

MUSLIM VIEWPOINT(S) ON CURRENT AFFAIRS

# impact

international fortnightly

NAME OF THE GAME: ENERGY CRISIS ■ Yemeni Jig Jargon Politics ■ Turkish Elections ■ Communist-Capitalist Compound ■ The Missionary Mind ■ Another Mufti's Disclaimer ■ Sahelian Drought ■ The Day Numeiry Resigned ■ Presenting Islam in European Environment ■ Cybernetics—Too dangerous An Exercise

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## LIBYAN—EGYPT MERGER

## DESTINY TO BE DENIED?

A huge question mark hangs over the relationship between Egypt and Libya. In less than two months the deadline of "full union" between the two countries would expire and apparently there is no agreement yet on the form of the union; the progress of the committees concerned with the merger remains very doubtful. Sadat's visit to Libya early in June and Qaddafi's prolonged and sudden visit to Egypt instead of smoothing away the difficulties (assuming that the fundamental difficulties can be smoothed away in the present circumstances) have led to a definite worsening of the situation, amounting to a showdown.

Although the Egyptian Cabinet on 29 June "decided unanimously that the unity between Egypt and Libya is a question of destiny for both the Egyptian and Libyan peoples and serves the strategic interests of both . . . and the higher interests of the Arab people", Sadat and the Egyptians on the whole now appear to have more misgivings than ever but have stopped short of rejecting the idea altogether probably because of the fear of being accused of the cardinal sin of being traitors to the cause of Arab unity. They now seek refuge in the concept of a much slower, phased-out approach to eventual unity not knowing what to make of the Libyan leader's politics and pretensions despite his avowed devotion to the principles of Nasserism.

On the other hand, Qaddafi has persisted in his calls for a comprehensive unity which he believes to be inevitable. With a consuming passion, he has rejected any form of partial union. "No unity is genuine unless it is comprehensive", he has said. And on more than one occasion he has vowed: "By God, we will accept civil war for the sake of Arab unity. There is no retreat from this Arab unity, Arab unity even by iron, and fire and civil war."

From his speeches in Egypt, Qaddafi appears to be staking everything on the union and has even offered to resign if it is not fulfilled. But he does not seem prepared

to make any concessions; unity must be on his terms. One of the most important of these terms concerns the "popular cultural revolution" which Qaddafi unleashed on Libya last April and which he wants extended to Egypt. He has pleaded for this on the grounds that Libya's revolution is a legitimate continuation and rejuvenation of Nasser's 23rd July revolution and that had Nasser lived, he would have "detonated" the popular revolution. He has claimed that Nasserism took root in Libya even before Egypt since he was affected by it as a boy in primary school.

Certainly many of the Libyan experiments and the manner in which they are adopted have the mark of the Egyptian Grand Master: the profession of socialism and Arab unity, the loud campaign against communists and the *ikhwan al muslimoon* (despite the fact that these are almost non-existent in Libya) the adherence to socialism (which remains undefined) and the adoption of Nasserist political institutions like the single party ASU. No opportunity has been lost to proclaim these stands; there is a curious irony in Qaddafi's statement that "this nation keeps turning out talk continuously" and that Arab politics is noted for its "charlatany". What has made the situation more complex is that Qaddafi intends to enforce the Islamic Sharia which has won him the admiration of credulous Muslims in the far corners of the world. In this latter case, he appears to be more sincere than Nasser was.

All this has given Libya a strong feeling of self-importance. "The rest of the Arab world is a stagnant pool" so far as Libya is concerned. The Libyan President has been far from sparing and tactful in his criticism of the Egyptian president, system and people and has adopted Nasser's peculiar manner of trying to get his own way. In presenting the choice between the status quo and union as the choice between stagnation and regeneration, he told ASU secretaries in Cairo on 1 July: "If you choose stagnation we are ready to abolish the popular revolution and the masses' exercise of power. We are also ready to abolish the third theory and

the Islamic legislation we apply in Libya. We also are ready to abolish the meaning of socialism . . . If we do not accept this, then we must consider the events in Libya to be something enriching the Arab experience and regenerating the revolution and a step forward along the road of the Egyptian revolution."

On another occasion, he told Egyptian intellectuals and journalists: "what you need here is a revolution too . . . more democracy, more freedom of thinking, speaking and action. Egypt says it is ruled by sovereignty of the law and institution but your laws are based on foreign regulations and not Islamic law". On the state of Egyptian society he said: "Many of the phenomena in the Arab Republic of Egypt should disappear, such as the spread of bars, nightclubs and other things because they contradict the teachings of Islam and Christianity and because they are more dangerous than imperialism". Undoubtedly many Egyptians share these views, but the manner in which they were proposed led one member of the ASU to tell Qaddafi frankly that "before any two peoples rush to unity there must first be mutual respect between them at all times". As a criticism of Libya he further retorted that "extraordinary measures are absolutely non-existent (in Egypt) and the law reigns supreme. We also want to see such a situation in fraternal Libya".

Here we have some indication that the proposed union could easily go down in mutual recrimination. Already there has been much of this concerning the Egyptian-Libyan treatment of each other. Qaddafi was very much conscious of this when he said at the ASU meeting: "We will lose if we continue to speak about the treatment of the Egyptians by the Libyans. We must speak about the basic and real things which make history, change the status quo and create nations anew. To say that a Libyan has cursed an Egyptian or that an Egyptian said such and such a thing to Libyans, to Egyptians or to the inhabitants of some village these are things which should not

## ... Libyan-Egypt Merger

be said." The admission that there is such recriminations shows that there is little popular base at this stage in both countries for unity. Discussions have tended to emphasise the disparity between the two especially in terms of population and wealth and even temperament.

Of course these factors should not necessarily prove to be insuperable obstacles to union. What is emerging as the main obstacle is Qaddafi's cultural revolution and his handing over of decision-making and executive powers to popular committees in a manner which seems to those outside to resemble a sort of anarchy. For example, the two fields where agreement to fuse had been reached were the diplomatic services and the information media, but the recent takeover of Libyan radio and television by popular committees has raised new doubts among Egyptian information men. Qaddafi referred to this in his 29 June meeting with journalists when he criticised the Egyptian press for not playing their role and for "maintaining silence" on the "serious" subject of the merger. Popular committees of students and others have taken over port authorities, the Libyan airlines, the formulation of laws. The takeovers are accompanied by rather demeaning cartoons (a most effective shaper of public opinion) in the Libyan press on the role of senior citizens drawn by an artist who served in Nasser's Egypt. It is thus perhaps not surprising that many Egyptians entrenched in the huge administrative bureaucracy set up by Nasser should be somewhat wary of the introduction of popular committees in Egypt.

Other basic details of the merger like a central bank, currency, and single ministries, Qaddafi has pronounced as merely administrative matters but the committees responsible for drawing up co-ordinated policies have not made much headway. There would almost certainly be no monetary union between the two countries even if the merger were to take place. This is because of the big difference in the foreign currency reserves of the two countries, according to a member of the Libyan Revolutionary Command Council, Captain Omar al Muhaishi. Access to Libya's reserves was one of the main attractions in the merger for Egypt. Egypt is now apparently fully aware of Libya's hesitancy (or hypocrisy according to Qaddafi's own yardstick) on the question of monetary union and is increasingly looking to Saudi Arabia for assistance. Qaddafi is highly critical of this. He is no friend of the Saudi monarch and carries on a bitter invective against him. Saudi Arabia therefore has reason for not feeling too happy about the link-up. There are other countries as well which do not look too kindly on the merger, including the Soviet Union and Britain. The Soviet Union would have misgivings about its position in Egypt were the merger to take place. Soviet prestige in Egypt has suffered considerably as a result of the Breshnev-Nixon summit. The Soviet Union is being attacked for the inadequacy of its support. One important newspaper remarked that all the Arabs get from the Soviet Union is "good wishes". But the Soviet Union in fact has no reason for fearing that the Libyan position would affect Soviet-Arab relations. Qaddafi did say to journalists on 29 June that the Arab nation's interests differed from the interests of the Soviet Union; that the Arab communists were agents; that the Soviet Union was behaving like an imperialist state in many areas such as the Mediterranean and the Arab Gulf and that there was no difference between it and the United States. But he also said during the course of the same speech: "Nobody has called for breaking off relations with the Soviet Union. It would be foolish and madness. On the contrary, we are trying to do everything which may strengthen our relations with it. We must win more friends."

Qaddafi's attitudes to the Soviet Union may be taken as an example of the difficulty one can face in seeking a consistent picture of his policies. Almost everything which is said requires a major qualification, and although this may not necessarily affect his sincerity, it certainly makes progress towards his own goals that much more difficult.

## Survey

### ● YEMEN UNITY

## Yemen Unity: Jig Jargon Politics

Sabotage and terrorist activities conducted by groups, apparently financed by and trained in South Yemen, have been going on for a long time on the southern district of the Yemen Arab Republic (North Yemen). This culminated at dawn on 30 May 1973 in the assassination of the veteran politician Shaikh Ali 'Uthman, the member of the three-man Republican Council. The anger and fury generated throughout North Yemen was symbolized in the northern government's turning down an official delegate from South. Nevertheless, Qadi Abd ar-Rahman al-'Iryani, the Chairman of the Republican Council and the strongest man in North Yemen, was able to tell the Lebanese *An-Nahar's* correspondent, less than a fortnight after the assassination: "we are determined to realise Yemeni Unity". How much of his statement represents wishful thinking, lip-service or genuine belief on unity remains to be seen.

Natural circumstances have not served the purpose of unity between two countries, anywhere in the Arab World, more than they do in the case of North and South Yemen. A homogeneous ethnic group that abides by one religion, speak one language, shares a common culture and traditions and is not separated by any geographical barriers does possess sound bases for unity in a world where small countries have little to aspire to. However, man-made barriers could well prove non-patchable despite all natural catalysts. The British colonial rule of South Yemen for 129 years had undermined the country's cultural background by completely secularizing the administration and perpetuating western education. In the non-European colonised North the country stuck to their long-lived Zaydi Imamat, preserved a predominantly religious education and kept their traditional culture intact. The National Liberation Front (NLF) that took over the administration from the British in 1967 has gone even further in estranging their religious-Oriented brethren by professing a communist ideology.

