact* news).

Human Rights and "Collaborators"

The Society for Defence of Human Rights in Bangladesh has drawn the attention of the Pakistan Government to the plight of thousands of patriotic East Pakistanis dubbed 'collaborators' by the Bangladesh government. In a telegram to President Bhutto, the Society appealed that their hapless situation should be included for discussion in any negotiation with India along with the PoWs and allied problems. (*Impact* news).

FOSIS Tenth Annual Conference

Impact Report

By July this year the FOSIS—Federation of Students Islamic Societies in the UK and Eire—will have completed a decade of an active organisational life. To mark this, the Federation is holding its next annual conference as a special Conference: the preparation for this began in July last year. The Conference will be attended by Muslim students from many parts of the world. It will concentrate on a variety of subjects ranging from the message of the Qur'an, the Muslim identity in the West and the development of a Muslim response to cultural and intellectual challenges.

The Conference will be addressed by some well-known personalities from the Muslim World and will allow maximum participation to all those attending. An estimated 400 people will be participating in the Conference.

During the Conference, an exhibition will also be organised consisting of three sections: scale models of mosques to be built, near completion or completed in London, Manchester and Munich; an exhibition of Islamic Calligraphy by Osman Wagiealla; and an exhibition of translations of the Qur'an in various languages.

The Conference is to be held at Owens Park, University of Manchester on 26-29 July. Details from the FOSIS Secretariat, 38 Mapesbury Road, London NW2 4JD.

Quranic Recordings

From A U.S. Correspondent

Dr. Rashad Khalifa, secretary of the Association of Muslim Scientists and Engineers, U.S.A., has put science and technology to most worthy use by producing tapes and records of the Qur'an in alternating English translation with Arabic recitation, accompanied with written text of the English meanings and the Arabic. Titled *English Meanings of the Qur'an*, these recordings are of fine quality clear and easy to follow.

The Arabic Qur'an is recited by the renowned *Qari*, Shaykh Mahmoud Khalil Al-Husary. The English meanings are rendered magnificently by Dr. Khalifa, whose native language is Arabic; the rendition is accurate and beautifully distinct. Dr. Khalifa brings true Muslim dedication and scholarship to bear in this work, thus avoiding the inconsistencies or inaccuracies of many other English translations of the Qur'an. One gets a vivid understanding of the Message and expert teaching as to the correct pronunciation of the Arabic reading.

Islamic Publications offer with the recordings and printed text the bonus of a *Tafseer* based on works of the great *mufasssireen* Al-Baidawy, Al-Alusy, and others.

English Meanings of the Qur'an. Recordings and printed text by Dr. Rashad Khalifa. *Islamic Productions International*, P.O. Box 12202, St. Louis, Mo. 63157 U.S.A., 1973. \$6.00 per recorded unit.

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AFGHANISTAN. Two Mig-21s of Afghan Airforce crash landed in Pakistan on 24 April, killing one pilot.

AFRICAN AFFAIRS. Heads of four African countries—Algeria, Mauritania, Mali and Niger met in Algiers for the opening of the trans-Saharan road, the African Unity Day, and to launch work on the road sector. The heads of states decided to hold periodic meetings to co-operate in all fields. Negotiations in Spanish Sahara and efforts to speed up the liquidation of colonialism there also discussed.

BANGLADESH. India handed over alleged members of the former Pakistani civil armed forces arrested in Assam and West Bengal; 100 Razzakars were handed over to Bangladesh. Bangladesh received 10 MiG-19 fighter planes from the Soviet Union to form its first fighter squadron.

● The Hindi broadcast of Radio Bangladesh at 1600 GMT was restored to one hour and Urdu transmission at 1630-1700 continued. ● Forty-three East Pakistani politicians and scholars decided non-citizens by Bangladesh Government. The list included Mr. Abdul Amin, Mr. Mahmud Ali, Mr. Alana Abdul Rahim, Prof. Ghulam Azam, Mr. Hamidul Haq, Mr. Shafiqul Islam, Mr. F.G.W. Choudhary, etc. ● Negotiations with Russia, USA, etc. continued on oil exploration in the offshore areas. ● Chittagong Port activity restored to 1971 level. ● India to supply two civil aircraft for commercial use.