Mushsin al-'Ayni, the then Prime Minister of North Yemen, startled most political observers, last October in Cairo, when he hastened the activities of the Arab League Reconciliation Committee dealing with the clashes between the two Yemens by signing a unity agreement with his counterpart in South Yemen, Ali Nasir Muhammad. Majlis ash-Shura (Parliament) of North Yemen when it unanimously approved the Yemeni unity as the only permanent solution for conflict between the two countries was hesitant to ratify 'Ayni's' agreements, mainly, because of its vague socialist implications. The reference in the Agreement that "the United States guarantees the protection of all the achievements of September and October revolutions (the Sept. Rev. of 1962 in N. Yemen and the Oct. Rev. of 1963 in S. Yemen)", was interpreted by the conservative Majlis as sanctioning all the abhorrent activities of nationalisation, confiscation and political witch-hunting carried on by the NLF government in South Yemen.

When Qadi al-'Iryani flew to Tripoli a

month later, in compliance with the Agreement, to meet Salim Rubai, the President of South Yemen, he was keen to extract something to pacify the rebellious Majlis. Strangely enough, he managed to get the approval of his socialist counterpart that Islam be the religion of the proposed unified state and the *Sharia* be the source of legislation. The Majlis could no longer hesitate to ratify the dual agreements but many members would raise, in private the question: does the NLF government really mean it?

Certainly the proposed unity must have more serious consequences for different groups than mere convenient constitutional clauses. In the South it is rumoured that the extreme left within the NLF seized the opportunity to undermine the present leadership because it has compromised the future of the socialist revolution in the whole Arabian Peninsula by accepting the principle of merging with a "conservative" regime allied with the "reactionary" Saudi Arabia. Those enraged by the Agreement are said to be active in supporting sabotage actions in the North, such as the assassination of Shaikh Muhammad Ali 'Uthman, to wreck the whole affair. However, the Southern government sees it prudent to go along with the unity talks hoping, perhaps, to end its dreary isolation among the Arab states, its own people, at least for a while from their miserable economic conditions.

In the North the educated youth, by and large, whole-heartedly support unity with the South. It would give them some political advantage, strengthen the central government vis-a-vis the authority of tribal chiefs and quicken the pace towards progress and development. On the other hand tribal shaikhs, merchants and 'Ulema, who are quite satisfied with the share of power they hold, can read the writings on the wall: what would happen if the professed communists of the South manipulated power in the North too? What happened to their counterparts in the South was too horrible to be easily forgotten. The army officers, the second political force after the tribal shaikhs, are half-hearted and divided about the proposed unity although many of them have been antagonised by the flare up of fighting on the borders and the terrorist activities instigated from the South. Despite a marked advantage for the North in terms of population (four or five times that of the South) many politicians in the North are anxious that the militantly well organised political party (NLF) will outmanoeuvre all the fragmented political forces in the North.

Working Committees, formed according to the Agreement, from representatives of the two Yemens, are having long sessions in Sanaa and Aden to produce specific proposals for the merger in various aspects: constitution and legislation, economy, foreign affairs, education, armed forces and local government. It is not clear how much progress has been made. However, not many people in the South or in the North are optimistic of the outcome. Then, why the jig jargon politics? The explanation may simply be, let the other side break off first to shoulder, in front of the Arab world, the whole blame of the sinful act.

## Survey

● OIL ● COMMUNISM'S FUTURE ● ISLAM & RUSSIA

### The Energy Game

Since the article on the Energy Crisis (see pp. 6-7) was written a number of reports have come out supporting the conclusions of Mr. Qureishi. These need to be closely considered by the Organisation of Petrol Exporting Countries (OPEC) and especially by its Middle Eastern members who seem to have based or be tempted to base even their political strategy on the assumption of a definite energy crisis persisting in the U.S., Europe and the industrialised countries.

In a United States Senate enquiry, the director of the Federal Trade Commission's bureau of competition said: "The petroleum industry is highly concentrated at the refineries' level and the barriers to entry at that level are overwhelming." He asserted that energy companies may have engaged in a conspiracy to make it appear that there was a shortage of natural gas in the United States and that his commission had obtained company documents showing gas reserves as much as 10 times higher than the figures given to the American Gas Association, an industry trade group.

A *Financial Times* report (4 July 1973) observed that there were "signs that the worst of the (U.S. petrol) crisis is suddenly subsiding of its own accord". It asked whether the sudden and unexpected improvement in the supply position was not wholly unconnected with the rising tide of suspicion about the major oil companies role in the petrol shortage. It noted the allegations that the majors concocted the energy 'crisis' in order to force up prices and squeeze out independent retailers; anti-trust actions were being brought against large oil firms which could extend to a requirement that they divest themselves of their marketing operations.

In another lengthy article on the same day on "Oil in Europe: no emergency, but still cause for concern", Adrian Hamilton reported: "The so-called 'energy crisis' has become the accepted image of the future in the public mind as more and more prophecies of the world running out of oil are made and fears of Middle Eastern dominance and cartel exploitation of oil reserves are voiced." But he continues: "The atmosphere of near panic that this seems to have aroused in some quarters is almost certainly exaggerated. No-one, of course, can absolutely guarantee that serious shortages of oil will not occur in the near future . . . But although oil supplies are undoubtedly tight in the world markets at the moment, there are few indications that this will inevitably lead to imminent disaster in Europe."

In an articles on the oil needs of Japan, the world's biggest importer-consumer of oil, the Minister of Industry in Japan regretted that the country had depended too much on the foreign majors' supply; it needed to diversify and follow a positive policy in acquiring oil not only from the Middle East but also from Siberia, South America, Indonesia and Australia. A Japanese government survey showed that the seabed around the Senkaku Islands in the East China Sea could be one of the largest oil-bearing areas in the world.

Regarding future supplies of energy, a conference in Paris last week emphasised the enormous potential of solar energy. The French Minister of Industrial Development said, "Solar energy is distributed over the

earth to the tune of one kilowatt per square metre. The Americans have calculated that the solar energy which falls on one half of one per cent of their territory is enough to meet energy requirements in the year 2000. It has two intrinsic advantages: its inexhaustible character, and under certain circumstances its constancy."

And even if there was a shortage in petrol (most of it is used up by cars in America) the quality of life would be improved "if the authorities tackle the problem of fuel shortage sensibly" argues one letter writer to the *Sunday Telegraph* (8 July): "The benefits that can be foreseen are principally connected with less use of the motor car. We shall shop locally, walk, and bicycle more, breathe cleaner air, suffer less from noise; public transport systems will be more fully utilised."

But in spite of the reports that the energy crisis has been concocted, Nixon was still able to say on 29 June: "America faces a serious energy problem. While we have only six per cent of the world's population, we consume one-third of the world's energy output. The supply of domestic energy resources available to us is not keeping pace with our overgrowing demand, and unless we act swiftly and effectively, we could face a genuine energy crisis in the foreseeable future."

With Watergate and cover-up in mind, the emphasis should be on the word "genuine".

### Communist-Capitalist Compound

Brezhnev's visit to the United States and the Helsinki Conference on European Security raise, among other matters, the fundamental question of the future of communism.

The very early years of Russian communism were taken up with the deadly debate between Stalin's concept of 'Socialism in one country' and Trotsky's thesis of 'permanent revolution' throughout the world. Stalin won and the so-called Iron Curtain was erected around the Soviet Union which continued to be introverted for many years. By the end of the Second World War, however, communism had spread to China and most East European states; the Cordon Sanitaire was erected between East and Western Europe which was hardened throughout the 'fifties and the early 'sixties by the concept of the Cold War. The world was ranged between the capitalists and the communists.

The beginnings of a thaw was evident when Kosygin visited the United Nations and had talks with the American President Johnson at Glasboro. Further relaxation came with the visit of Nixon to China and the Soviet Union and the admission of the People's Republic of China into the United Nations. Much of the impetus for change has been provided by economic considerations and a different attitude towards problems of security. With the sole exception of Albania, which stands stubbornly alone in its ideological rigidity, communist countries now have little or no qualms about having relations with the capitalist running dogs of imperialism. Albania is the only European country which did not attend the Helsinki conference and has now embarked on a campaign to prevent any resulting relation between East and West from weakening the hard ideological line it pursues at home. Enver Hoxha himself has roundly

rejected Soviet arguments in favour of detente and co-existence between East and West and warned his people that the so-called "revisionist Kremlin Tsars" were out to undermine the foundations of communism.

Albania is not the only country to be conscious of the impact on communism which the policy of detente and wide open economic relations are likely to have. Before the opening of the Helsinki conference, Czechoslovakia made a point of saying that there could be no reconciliation between the socialist and bourgeois ideologies. This position was reiterated by most of the East European states in such a way as to give the impression that they were engaged in a rearguard action against the great degree of "reconciliation" which has already taken place, as for example in the case of Rumania and Yugoslavia. There is a substantial degree of trade and movement of labour between these countries and the West.

The Helsinki conference, however, did recognise the difference in the social systems of the East and West but there are people who live under eastern regimes who would not recognise any fundamental difference. A notable Russian scientist said early this month that in Russia "socialism represents nothing new. It is only the most extreme form of capitalistic development, as already exists in the United States and other Western countries — although the degree of monopolisation is rather greater here". He went on to state that "the Soviet Union has the same sort of problems as the capitalist world: criminality and alienation. The difference is that our society is an extreme case, with maximum lack of freedom, maximum pretensions about being the best society, although it certainly is not that." A Yugoslav party official summed up the state of flux and confusion by saying "Nowadays, people are Communists in the morning, bourgeois in the afternoon—and especially at the weekend."

Both East and West are now affected or afflicted with the western preoccupation with standards of living. This, Gromyko seemed to say at Helsinki, would provide a positive influence on European security. He said: "It is beyond doubt that large-scale long-term co-operation will form a kind of material basis of security in Europe." He went on to say that there was no reason why socialist state should not have unrestricted (emphasising the word unrestricted) business relations with capitalist countries. Here he was repeating what Brezhnev had said in the United States.

### Another Mufti Disclaimer

The mysterious tale of books alleged to be published by the Soviet Novosti Agency and attributed to various Soviet ambassadors continues (see *Impact* 3 : 3). The latest is a booklet in French entitled "Can one believe in the Qur'an?" the author of which is given as Rakhmatov, Soviet ambassador to the Islamic Republic of Mauritania. Moscow radio, in broadcasting a disclaimer in Arabic for the Maghrib, has come near to giving a clue to whom it thinks (or would like others to think) are "the ideological saboteurs who are trying to blacken the image of Soviet policy on religion and the question of nationalities" and who are trying to "throw suspicion on the activities of Soviet diplomatic missions

## Survey

## TURKISH ELECTIONS

abroad."

It says that the only people who are interested in arousing anti-Soviet reactions amongst the faithful are "the reactionary quarters of various political hues, the enemies of detente, and the sworn enemies of friendship between our country and the young, developing countries in Asia and Africa." Mufti Ziyautdin Babakhanov has added his disclaimer of the "fabrications". He said, "I am convinced that anti-Soviet provocateurs in their hostile activity cannot expect to get the sympathies of the believer in any country, be they Muslims, Christians or people of any other religion." (*Tass* in English, 30 June 73).

The book has also found its way to Indonesia where the ulama affiliated to the Golkar have described it as a "systematic attempt to undermine the Indonesian Pancasila ideology." It was "a test case for the country in its efforts to stop the return of Marxism and communism in Indonesia". Ingenious!

Whatever the real explanation, if the Soviet Union is to be believed, it has to show a change of attitude on the part of its orientalists and a greater recognition of freedom to Muslims in the Soviet Union to practise their religion fully and without hindrance.

### Turkey: Trouble-free Run to Elections?

The troubled phase in Turkish political life (which began in March 1971 with the Generals' "coup by memorandum" dismissing the Justice Party government of Suleyman Demirel) now appears to be coming to an end. Although the army came in to restore law and order and to institute certain reforms through government "above party politics" it succeeded only in keeping Turkey in a state of permanent crisis.

Right from the beginning it has been suggested that the centre of the troubles lay within the army itself which intervened in the political process in order to prevent a split and insurrection within its own ranks. Officers, it was alleged, were preparing to take full control of the country and the Army command moved in and made way for the civilian coalition government over which they retained control. It has also been suggested that the Generals came in to bring back the Republican People's Party the custodian of Ataturk's principles, at the helm of Turkish affairs.

The interventionist generals did not have an easy time. Many of the far-reaching reforms which they proposed were frustrated. They resorted to extraordinary means to establish law and order which they failed to do. The final confrontation with the politicians came over the election of a successor to President Cevdet Sunay. The interventionist generals tried desperately to get General Faruk Gurler, former chief of the General Staff, elected but did not succeed. In the end retired admiral Fahri Korutur was elected and this was seen as a "tribute to the basically democratic genius of the Turkish people, the cool determination of the politicians and the good sense of the generals in accepting a compromise".

However, there were indications that the compromise was not wholeheartedly accepted by all the generals and there remained a

disgruntled group centring around the figure of Gen. Faruk Gurler himself. This is a conclusion one can draw from the sweeping changes in the senior ranks of Turkish Land Force in which a number of prominent military figures were ousted from important posts many of them known to be close associates of Gurler.

The main justification for the reshuffle at this time is the need to have a trouble-free run up to the general elections due in October. This is also the reason given for the last-minute passing of a number of major 'reforms' which the generals had earlier insisted upon as a condition for elections to be held. Both houses of the Turkish Parliament held sessions of record length to get the bills through.

One of the main bills passed is the Land and Agricultural Reform Bill which is less radical than the original, highly controversial draft intended, it was argued, to undermine the important 'peasant' support which the Justice Party receives. The Bill as accepted was strongly opposed by the Republican's People Party. The Republican Party also opposed other bills passed. Its leader, Bulent Ecevit said: "The conservative dominated parliament has passed laws in the name of reform which will actually drive our society backwards. These laws will also destroy democracy and the constitution." He also criticised the decision to deny the rights to vote to workers employed abroad, the failure to lower the voting age to 18, the vetoing of a bill to provide treasury aid to political parties and decision to raise the donations given to parties by individuals from 5,000 to 25,000 liras. In spite of this, Ecevit has said that he is confident that his party would come to power through the 14 October elections.

It is the Justice Party, however, which is generally expected to triumph, but Turkey's permanent crisis is far from over. Although it will be marked by such a notable event as the opening of Bosphorus Bridge providing a road link between Europe and Asia, there are still clouds hanging over the fiftieth anniversary celebrations of the Republic due also in October.

## PEOPLE

Takieddin Solh to head new Lebanese cabinet to replace the outgoing government of Dr. Amin Hafez. Mr. Erskine Childers, 68, Protestant, fourth President of Ireland. Bishop Najib Cuba'in, an Arab, expected to be next Anglican archbishop of Jerusalem.

### DELEGATION

Libyan Economic to Burundi. Indian Oil to Tripoli. Awami League of Bangladesh to Bulgaria. Frelimo to Romania. Lebanese Writers' to Bulgaria. Sudanese Economic / ASU to China. Chinese Medical to Tunisia. Syrian Military to N. Vietnam. Soviet Peace to Cairo. Indonesian Parliamentarian to USSR. Iranian Parliamentary to China. Palestine PDFLP to China. Iraqi Military to N. Korea. Singapore Muslims to USSR. Soviet Military & Economic to Sudan.

### VISITS

Lord Balneil to Israel. President Bongo of Gabon to Khartoum. President Houphout-Boigny of Ivory Coast on private visit to Yugoslavia. Vice-President, Rato Dugonjic to Morocco. President Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr of Iraq to Poland and Bulgaria. Princess Margaret to Egypt in November. Moosa Jenah President of the Mombassa Muslim Association to Karachi. Habib Muhammad Karim. Gen. Sec. Iraqi Kurdish Democratic Party Central Committee, to Romania. Iranian F.M. Dr. Abbas Ali Khalathari to Jeddah. Mali Head of State, Col. Moussa Traore to China. Iranian P.M. Abbas Hoveyda to Jordan. Dato Harris Bin Mohammed Saleh, Sabah Minister for Development of State Corporation to Indonesia. RADIUS Prawiro, Indonesian Commerce Minister to Karachi.

### DIED

Dr. Abdul Rahman al-Bazzaz, former Iraqi Prime Minister. Hamad Shihab, Iraqi Defence Min., assassinated. Habib Muhammad Pakolawalalah, philanthropist of Karachi, in Zurich.

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# Drought and Death in the Sahel

Zia Sardar

The Sahelian zone lies to the south of the Sahara and encloses within its perimeters the former French colonies of Mauritania, Senegal, Mali, Upper Volta, Niger and Chad—huge, sparsely populated, semi-desert, and mostly landlocked countries. The population of this region is almost entirely Muslim; a large bulk consisting of nomads of Arab and Berber origin—a proud people with a long and distinguished history.

Even under the best of meteorological conditions, the Sahelian zone with its severely constrained eco-system, only offers a marginal allowance for the support of life. The endless sands yield nothing but small, stunted shrubs, thorny bushes and scanty grass. The economy of this area is largely bound up with cattle; the nomads use cattle to forge social and economical links with each other. The cattle has to be provided with grazing pasture which relies on less than 0.1 inch annual rainfall. When the rains fall, it is almost inevitable that the area would suffer appalling deprivation.

Last September the rains came after five years of absence and were much less than usual. As a result the harvest was bad, there were no food reserves and no seed grains for this year's planting. Until July this year there were no signs of rain. Thousands of camels, goats and cows—vital for the support of nomadic life—died of thirst and lack of fodder. As well after well dried up, villages became deserted as their inhabitants moved on to the nearest river or city, eating any plant that managed to survive the drought, cotton seeds, water lilies—anything that could be swallowed. The need for water became so acute that some nomads were forced to kill their camels in the hope of finding water in their humps. Even anthills were excavated in search of moisture and food. For over a million nomads starvation was in sight—the first report of starvation came from Mali where 78 people died between Timbuktu and Gao on the river Niger.

Early this year governments of the countries concerned launched a collective appeal. The conscience of the developed world was slow to react, the machinery of relief agencies was even slower on the gear. At last, in the first week of June relief began to trickle into the drought stricken area. But before it could reach the needy it had to overcome petty bureaucracy and nationalism. There were almost fatal delays in the distribution of relief partly due to the insistence of custom officials that duties be paid on relief goods. Then there were those who decided to take advantage of the situation. Mali's Minister of Defence, Interior and National Security has noted with regret that for negligence, incompetence or 'unconfessed reasons' some co-operative union managers disrupted the distribution of relief material.

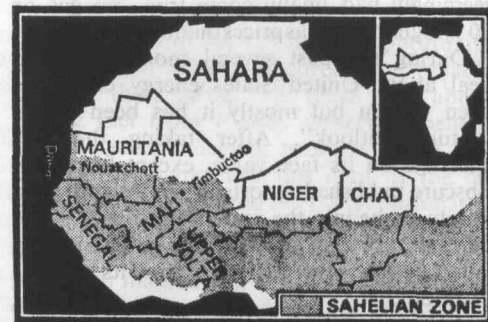
The aid received so far is far from adequate. Most of it is in the form of cereals. The nomads are normally used to millet and cook some maize and rice but have not yet learned how to use wheat. Wheat, however, is the only cereal which the outside world can donate most readily.

Among the donors the French have been the most active: President Pompidou promised that France would "play a dynamic role" in the aid programme. Aircrafts of the West German, US and Belgian Air Forces helped in airlifts while financial support was given by Britain, United States, West Germany, EEC, Saudi Arabia, Nigeria and Libya. Aid has also been promised by Japan, Philippines and some Middle East countries. Amongst on-the-spot workers have been the World Food Organisation, United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation, and Catholic Relief

Service which was one of the first to be on the scene.

When the rain did come it proved ironically to be quite a hindrance to the relief work. The transport in this area ranges from very poor to non-existent. The muddy roads proved too much for the food trucks and airlifts came to be the only way in which relief could reach the disaster stricken areas. While the rain alleviated thirst, the seeds proved to be too scorched to germinate. The Governments of the six countries themselves appear to have been slow to the realization of the situation. After all the drought this year has been the climax of six years without rainfall. Lack of information may be responsible for this: administrations in this area, even at best of times, are not streamlined and it may be that it was not until April or May that they could gather enough information from the remote part of their regions to grasp the true scale of the problem. There also appears to be an element of national pride. The Sahel countries have gained their independence only recently and it seemed natural for them to hesitate before turning to their former colonial masters for help.

The recovery will necessarily be long and slow. In Chad, which is not as badly affected as the rest, the lake in its centre has been reduced in area by one-third. The nomads are sufficiently hardened



to their severe environmental conditions to survive even with the drastic shortage of water. However, the onslaught of scurvy and other diseases may prove too much for them. It is the old people and the children who are in the worst danger. It is feared that in the coming months the mortality rate in the two groups may become unusually high. President Lamizana of Upper Volta, on his visit to Italy, talked about the "enormous internal migration" which have taken place and which will upset the social and political equilibrium of the area. "Decimated, weakened, and sterilised live stock and degraded pasture", he said, "will not be reconstituted overnight. The dried up rivers and streams mean that an essential item of protein diet is jeopardised, for dried and smoked fish forms the basic component of the African diet. On a particularly fragile economy based mainly on livestock raising and cropping, the short and medium term consequences are simply disastrous."