BRAZIL. In its first move to skirt international oil company suppliers, Brazil has formed an agreement with Algeria for a direct supply of crude oil valued at \$120m. To fight the high cost of foreign crude oil, Brazil has already made oil drilling agreements with Columbia, Iraq, Egypt and the Malagasy Republic. Algeria would be the fifth country it would inspect in.

BRITAIN. Three 500-ton submarines, the first warships to be built for the Royal Navy by Britain, are being constructed in the Vickers shipyard at Barrow-in-Furness.

Egypt. Faced with foreign debts more than £1,000m, and being 6 months behind in payments of commercial credits to Western countries, Egypt has asked for a rescheduling of its debts and a lowering in the interest rates charged. Lending countries have also been urged upon to "cede part of their assets". This is directed mainly at the Soviet Union which is the major creditor. The formation of an Arab League-style consortium of lending nations which could include the Soviet Union, to help Egypt overcome its chronic payments problem was also discussed by the Economic Committee of the People's Assembly. The Deputy P.M. received on behalf of President Sadat a number of peasant delegations who had come to express their gratitude to the President. ● Deputy Military Governor, Mamduh Salim, issued a military order imposing heavier penalties for crimes involving consumer goods with a view to end black market dealings.

FRANCE. Tunisian workers protesting against 'inhuman conditions of work' staged a hunger strike at the Church of St. Ennemond in Saint Etienne. Police dispersed demonstrators; several persons injured. The Committee for the Defence of the Life and Rights of Immigrant Workers in Paris protested against 'the strange methods of the police' and urged immigrant workers to demonstrate on May Day to protest against conditions and treatment. ● The National Unions of Arab students and workers in France have asked the French Minister of the Interior to take measures to end the wave of crimes by Zionist agents against nationals of Arab countries and to ensure the safety and freedom of the latter as well as of their French friends. ● Roman Catholic bishops of France in an Easter Statement expressed support for "Jewish People's return to the Holy Land" and condemned anti-semitism as a heritage from a pagan world "reinforced in Christian times by pseudo-theological arguments". According to one bishop the statement was in line with the mixture of the religious and the political which characterizes Zionism and was in "accord with the present evolution of our Christian sensibility". In a joint statement Arab ambassadors in Paris protested that the bishop's statement was blasphemous since it identified the Zionist state with God's promise.

GREECE. Allegations that the Greek government was trying to hellenize the Turkish minority in Western Thrace and forcing Turks there to sell their land were made by two Turkish deputies in a motion to the National Assembly stating that Greece was contravening the Treaty of Lausanne. The motion called for a review of Greek-Turkish relations.

INDIA. India might stage an underground nuclear explosion 'for peaceful purposes' which would be equivalent to a weapon test, the Geneva Disarmament Conference was told by Pakistan. ● Three Supreme Court Judges resigned following the appointment of a junior, A. N. Ray, as the Chief Justice. ● Cultural agreement on exchange of teachers and scientists and granting of scholarships concluded with Iraq. ● F. M. Swaran Singh claimed that at one time Pakistan was prepared to accept the war trial of 1000 PoWs but now it was opposing the trial of even 195. China's attitude to India was now more relaxed. ● Defence Production Min. said India has been forced to rethink its entire defence set up in view of the alarming increase in Pakistan's lethal power. The aim would be to increase self reliance and eliminate dependence on any other country whether friendly or non-friendly. Licences or equipment agreements with other countries would no more be automatically extended or entered into. ● 12 died in anti-Muslim riots in Hazaribagh. A riot took place earlier on 25 Mar. in Nagaur.

INDONESIA. Adam Malik said there was no urgency to restore relations with China. He said Indonesia must first solve its own problems and it also needed con-

ensus among ASEAN countries. Indonesia is to cut the size of its army from 300,000 to less than 200,000; navy and airforce are already being reduced from about 70,000 to 30,000 men.

IRAN. Thirty American ambassadors stationed in the Middle East, Africa and South East Asia met in Tehran. The meeting was attended by Joseph Sisco, Asst. Sec. of State for Near East, and Helms, former chief of CIA and now America's ambassador in Tehran.

ISRAEL. Since the beginning of 1973 some 16,500 immigrants arrived in Israel; more from the Soviet Union than the West.

KENYA. The Central Bank Governor reported somewhat slower rate of economic growth than in 1971. Kenya, he said, is committed to mixed economy and a fast rate of economic growth. Finance Minister said there was no point in recruiting foreign experts and researchers when these can be efficiently undertaken by Kenyan scholars.