The long term consequences should not be overlooked either. It is feared that the current relief operations would prevent critical long-term decisions from being taken. After all, this year's drought is not the first in the Sahel region, neither will it be the last. Each year the Sahara extends its boundaries deeper and deeper into Africa. Unwise aid projects have helped the process of desertification by contributing to over-grazing and soil erosion. What is therefore needed is a long term project based on critical analysis of the situation and on a technology which is in harmony with the desert eco-system. One idea is to build a 'green wall' against the Sahara's encroachment. Undoubtedly it will cost millions of pounds but in the long run it will prove cheaper than the provision of emergency relief supplies on an ever increasing scale. Algeria has already taken a lead in this field: work will start in the autumn on a green wall comprising millions of pine, eucalyptus and other trees stretching from Algeria's borders with Morocco to the borders with Tunisia. It will be constructive projects of this nature which will eventually ease the misery of the Sahelian people.

*impact international fortnightly*

## Muslim viewpoints

## on current affairs

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When I drove into an independent service station recently, I thought something looked funny. Instead of the usual sale signs such as "Free glass with ten gallon purchase", or "Free car wash", etc., the sign read "Sorry—closed—no gas". The fear of "energy crisis" seemingly had finally come true—no gas or 30% higher retail gas prices than earlier this year.

During the past several months a great deal about United States energy crisis has been written but mostly it has been on its "future outlook". After taking the fuel shortage on its face value, except for a few obscure published reports which attempted to barely probe into the underlying causes of the current shortage, most of the discussion by various groups has centred around its possible solutions.

A few months ago one could buy gasoline at 25c a gallon from an independent service station but today one has to pay 37c. The price per gallon is still rising. Such a sudden transition from a state of abundance to a state of scarcity needs a better explanation than a few simple statements—"We are literally running out of fuel". "We are using up our reserves of fuel at a very rapid rate." "We are producing less fuel now than we are using and the decline in inventory in natural gas and petroleum has made us very concerned about what will happen to us in the late 1970s and 1980s."

Like other industrialised nations, oil is the very life blood of US economy. It heats homes, powers the factories, and turns the wheels of our transportation system. Simply stated, the very basis of the American business empire rests with the continued abundance of energy. Therefore, it is all the more important that we probe into the underlying causes and factors responsible for the current situation in the US and see if we have all the pieces of the puzzle together for a concise summary of the entire energy picture and some of its implications with respect to US national policies at home and abroad, or are there any pieces of the puzzle missing which could possibly produce an entirely different picture.

The US, like most other industrialised nations, has relied for its major energy on fossil fuels deep in our planet's crust. In 1972, the US used six billion barrels of oil which was 30 per cent more than it produced domestically. The deficit had to be imported. Just a few years ago the US imported only five per cent of its needs. Neither its economy nor population has grown to the extent which could justify this increase—five per cent in 1967-8 to 30% in 1972—a jump of almost 600% in imports.

Part of the answer, perhaps, lies in reduced domestic oil production during 1969-72. In 1969, one of Union Oil Company's wells in the Santa Barbara Channel, off the California Coast, blew out, spilling million of gallons of crude oil into the water and on the beach. The oil spill killed thousands of seabirds, cost Union Oil \$5 million in clean-up expenses and precipitated a State-wide ban on any further off-shore drilling in California. In March, 1970, a Chevron Oil Company platform in Gulf of Mexico caught fire. The fire

### Name of the Game

# ENERGY CRISIS

Marghoob Quraishi

raged out of control for a month while oil poured onto the shrimp and oyster beds off the Louisiana coast. Compared with the Santa Barbara oil spill, this was a major disaster. There were several other similar mishaps.

During the same period the "Environmental Crisis" was gaining ground and US Energy industry was one of its main targets. To quote one of the industry spokesmen, "Energy industry generally has been running into objections for construction of major facilities, for environmental reasons in many cases. I think this has led to a general inability to construct the needed production facilities." The environmentalists, however, deny this charge and say that the crisis is not born of imposing environmental restrictions, but the technological pattern that industry had embarked upon in the past. They say that "technology is a voracious consumer of both resources and energy and the waste products of our affluence are piling up around us on the land, the water and the air."

Mr. Darrell M. Trent, Acting Director of the Office of Emergency Preparedness, in part traces the present shortages to events of last winter. Exceptionally cold weather combined with low inventory of heating oils (as mentioned earlier) led to fuel shortages. At the government's request, refineries concentrated their production efforts on heating oil, causing gasoline inventories to fall below normal, hence, the gasoline shortage.

We can also see, though barely, another reason for this crisis which is as cleverly hidden as, perhaps, the "Watergate" mystery. On June 3, 1973, the Justice Department filed a Civil Antitrust Action against Texaco, the nation's second largest oil company, and Coastal States Gas Producing Company, the nation's Number two producer of home fuel oil and the largest supply source for independent marketers of gasoline. In its complaint the Department charged that the contract which the two companies began negotiating in March, 1971, was illegal. According to this contract, the Department charges that Texaco had conditioned the sale of crude oil upon Coastal's agreement to sell substantial amounts of refined products to Texaco. Currently Coastal is also being investigated by the Securities and Exchange Commission regarding statement of its gasoline reserves. This type of agreement, known as an Output Purchase Contract or Processing Agreement, is common throughout industry, and because of this the Department has recently gone to the Federal Court seeking to enforce FTC subpoenas to nine oil companies for informa-

tion regarding alleged shortages of natural gas reserves.

The monopoly of the International oil industry is well known in the world, particularly in its dealings with the Middle Eastern Countries. Like "Watergate", it may come to light that the oil industry's monopolistic practices also exist domestically. It is, however, not certain at this time if the pressure groups and oil lobby in Washington will allow the Justice Department's efforts to expose any antitrust activities of the oil industry. So far, to a great degree both government and public have taken the oil companies' statements—"We are short of fuel"—on its face value. And to find possible answers to the energy crisis state governments have been seeking help from industry, consulting groups, unions and various interest groups, including environmentalists.

For example, California, the nation's third largest oil producer, being unable to meet its own petroleum needs in recent years, asked Rand Corporation of Santa Monica, California to provide the State Assembly with some answers. It is recently published study, contained in three volumes and entitled "California's Electricity Quandry", Rand Corporation says, "The traditional response to energy problems whenever they have occurred has been to increase supplies, go out and find more and get it to market. And that needs to be done, but from our studies it does not appear that that provides a solution to the problems we are going to be facing. So what we have suggested is a combined solution—increasing supplies of fuels and at the same time trying to limit the growth rate and demand for the fuels. We have estimated that the electricity demand projected for the year 2000 could be reduced by about 65%—that would reduce the present rate of growth from about 8-8½% to about 3% per year. It would reduce the number of new power plants (fossil fuel and nuclear power) that are needed from 130 to somewhere around 25. That is significant and that starts helping. We have estimated that our needs to the year 2000 for baseload nuclear power supplemented by some additional sources could be met by a total of fewer than nine power plant sites of which we have 3 on the California coastline."

Reluctant to accept the decrease in growth rate as an answer to fuel shortage, Washington has also seen a flurry of activities in recent months. For example, in January, 1973, Henry Kissinger's staff started organising the paperwork which floated around the State Department, Pentagon, Central Intelligence Agency and other concerned agencies. Topics of the paperwork were: Middle East Policy, Monetary Dangers, Defence Shifts, Relations with Allies, Relations with Russia, vis-a-vis Alaska Pipeline. Off-shore Drilling on the East Coast, Hydroelectric and Atomic Power, Geothermal Energy from Geyser Fields, and Fusion Derived Energy Production, etc.

Although the results of the work initiated by Dr. Kissinger has not been fully made public, supplementary information has started to trickle out. For example, in a recently published study conducted by the National

"It can be safely concluded that the arguments against importing foreign oil have at best only surface value; that neither national security nor the dollar's health is in danger, and that US has necessary resources to maintain its self-sufficiency in energy requirements over the next 200 years. **Why then this hue and cry about energy crisis?**"

Petroleum Council's Committee on the US Energy Outlook we find that the picture is not really as dismal as has been painted. This Committee, which was activated at the request of the Secretary of Interior, is composed of about 200 highly qualified experts in various energy fields. According to this study the United States has:

- \*Potentially recoverable oil reserves sufficient to meet present demands for more than 65 years;
- \*Potentially recoverable gas reserves sufficient to meet present demand for more than 50 years;
- \*Measured and indicated coal reserves, commercially accessible with current mining methods, equivalent to nearly 300 years' supply;
- \*Potential uranium resources sufficient to meet present total electric power needs for 25 years;
- \*And recoverable shale oil reserves sufficient to meet national needs, at present demand levels, for about 35 years after natural oil reserves are exhausted.

"Taken in the aggregate", says the Committee Chairman, Mr. John G. McLean, "our basic potential energy resources have a BTU content sufficient to meet our needs for at least 200 years at present consumption rates. Mr. McLean continues, "Long before the end of that period, advances in technology should bring us new energy sources, such as nuclear fusion and solar power, which will greatly diminish the drain upon our natural energy materials. As time goes along, additional supplies of energy will be forthcoming only at significantly higher costs, but nonetheless we have the basic materials and technology to meet our long-term energy goals."

Based on available wide range of variables to the crisis, it appears, however, that answers advanced thus far do not seem to have provided basis for a unanimity in resolving the problem. In fact, the nation is standing on the horns of a dilemma. The longer it takes to resolve the problem the more stringent the measures will have to be employed. Let us reiterate the dilemma as it has been presented to the American public. To meet the present and future energy needs the US must either exploit domestic sources or import cheap oil from abroad or reduce the economic growth rate by taking a romantic step backward as demonstrated by the students at the University of California campus at Santa Cruz. It is evident that the implications publicised in support of these three basic approaches are at best bias and do not take into account the interest of the public at large. It appears that the interested groups have been systematically preparing public opinion in their favour before unveiling their true intents.

Based on available meagre facts alone it is, however, difficult to project the true intentions of these groups. One can take issue, however,

with the fears generated and released by the groups.

It has been reported that this year fuel imports will account for \$2.5 billion, which by 1980, will increase to \$10 billion. Therefore, it has been argued that this drain alone threatens the dollar stability, for, if these huge cash reserves were to be transferred erratically it could disrupt the international monetary system far more seriously than the 1971 crisis which forced the dollar's devaluation. To avoid this possible danger it has, therefore, been suggested that US must not import foreign oil. This argument lacks credibility on at least three counts. First, it assumes that essentially there will be little or no trade between US and oil exporting countries and therefore it will be a one-way outflow of cash. Second, it automatically assumes that oil exporting countries, being unable to spend internally, will probably behave irresponsibly and upset the existing international monetary system necessary for stabilising world currencies. Third, it assumes that expenditure on oil will be one of the most critical variables in determining overall US balance of payments in both short and long-term periods.

It is not correct to assume that there will be "One-way" outflow of cash. Oil exporting countries of the Middle East have been heavily buying consumer and defence-oriented goods and services from the US. In spite of "No war—no peace" conditions, contributed in part by US support to Israel during the last three wars, the area has been trading with the US and therefore there is no reason to believe that the US will lose its supply source let alone bilateral trade with the suppliers. Even assuming that the area cannot absorb oil revenue surplus and that US will have a yearly deficit of \$10 billion by 1980, this deficit in balance of payments does not compare with \$50 billion yearly deficit due to the Vietnam War. So far as the possibility of erratic handling of huge cash reserves by the area is concerned, one has to look only at recent international monetary turmoil caused by Multi-national Companies.

According to the *Economist* (May 5, 1973), "The national reserves of the Gulf States seem to have played a relatively small part in the West's recent monetary crisis." In the same issue the *Economist* quotes Mr. Anwar Ali, saying that Saudi Arabia did not speculate . . . and multi-national corporations are to be blamed for erratic shuffling of cash reserves. In Kuwait, a prominent banker, bitter at the losses he claims his country suffered in successive devaluations and at accusations that the Arabs are "irresponsible idiots trying to ruin the world's monetary system", adds a plea for co-operation. "It is not in our interests to have currency crisis. We know we cannot live without the rest of the world . . ."

The talk of \$10 billion yearly deficit projected for 1980 does not seriously take into

account the International Trade Agreements between the US and the rest of the world, particularly the prospects of expanding trade with Russia and China. Assuming that the present \$2.5 million trade deficit with the oil producing countries were to gradually increase (assuming these countries cannot buy more to offset the deficit) the US has an opportunity to buy from USSR. According to reliable sources, there is big talk these days about buying fuel from Persia. Observers believe that the recent meeting between Nixon and Brezhnev also included this item. If the oil deal between Russia and the US is consummated at some future date it could create an additional mutual interest between two super powers in maintaining their continued sphere of political influence and balance of power in the world.

Based on the foregoing analysis, it can be safely concluded that the arguments against importing foreign oil have at best only surface value, that neither national security nor the dollar's health is in danger, and that US has necessary resources to maintain its self-sufficiency in energy requirements over the next 200 years. Why then this hue and cry about energy crisis? Two hypotheses are presented. The first hypothesis concerns domestic affairs. Create an artificial shortage of fuel in order to build necessary public opinion pressure against environmentalists so that the oil industry can start drilling along the Continental Shelf and market Alaskan oil. As a by-product, this ploy will give support to other energy industries so that they can extract maximum concessions in building non-fossil fuel generators without too many governmental restrictions and limitations which are causing them to spend more money in safety features. Finally, the diversion will cause various Senate Subcommittees to relax their investigation into the possibility of closing tax loopholes, such as oil depletion allowances in computing taxes, now being enjoyed by the oil industry. The second hypothesis pertains to international politics. Create public opinion to establish the image that Middle Eastern Countries cannot be relied upon as responsible suppliers of oil and that to ensure steady supply of cheap foreign oil it is better for US to deal with Israel than with Arab countries.

Only time will tell if either of the two or both of these hypotheses are correct. For now we can conclude that it is an artificial crisis which has no basis in fact, and because of this, while the First Quarter net profits of the oil companies have been the highest in many years the consumers have been paying dearly. I guess until the real culprit is identified and brought to justice I will probably continue to pay 40 cents or more per gallon and the city governments like Los Angeles will continue to worry if companies like Standard Oil (which withheld its annual bid to sell 10.5 million gallons of gasoline for fiscal years to City of Los Angeles until recently) will bid again to sell them gasoline in 1974 for keeping police and other city vehicles on the road to serve the public. This I believe is the name of the game.

*Speaker of the House:* This session has been called for all the popular organisations, trade unions and other organisations to hear the reasons why we have to increase the prices of some important consumer goods. We will hear the Minister of Finance give his reasons. We will call upon all the brothers to talk about this subject. At the end we will ask the President to comment and to give us his advice.

*First Speaker* (Abdullah Obaid, an ex-communist and a column writer in the communist party papers before 1969, sided with Numeiry and is still a leftist): The May revolution in the past four years was controlling the masses and their imagination but the people have changed from supporting the revolution and have become against it (clapping of hands). This is very serious and any reactionary force can exploit the whole situation (clapping) and all that the May Revolution did can be spoiled (people clap and say, 'this is true'). By God, it is a very serious situation. We cannot understand it; why should we increase the price of *Luqmatul Aish* (daily bread), kerosene, sugar? Why don't you increase the price of foreign alcohol, the prices of building material, electricity (applause) water supply, the foreign-made clothes, the English shoes? Everybody whose salary is over 100 pounds from President Numeiry onwards should be taxed ('true', voices shout). The communists and leftists are ready and they are waiting for a chance and are very crafty and intelligent.

*Speaker of the House:* ('Brothers' . . . one member starts speaking, the speaker tells him to sit down). Please address yourself to reason rather than to emotions.

*Second Speaker:* Bismillahir Rahmanir Rahim. I am Abdul Qadir Essa, a member from the Mehdiya Area in Omdurman. I speak for my person and not for the council. (People shout at him 'You should talk about the council and not about your own views'. He replies: The subject is too serious; anyway I am sorry; he sits down).

*Third Speaker* (Muhammad Idrees Mahmud, ex-Minister in Numeiry's cabinet; one of the important members of the Association of Sudanese Businessmen; his political affiliation is towards Ummah Party):

Bismillahir Rahmanir Rahim. I was one of those who campaigned . . . to get Numeiry elected as a President; with the same honesty and with the same sacrifice that I had in the campaign I tell the President now that this increase is completely refused whatever the reasons for it (clapping). People say that it is business profiteering which is going to benefit from such increases. I feel I will be dishonest if I try to defend these increases in prices. I will not defend the Revolution, I will not defend the government. We will tell them the truth . . . I found responsibility lies with the Finance Minister and I, therefore, say that if we want to have the confidence of the people, we will have to ask the Finance Minister to resign (applause).

*Fourth Speaker* (Abdallah Nasri Ginawy, a Trade Unionist; one of the important leaders of workers, strongly anti-communist):

Bismillahir Rahmanir Rahim. I am re-

presenting trade unions of the Sudanese workers, as President of the Executive Committee of the Sudanese workers . . . Workers were preparing to come and make a parade to celebrate the Anniversary of the revolution. We wanted to show that the workers are the defenders of the May Revolution. It could have been a wiser decision if you had let the Anniversary celebrations pass by and then declare a rise in prices. It comes as a setback just a few days before the Anniversary celebrations. We have been in constant meeting since we heard over the radio the new rise in taxation from yesterday. We have already posted complaints to the President and to the people concerned asking them to register our protests . . . In spite of all this the media have been deceiving the public saying that the workers have accepted these decisions (applause) . . . We do not give our children fruits to eat. Their lunch is a cup of lemon with sugar. How can we give them lunch at all now? We refuse the increase in petrol, in sugar and the necessary goods. These decisions have to be re-stated and reconsidered. We want Numeiry himself to come down and withdraw the rise in the price of sugar and petrol (applause).

*Fifth Speaker* (representing farmers):

Bismillahir Rahmanir Rahim. The rise in prices in animal food and cotton seeds is affecting the farmer. After you have set free many of the political prisoners some of the political opponents outside the country would start coming back but unfortunately the rise in prices has spoiled everything (applause). The percentage of our support is going down from 100 to 1 percent and that too is doubtful.

*Sixth Speaker* (Bakhite Amin from the Sudanese Women's Association):

The rise in sugar is something which affects every family. If we say we are going to pass it, we will be dishonest (applause). People are boiling outside. Anybody can lead them. Everything of the Revolution will be lost in a minute from now (applause). People say this is the last nail in the coffin of Numeiry. Why don't you raise the bottle of whisky to £10. We will support you. If you make Benson 50p we will support you. Life would be impossible unless we withdraw the decision.

*Seventh Speaker* (Abdul Qadir Oligi; representing the Association of Parents who have children in schools):

I am not going to talk about cigarettes and petrol. I am talking about people who don't use cars or buses or any means of transport I am speaking about the elderly who cannot afford to buy a pound of sugar for 7p, let alone 10p (applause). I am only a graduate of a small Quranic School. I am not going to talk about economics. But I insist you withdraw at least the decision about sugar prices.

*Eighth Speaker* (Babikir an-Noor, member of Sudanese Youth Union. He also calls for the rescinding of the rise in prices.)

*Ninth Speaker:* The prices of commodities are too much. It could have been raised gradually but it has been wrongly timed, it has come only a few days before the anniversary of the revolution (applause).

(Speaker of the House asks the members to

Faced with widespread popular resentment at proposed increases in the price of sugar, kerosene and other commodities, Ja'far Numeiry offered to resign as President of the Sudan during a discussion in the Assembly of the Socialist Union, Sudan's only recognised political party. At first the President was merely called upon to 'comment and give advice' but events took a different, dramatic turn on

## The Day Numeiry Resigned

*Extracts from the recorded proceedings of special session of Sudan Socialist Unions and Popular Organisations, 22 May 1973.*

be silent and observe order and complains about the repetition of things. People protest as they think they are not going to be given enough time).

*Tenth Speaker* (Ahmad Muhammad Abdul Hameed, President of the Executive Committee of Trade Union workers of weaving, spinning and plastic industry):

There is a point which many of the previous speakers did not mention. We have to depend upon ourselves. We don't have to go and beg from other countries for money. This would create a lot of economic hardship.

*Eleventh Speaker.* It is due to the efforts of Numeiry that Sudan has progressed now and also due to his efforts that we have got a constitution. All the people said or retained 'Yes' vote for you to be President. We are your popular organisations. We are ready to help you and stand by your side and sacrifice our lives for the sake of the revolution and you . . . People have given Numeiry their confidence but they want to know where they are being led to and how it is being done. Despite all that also we have to tell you the rising prices are too much and we have got so many people who cannot afford them (applause).

*Speaker of the House:* Now the members have said enough and let us hear what the President has to say.