MALAYSIA. Work permits of non-citizens involved in political activity have been cancelled. ● Kuala Lumpur to be exclusively federal capital; Selangor state capital to be moved to Shah Alam.

NIGERIA. Teachers in various Nigerian universities called off industrial strike action to pay increases and fringe benefits when the Federal Government closed down the institutions and threatened them with termination of appointments and eviction from official residences and campuses. ● Beggars in Nigeria called a national conference in Lagos to discuss their welfare and staged demonstrations on May Day. The National Council for Social Work in Nigeria said rehabilitation of beggars was "one of the most urgent, troublesome and irritating problems in Nigeria". ● Construction work to start immediately on the 2nd oil refinery in Warri to be commissioned in 1976; 3rd refinery later in Kaduna.

PAKISTAN. According to 1972 census Pakistan's population was 64.89m. ● A 6m rupees Atomic Energy Agricultural Research Centre to be set up near Peshawar. ● President Bhutto assured the Military Academy cadets that under no circumstances "we will be a party either directly or indirectly, to any form of humiliation by any outside agency or citizens or soldier of this country". ● Pakistan claimed at least 120 PoWs and civilians so far died in Indian camps. ● UDF Sec.-Gen., Prof. Ghafoor denounced the attempt to foist a one-man dictatorship. ● The UDP demanded summoning of the NAs and PAs to consider the budget. ● New ministries formed in Baluchistan (C.M.—Jam of Lasbela) and the NWFP (C.M.—Sardar Inayatullah Gandapur). ● The biggest casino East of Suez is being planned for Karachi. ● Rajanpur-Kashmore line inaugurate to complete 190 mile, Rs.145m alternate rail-link between South and NW Pakistan. ● A 3-year trade agreement with USSR. ● JI Chief, Mian Tufail demanded lifting of the Emergency, restoration of all the Fundamental Rights, the immediate

release and withdrawal of cases against students, political and labour workers and ulema and restoration of press freedom.

PHILIPPINES. Nearly a million people have left their homes because of fighting in Mindanao, President Marcos said in Manila. A hundred Government troops were killed in the first two weeks of renewed fighting which began in February. ● The Philippines government has not yet replied to the Islamic Secretariat's request for facilities to send a fact-finding mission to study the Muslim situation in the Philippines.

SAUDI ARABIA. Donation contributed by Saudi Arabia in the current fiscal year to Islamic associations in various countries exceeded SR 4 million, according to the Ministry of Finance. Donations were meant for mosques, clinics, schools, and Islamic centres. ● Muslim World League, in co-operation with Islamic Centre in Granada, to distribute Islamic books translated into Spanish to Latin American countries. ● First Saudi steel plant to be established on the Gulf Coast by Marcona Corporation using Brazilian ore. Initial capacity—1 million tons per year. Saudi Company, Petromin, will have 50% share and the rest will be owned by a consortium of American companies.

● Plans for the construction of a girls' university are already underway, according to the Director General of Girls' Education. This was in line with the remarkable spread of "educational enlightenment" throughout the female section of society. It is hoped that a university education would become "an easy and an open course to every girl". ● The Muslim World Congress has handed over 38 thousand riyals collected during the Hajj to Tunku Abdul Rahman for the assistance of Muslims in the Philippines.

SYRIA. A Syrian cabinet statement confirms a French news agency report that 57% of Syrian intellectuals and specialists have left the country not to return, preferring to work elsewhere. These include 65% doctors and 39% agricultural specialists. Observers say that their emigration has crippled Syrian progress and point out that Syria has spent almost \$1,000 million on their education. ● Widespread arrests of Syrians in all districts for alleged 'Islamist' activities.

THAILAND. Field Marshal Kaihikachun told a Qur'an Reading competition in Bangkok held to mark the Prophet's birthday that the Qur'an provided not only a religious ethic but also a social ethic for the welfare of the society. However, national unity, he said, is of greater importance than religion because if a nation is destroyed no religion can survive, and one should not allow differences of worship to destroy Thailand's national unity.

U.S.A. America's State Department signed an agreement with the United Israel Appeal Fund granting \$31 million (about £12.4m) to help Soviet Jews to settle in occupied territories. The \$31 million is the first instalment of a \$50 million Congressional appropriation for this year and is part of Nixon's pledge to strengthen Israel.