*President Numeiry* (received with a mixture of applause and hooting): This is a chance for me to talk about things in this country. This represents a real democracy (applause). I would like to speak very frankly to you. I will quote the constitution (Article 80) which says that President is head of the State, head of the Executive body and shares in the legislative powers, empowered by a direct election from the people after being nominated by the Sudanese Socialist Union according to the laws. Article 82 says the President is the symbol of unity and sovereignty and he is to bring freedom, justice and prosperity to the



people (applause). I tell you that the decision to raise the price of commodities has been taken with my agreement and I have given the green signal for it. Every member, every leader, every member of the cabinet or the Executive Committee of the Sudanese Socialist Union cannot take a decision without my approval. The President has got all the power. This is my own responsibility and I accept it. The suggestion that it was done by Finance Minister without my approval is not true. I would like to remind you of what I have said in the past that I will be a faithful soldier and obedient servant to the people and not a despot or a dictator. I carry your flag and my heart is full of love for you (applause). I will carry the flag even if I die. That is why I have accepted to be nominated for the Presidency of the Republic by the revolutionary council to serve the principles and ideals of my revolution. I have insisted that it should be a high percentage of voters who elect me. I cannot carry the responsibility alone without the support of Socialist Union and the support of the Sudanese people.

My revolution is no longer a slogan which can be monopolised by a small group of people, nor is it a victory for an individual. But it is a revolution of the people, by the people, for the people. The people went along with the revolution in its darkest hours and most difficult times and thorny roads when sacrifices had to be made; when blood was shed . . . The plot of the agents of high treason and foreign powers of the 19 July 1972, the plot of deceit and treachery (the attempted Communist coup) in the three black days in the history of Sudan when tears came down and blood was shed, the plot the agents of foreign powers was exposed to the people. The revolution is still there; it did not retreat and it is not going to bargain. It is the national interest which is of higher importance.

Now you tell me that the people in the streets outside are boiling and the counter revolution is very active because I have released some of the political prisoners. I have released only tens of them, only tens of them. You say I have opened the gates of the prisons and therefore the revolution is going to be lost and the counter revolution is very strong and active. If tens of people can demolish the revolution then it means there was no revolution. Where were you and what were you doing for four years when those people were locked in and you were given the chance to work. It means that what we had been doing was only slogans. Where are the popular organisations? Where is the 'Socialist Union'? This means that all those organisations were mere skeletons with no life. If the enemies of the revolution can destroy it overnight it means we had not been working but just talking and talking. You have been raising petitions for me. You had been organising marches and giving assurances that you will defend the revolution by your sweat and souls. Where is your work? Where are your sacrifices? Where is your blood? Where are the popular organisations? Where is the revolutionary leadership? The counter revolution is not dangerous. It is you who are

dangerous because you are trying to lead by cheap methods. If there is any military coup it is going to be against you and there will be new revolutionaries who will carry on.

There are many victories for the revolutionaries. We have defeated the political parties. We have crushed the religious sects. We have crushed the treacherous and racist elements. We have solved the problem of the South completely and there is no trouble there.

We have crushed all sorts of leadership in the country which a man in the street can follow and we have left it to you for four years and you still come to complain that the regime is in danger. I accept that the rising prices is a difficult situation but this is not the best way of discussing these things. I have not discussed it with any minister except the Finance Minister. Had I discussed it with you in advance you would have gone to buy sacks of sugar and stored it in your homes (loud interruption, some saying 'no', some saying 'we do not agree'; the President pleads for a hearing, 'quiet please: this is very dangerous'; more noise and interruptions. The President repeats the achievements of the regime again and also claims that the constitution has given freedom to the people and to the individuals). He continues: Sudan is now being praised for its achievements and is now getting famous. I have been told by the Minister of Health that the World Health Organisation meeting which he attended that all participants came and asked for advice from the Sudanese representatives (applause).

We have made education free, (loud interruptions of 'no, it is self-help') free medical treatment (interruptions of 'no it is not true'). Please let me finish and we have raised the minimum wages to 15 pounds a month. (Interruptions of 'no it is not true'.) Please be quiet. Please hear me. If they charge you for drugs it is your responsibility to get them free. (interruption 'the wages are still low; what you said is not true'). It should not be so. I have signed a decree just last week making the minimum wage £15 (interruptions, 'we have not heard of it'). I don't mind democracy after four years of experience, I know that Sudanese people want democracy and I would like to give them a special type of democracy.

The workers have decided to go on strike. Why don't they strike when their fellowmen don't turn up to work or delay the trains and the transportation of the consumers essential goods all over the country. Why don't they proceed with legal methods provided in the constitution. (In the Constitution to go on strike is illegal and punishable by death.)

One ton of sugar costs £146 and we buy this sugar on borrowed money which costs us £3 per ton extra. Therefore the total cost would be £149 per ton. Even so the Government is not getting any profit out of it. But you care about your incomes more than your country. You say that you want to sacrifice for the revolution and the country. After hearing what you have been saying I withdraw these decisions (interruptions, 'very good, very good'). Please be quiet and listen to me. I also offer my resignation from my offices as the President of State and Sudanese Socialist

Union (interruptions 'why? why?') and I will hand over the responsibility according to the constitution.

After sometime with the members of S.S.U. insisting that the President should come back, the Vice-President suddenly told them that President Numeiry knowing that the people wanted him and with his true feeling that the country needs him—had decided to withdraw his resignation.

Abul Qasim Hashim (the only politically surviving member of the Revolutionary Council of 1969, ex-Minister of Interior, leader of the campaign against Ansar in Aba in which several thousands were killed, now Minister of Health) took over. He said: It is the will of the masses manifest in the Socialist Union Assembly which says to the President, 'No, we do not accept your resignation' (applause) and the President had to concede. Our people are teaching other people the meaning of democracy and the meaning of determination.

The President then resumed by reading from the Qur'an.

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## Follow-up

## Cybernetics — Too dangerous an exercise

The study of human organisations has always been the concern of a variety of experts, and the assumptions in this respect have always been changing with the passage of time. Being cultured in a mechanically oriented environment, the modern mind is tempted to analyse and understand the human organisations on the patterns similar if not identical to those of machines. On the face of it, it might be difficult to totally resist such a temptation, but one has to understand that such an exercise is not without its own repercussions. The application of "Cybernetics" on human organisations is, perhaps, such an exercise which has been attempted in the columns of *Impact* (Vol. 2: 21; 24 and Vol. 3: 2). Cybernetics is a system of communication and control applied to electronics and other related mechanisms. In many cases the system of control is likely to be inherent in the patterns of communication and feedback. A machine is likely to reject operation or give wrong results if the feedback is not proper. For example, if you put a 5p coin in a 10p slot, your coin will be rejected by the machine. In other cases the control is exercised by the human beings because of uniformity and accuracy of communication and clarity of human perception—which is apparent by an example of traffic control system quoted by Mr. Dar (Vol. 2:21). Here the system of control is not exclusively the outcome of the traffic light system; it is rather the result of perception of the numerous individuals driving vehicles on the road. Thus it is the process of self-control and self-discipline of the human beings driving on the road which is contributive of the operation of the system. This is then an example where a system is operated combining mechanical apparatus and human beings in *unison*. Its success depends on:

- Uniformity and clarity of communication through red, amber and green lights and other signs;
- willing acceptance by the people of the underlying message each sign has to convey;
- willingness of the people to exercise self control and discipline.

But if we turn towards human organisations—social, political, ideological—the situation not only changes but becomes rather complex. Members of organisations at different levels do not deal with concrete objects like 5p coins to be put in a slot to get a required and predetermined object in return. Nor do they have to deal with red, amber or green lights which convey the same meanings to all. Rather they have to deal with human beings who are not in anyway alike, who bring forth a variety of ideas, notions and conceptions. The organizations deal with ideals, concepts, goals, objectives and similar abstract phenomena which, of course, could at times be translated into action and concrete operations. In this process, the communication and feedback is performed by human beings from one level to another. And unlike a machine each man by virtue of his experience, traits, habits, past experiences and innate capacities is different from another and is bound to behave differently. If someone hears the report of a number of observers who attended the same speech, he will have such divergent views, that it may be difficult for him to believe that all of them had heard the same speech. This would give an idea of divergence of perception of human beings of one single phenomenon. Likewise, the communication and feedback when operated by human beings is bound to take new shapes at each level of communication in a hierarchy of a human organization. Hence a set model of Cybernetics, if applied to human organisations, will have its own disadvantages and

pitfalls. Even if someone tries to mould it for specific needs of human organisation, it, being a model for electronics and similar mechanisms, is likely to identify with the latter and influence the former affecting its functions and development.

In human organisations you set as your goals that which is agreeable to most participants of your particular group. But the underlying meanings of the goals may carry different interpretations and emphasis for different members of the group. The organisational goals in the process of communication and feedback may take the shape of group or faction objectives or in the process of feedback the personal goals or goals of the groups may influence the organisational goals. This process of transformation in the communication system could be voluntary and it could be conscious or unconscious. For example, at a certain hierarchical level the opinion of an individual leader may change the very theme of a programme at his level. The values, beliefs, customs, the mental attitude of individuals, the economic and social status of members and many other aspects of their personality are likely to influence directly or indirectly not only the process of communication and feedback but also the objectives, goals and directions of the organisation.

Any organisation—be it political, social, or religious—operates in an environment. There operates a process of communication between the organisation and its environment. Now the question of negative and positive feedbacks (*Impact* 2:24) could be decided (i) with the point of view of organisation; (ii) with the point of view of environment (if there are no agreed accepted goals) or (iii) if there are agreed goals in the light of these goals. In the case of the last alternative (iii) the organisation would be effective and run smoothly and there would be clear divisions between 'positive' and 'negative' feedbacks whereas in case of (i) and (ii) the questions of 'positive' and 'negative' are likely to create conflict and confusion. In any system the group goals, and faction objectives can sometimes be created purposely to raise conflict and confusion for the achievement of factional objectives. In this state of confusion and conflict the real goals are often lost and the desired actions are delayed. At this point the power of social and political system will have to play an important role, otherwise this confusion and conflict sways the masses beyond control. And here power would refer to an ideological framework with an inherent capacity to allow desired change instead of refusing to learn. Such an ideological force shall have the ability to withstand all challenges of confusion and conflict.

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# Presenting Islam in the European Environment

Mujahid al-Sawwaf

A European's first contact with Islam is probably through his history books, when he reads of the collapse of the Persian and Byzantine Empires. His first real contact is likely to be when he reads about the Crusades, when the long conflict between Europe and Islam took place.

In the world of Islam one reads the history of these wars from a Muslim point of view. In Europe there is no question that it is seen from a Christian point of view. Admittedly some historians, both Muslim and European, have approached the subject objectively, but these chronicles are read only by a very few intellectuals and specialists.

On consulting the Oxford English Dictionary or the Shorter Oxford Dictionary to look up the name of the Prophet of Islam, we would find the following entries: *Maumet*: of Mahomet, idol, a use of Mahomet, Mahomet due to the medieval notion that Muhammad was worshipped as a god. A false god; an idol. Figurative: applied to a person as a term of abuse.

*Mahound*: The false prophet Mohammad; generally, a false god, an idol, a monster, used as a name for the devil.

*Mohammed*: 1615. The name of the founder of the Muslim religion.

Many libraries in the West are full of books which paint the worst possible picture of the Arabs and Islam. Yet there are also books written by westerners which present an improved picture but again, they are specialized and the layman does not profit from them.

Books on Islam written by Muslim authors are usually written originally in another language such as Arabic, Urdu, Persian, Turkish, Malay, and so on. They are then translated into a European language. But being written for non-western readers, the problems discussed may not appeal to the European who lives in a different society and culture, and has different problems, and up-bringing. In addition to this, the translation itself may not be of a very high standard.

Other works on Islam have been written by non-European Muslims. Nearly always the European language is the author's second language and this is reflected in his style. Too often they will be full of praise for Islam and full of strong criticism of the West—an attitude which is unlikely to appeal or be of benefit to a western reader. Indeed, he may see such an attack as a petty jealousy. How much better would it be if the European newcomers to Islam were to write such books.

A European needs to read books written with a European mentality, logic, style, and way of thinking. Islamic centres and bodies working for Islam should encourage such projects instead of translating large numbers of books into western languages.

It may safely be said that most westerners or non-Muslims believe that Islam was spread by the sword, but Muslim scholars should not attack those who believe such an untruth. Rather, they could quote Christian and Jewish sources on how the Muslim "armies" actually behaved with those whom they "conquered".

How did the Arabs "attack not the Christian faith, but, on the contrary, they favour our (Christian) religion, do honour to our priests and the saints of the Lord, and confer benefits on churches and monasteries"? Many such testimonies by Christians and Jews could be presented.

Another common belief is that Muslims are fanatics. History itself gives the lie to this, producing a long list of Jews and Christians occupying positions as ministers in Muslim courts. To this day Christian and Jewish minorities live happily with their Muslim brothers. To correct these misconceptions, it can be shown that Muslims entered the hearts of men before entering their countries. Muslims believed that God had sent them to liberate men from the worship of their fellow men. When the Muslim army reached the Valley of the Jordan and Abu 'Ubaydah pitched his camp at Fihl, the Christian inhabitants of the territory wrote to the Arabs saying: "O Muslims, we prefer you to the Byzantines, though they are of our own faith, because you keep better faith with us and are more merciful to us and refrain from doing us injustice and your rule over us is better than theirs, for they have robbed us of our goods and our homes."

Another source of information about Islam is the Muslim immigrants. In 1965 I was a freshman at Oxford. In my first lesson with about sixteen children between 13 and 16 years old I asked: "What do we believe as Muslims?"

"In a Muslim trinity," answered one of the boys, with a beautiful Oxford accent.

"My son", I asked, "What is our trinity?"

"Allah, Muhammad, and the Qur'an, three gods in one and one in three," he replied.

The boy was very intelligent but his father was so busy making money that he seldom saw his son to tell about Islam. It is not difficult to come across grown-up Muslims who too are equally ignorant.

How terrible is the picture of Islam that some immigrants present! Islam is good manners, clean habits, and an ethical behaviour. Before coming to Islam 'Umar had buried his own child alive while she was brushing the dust from his beard and felt no qualms about it. After Islam the same man used to cry and say that if a riding animal in Iraq slips and hurts itself 'Umar will be asked on the day of judgement why had he not prepared the track. Such was the change. There is no point in going through the acts of prayer, fasting or Hajj and yet not practising Islam. Islam is a complete way of life. The blessed Prophet said that he whose prayer does not turn him away from evil deeds will never come close to God.

The Muslim traders of the past were the preachers of Islam. Islam was introduced to Indonesia, Malaysia and Southeast Asia, as well as parts of Africa. Today, the number of immigrants in one European country may be more than all these traders, but the former seem also to have brought with them their clannishness. Many prefer to work with people

from the same village, town, country, than to work with other Muslims. Islamic fraternity is something which must be seen rather than just recited.

Every Muslim living in the West should be a preacher for Islam, setting a good example with his family and his household, and there must be a plan to bring this about. We need a great deal of research concerning the Muslims in Europe: where they live, the mosques, Muslim shops, the kind of work they do, the factories at which they work, their social lives, the schools their children attend, free time and how it is spent, how they can be reached. Mosques and centres should be built on the basis of such studies everywhere. The mosques should be as alive as the Mosques of the Prophet in Medina. Muslims should also be taught the history of the Islamic world, and, of course, also they should be taught something about their religion. A solid programme is needed to promote and sustain a true Islamic fraternity.

Another important medium for the propagation of Islam in the West is the student. There are many Muslim students in Europe. The last two Shaikhs of al-Azhar have been graduates from the West. Many people in Mecca, Medina and other Islamic universities have also graduated from the West. One must not blame the Muslim student for straying away from Islam. What alternative have we to offer? The system of education in the Muslim countries produces a Muslim who knows more about Napoleon than Khalid bin al-Walid and more about Shakespeare than al-Bukhari. An organization can be set up to receive the incoming students. Cultural attaches from the various embassies should visit them as often as possible. Muslim student hostels should be set up in every major European city. A student bank should be available to help when they are in difficulty.

Surely it is time for Islamic organisations to care about the Muslim students who are the future leaders of the Islamic world.

The working of the various Islamic Centres needs to be vastly improved. Some Islamic centres are like churches. They are open on certain days of the week for prayers, for people to be married or divorced, to perform *janaza* for the dead and to hold the two 'Id prayers. Sometimes people are sent to these countries, but they do not know any European language. This seriously limits their contact with society because they are not able to converse, deliver lectures, or mix with people. Also, they lack in knowledge of the country's history, habits, culture, or way of life. Although they may be well-versed in the Qur'an, Hadith, Fiqh, Islamic Law, yet they are not going to teach these subjects.

What Europe needs is broad-minded, open-hearted Muslim workers who should be able to mix with the community, know the people, their problems, and their hopes; they should be with them most of the time, be active in society, deliver lectures, visit students and students' unions, attend meetings. They are the preachers and ambassadors of Islam.

● Presented at the conference of Islamic Centres and bodies in Europe, London, 17—19 May.

## Books

### The missionary-orientalist mind

*The mind of the Quran, George Allen & Unwin 1972*

Several books on the Qur'an have followed in quick succession from the pen of Rev. Kenneth Cragg. All are marked by considerable literary quality and scholarship. They at the same time reveal the strain and stress to which a 'non-Qur'anic mind' is exposed in its attempt to understand what is Qur'anic. The conclusions naturally remain the same and an inner 'disquiet' with some of the features of the Qur'anic consciousness runs through them all. As a result all his valuable studies, and especially the present one, becomes more revelatory of the mind of the writer than of the 'mind' of the Qur'an. The basic difficulty with Western writers is that they treat the Qur'an like any other 'book' and review and assess it accordingly. If the Qur'an calls itself a 'book' it is certainly not in our modern bibliographical sense. What happens as a consequence is that the Qur'an is appreciated in one place, disapproved in another; some point is generally conceded in the interest of fairness, then the concession is qualified in the name of 'open honesty'; some old strictures are 'boldly' challenged and some new ones are added as one's own contribution. 'Courtesies' are tempered with 'realism' and Western 'susceptibilities' and native 'sensitivities' are given equal weight. With an outside approach like this the Qur'an will always remain a sealed text, replete with problems but shorn of its mystery.

Let us see what the Qur'an itself requires of its readers. None shall touch the Book save those who are pure! Needless to say what is in question here is not any formalistic or ritualistic sense of purity. It can best be seen by the effects that it evokes.

Shaken and moved when it is read to them 'they fall down on their faces weeping, and it increaseth humility in them.' (XVII-109). This can happen only when natural sensitivity is not numbed by bibliographical pressure and traditional pre-judgements. The Qur'an then as experienced is the living Qur'an, a record of Divine messages and intimations. As against this the Qur'an studied with scholarly presumption and 'rational interrogation' is a secondary replica, a historical event subject to all incidental determinations.

Prof. Cragg is unhappy with the view of revelation being a 'purely inactive reception'. He is rather concerned to

emphasize the active 'instrumentality' of the Prophet and his 'spiritual quest'. Whereas Muslims consider the Prophet first and foremost a 'receptant' and it is by divine Grace that the Prophet is able to withhold his 'activity' during the moments of 'reception'. These notions, inactivity and activity, are Cragg's own and so he is emphasising on 'activity'. What would this 'activity' really imply? That the Revelation instead of being a pure and Divine vouchsafed also contained within itself the projection of the Prophets own self. What Rev. Cragg wishes to do in all good faith is to Muhammadize Islam!

What does then the Qur'anic conviction really mean to the writer? Happily he does not mince words in his value-judgements and there is hardly any possibility of misunderstanding him. The Qur'an is 'religiously sanguine and politically naive'. Its theism is 'imperious' and its monotheism 'fierce'. Its God is 'authoritarian whose sovereignty is 'irresponsible'. With commendable frankness he observes: 'The Qur'an has no scruples about power, except the ultimate scruple' (but what an exception! that it is to be 'on behalf of God' and 'in His way'. (p. 140). Rev. Cragg thinks that Islam counts 'hypocrisy' as 'a necessary risk in a larger aim' (p. 195). And further: 'Only in the militancy is the sincerity' (p. 195) (italics mine). If any more evidence is needed of Christian capitals let us carefully listen to his final pronouncement. 'Islam's involvement with power' is not 'an aberration from its ideals and an episode in its moods'. It is 'a central and integral quality of its conviction' (pp. 195-196). And of course 'summary is always a precarious venture' (p. 195).

Now if we are to believe Prof. Cragg the world (especially the Christian world), is becoming more and more "Islamicized". At no time in history has power been used with less scruples and more ferocity than it is today. Nations which are supposed to uphold Christian values and traditions have sent untold millions to eternity. Nor has the world ever witnessed a period when the cult of victory and success has been so assiduously cultivated both individually and collectively. 'Victory at all costs' is the slogan which is officially dinned into the ears of the young and old, though contemporary hypocrisy would feign term it 'peace at all costs'. And yet Islam is charged with having 'an instinct for success and triumph'. How can success be pursued without a transcendental accent in the context of a view which openly declares the world to have 'little content'?

Let us proceed a little further. The comments on the presence of *Jinns* in the Qur'an are balanced. Cragg agrees that they do not affect Divine authority. They are 'created beings' (6:100) who come into judgement (6:128), they are not denied but demoted by the Qur'an, where demonic forces are real enough but not absolute' (p. 157). Since an over-emphasis on margi-

nal issues may easily create confusion it is better to be parsimonious in one's observations. There is of course no question of neglecting or side-tracking the issue! Nor is there any need to offer any apologia for the presence of 'primitive residues' in the Qur'an. It is quite in keeping with the Qur'anic vision of infinite creation, of worlds which are accessible to normal experience and of worlds which are not. The recognition of extra-human intelligences, by whatever names they be called, have formed part of the esoteric strands of different religions and in Muslim as well as non-Muslim mystic traditions different levels and planes of reality corresponding to them have been assumed. But of course any decision on such issues may be left to one's own psychic sensitivity and the warrant of one's own experience. Only we may be allowed to make one peripheral reflection. Why after all do the *Jinns* pose a problem to the author while the angels do not? Is it because the angels are familiar to the Christian traditions while the *Jinns* are not?

Now let us grapple with more basic questions. Christian writers have been continuously repeating that the God of the Qur'an is the God of a mere arbitrary power. Prof. Cragg too repeats what others have said in this regard and what he has himself said in his earlier works. The question arises whether the decisions which are considered 'arbitrary' are really arbitrary or only apparently so because they defy explanation or rationalisation in the limited framework of our knowledge. One wonders why only those scholars who are so fond of tracing to its source every feature of the Qur'anic perspective do not care to seek the origin of this "arbitrariness" in the God of The Old Testament? One is also puzzled why the same thing becomes plausible and respectable when termed 'inscrutable' in one place but decried as "arbitrary" in another.

Lastly one must also take into account Prof. Cragg's standing complaint against the Qur'an. It is not responsive to the 'dark reaches' in man. What is more serious is that the human tragedy does not seem to affect God. If tragedy 'does not reach God' it is 'irresponsible sovereignty' (p. 143). The difficulty indeed lies in that image of God which traditional Christianity has projected down the ages. Whatever we may think of it Islam is what it is by a decisive exclusion of anthropocentric pathos. 'He is free from what they ascribe to Him'.

Rev. Cragg's work is as elegantly written as any of his other works. It is also not lacking in fine observations and perceptive comments. Yet it does not serve the purpose for which it is supposed to be intended. It is apt to make the dialogue between sister religions all the more difficult and one is not sure whether it will contribute more to understanding or estrangement.

Prof. Syed Vahiduddin

## More Modern Thought Makers

**Einstein** by Peter N. Hamilton, 60 pages

**Koestler** by Wolfe Mays, 57 pages

*Lutterworth Press*, 50p each

One does not have to be a physicist to be familiar with Einstein. His contribution is appreciated by academics and non-academics alike: the man in the street may not actually know what the theory of relativity says but he knows that there is a theory of relativity and, of course, Einstein had something to do with it. But who is Koestler? What is his contribution?

Wolfe Mays thinks that the author of *The Ghost in the Machine* was first to show, through his political essays and novels, the dilemma of modern intellectuals who find themselves in suspended animation between the doctrinaire dictates of a political party and the more enlightened moral and political dictates of their conscience. Koestler's own life gives insight to this internal struggle of intellectuals. He generalized and systematized his experiences and perceptions in political behaviour and showed that 'political institution, art, literature, drama, music as well as natural sciences and mathematics, were all human products, which exhibited in various forms not only similar rational but also similar irrational tendencies.' This is why Koestler's work is so important, argues Mays, somewhat unconvincingly. One cannot help feeling that Koestler stated, in a rather profound way, the obvious with a sense of real discovery. Anyhow, Mays account of Koestler's thinking on political and social behaviour and on creativity and science is well worth reading even if one gets an uncanny feeling of *deja vu*.

Peter Hamilton's *Einstein* is a concise, graphic account of not so much the man but his thought and work. The special theory of relativity receives a simple, yet elegant treatment which can be followed without any real mathematical background. A few diagrams would have helped a lot and although a definition of inertial systems is included a more precise statement as to what is a non-inertial reference frame would have made the matter easier. The situation could be further improved by a non-sketchy treatment of Galilean transformation. Apart from these minor points the special theory of relativity is explained well. When it comes to the general theory of relativity Hamilton proves to be even more concise; his descriptive account leaves the reader completely free from mathematical formulations.

Hamilton's book concentrates on the theory of relativity. Einstein's work on Quantum Physics is lost under a small section entitled 'Einstein's later work'. His deterministic attitude to Physics is virtually untouched: Einstein played an important part in dethroning the old determinism of classical physics, yet he remained a determinist himself. 'We cannot foresee anything but probabilities', he used to say. 'All right. Nevertheless I cannot think that God passes His time playing at dice!' Simplicity is a dominant theme in Einstein's work and writings. He was of the opinion that all physical theories should be capable, apart from all calculations, of illustrations by images so simple 'that even a child could understand them'. Hamilton has almost achieved this simplicity.

Z.S.

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## Briefing

**Justice in South Africa** by Albie Sachs, *Chatto/Hamilton*, £3-25

South Africa's penal statistics have an air of horrific brutality: in 1967 alone 93 people were hanged, 12,300 flogged and 486,000 sentenced to prison and approximately one million prosecutions were launched in terms of race statutes. In his well researched book, Albie Sachs, a former lawyer of the Cape Bar and now a law lecturer at Southampton University, traces the legal inequality in South Africa from the slave trading Dutch who settled at the Cape, through the subjugation of the indigenous population by the British and Boer rule, until the time of union in 1910. He completes his book by giving an account of the growth of the legal profession in modern South Africa. The picture which emerges is that of a police state. The police now has power to detain anyone as and when they wish and the courts are powerless to prevent the awesome physical and psychological torture used during interrogation. Even if the courts ruled against the police the government undermines the ruling of the courts simply by changing the law. In a great many cases, says Albie Sachs, the judges have allowed 'the prestige associated with their office to be used for the pursuit of injustice'.

**A Portrait of English Racism** by Ann Dummett, *Penguin*, 50p

Ann Dummett sets out, as the title indicates, to portray English racism. To do so she draws largely on her experience as community relations officer for Oxford and relates some very moving stories of discrimination. Mrs. Dummett attempts to set modern English racism in the context of 150 years of exploitation of West Indians, Indians, and Africans by the English. She traces the racism of English literature right down to children's comics and concludes that the non-whites in Britain are like Jews in Nazi Germany, forced to wear distinguishing patches rendering them objects of scorn and derision. The English, says Mrs. Dummett, are racist to the core, and little could be done about it. Only education can provide the answer, only when people learn 'how to think and feel' will racism be combated.

**The Careless Technology—Ecology and International Development** by John Milton,

Even in the seventies some developing nations continue to have blind faith in western technology: it is imported *en masse*, unassessed as though it is a magic potion to be sprinkled on a developing nation to transform it into a highly developed, industrialized country. During the fifties and the sixties this belief was much stronger and the Third World piped western technology without any serious social and environmental analysis on their suitability or effects. It was assumed that the developed world was selflessly attempting to aid the social and economic development of underprivileged nations in a manner which was least harmful, most beneficial. This book catalogues some of the blunders which have resulted from transplanted technology: irrigation canals instead of increasing productivity increase schistosomiasis (liver fluke disease); attempts to alleviate malnutrition by disturbing high protein additives result in acute vitamin A deficiency, an outbreak of keratomalacia and irreversible blindness; agricultural aiders manage to promote plague of locusts... The list is agonisingly long and hideous. Technological man, however, does not see these failures in term of technology but as flaws of the

environment where the technology is put into operation. It occurs to few that the technology itself is basically unsound.

**Gateway to Islam** (in four volumes) by S. J. A. Doray, *Ashraf*, 40p each

This series of four books introduces Islam to children of school-going age. It contains lessons based on the teachings of the Qur'an and Traditions of the Prophet Muhammad, stories of early prophets and of heroes of Islam. Books One, Two and Three contain lessons which present an elementary treatment of obligations of a Muslim and Book Four attempts a much fuller discussion of these. Written in very simple English the books follow the Shafi'i school of thought.

**The Forgotten Thousands—Bengalis in Bangladesh Jails** by M. M. Islam. Published by the Author (23A Highbury Grange, London N5), 25p

The story of two million Biharis is a tragic one. They have become aliens in the very country they helped to create: deprived of their property, without employment, and under constant threat for their lives. Other non-Bengalis have not fared any better either; other minorities of Bangladesh such as the hundred thousand Buddhist Chakmas have been declared aliens. And what about the Bengalis themselves? With the exception of the followers of Awami League the Bengalis too are in an unhappy state. Thousands have been dubbed 'collaborators' and now saturate the jails of Bangladesh. This book is about these unfortunate people of Bangladesh and attempts to throw light on their plight.

**Luxor—A Guide to Ancient Thebes** by Jill Kamil, *Longman*, 90p

Luxor is an Egyptian town on the upper Nile, some 450 miles south of Cairo. It exhibits remains of Egypt's New Kingdom's capital, Thebes. At Thebes there is the 300-yard-long Temple of Amenhotep III, to which Rameses II added an extensive court, in which is depicted his victory over the Hittites. At Thebes there is the tomb of Tutankhamen, the young Pharaoh who met a sudden end; his tomb was found bursting with furniture, emblems, utensils, ornaments. And at Thebes there is the Temple of Der al Medina, a Ptolemaic temple which consists of a large vestibule... In short Thebes is an archeological paradise, a place to reflect on Pharaohs' Egypt. Jill Kamil is an amiable guide, ably assisted by Alistair Duncan's photographs and Hasan Ibrahim's plans.

**Zulfikar Ali Bhutto — The People's President/Zulfikar Ali Bhutto — A Journey of Renaissance**, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of Pakistan Rs. 10/- each

These two books are pictorial records of the activities of the President of Pakistan. **The People's President** is a picture essay on the president's meeting with the people of Pakistan and contains highlights of his visits to China, USSR and of his journey to Simla for 'peace with honour'. **A Journey of Renaissance** is a pictorial record of the President's whirlwind tours of the Middle East and North Africa—1972. Both books carry short introductions providing background information on President Bhutto's tours. The printing is simply excellent although the colour printing could be a little better.

## Letters

### Jerusalem

We have noted with great concern and dismay the reports published in *Impact* and recently in *The Times* concerning the sacrilege against Jerusalem. You have rightly pointed out the Israeli excesses and noted their attempts "to obliterate the sanctity of Jerusalem and make the place a meeting place for mammon".

Sir, what Muslims lack is sustained action and planning to prevent Jerusalem becoming the Monte-Carlo cast of Suez.

Already irreparable damage has been done to the skyline of the holy city since its capture in 1967. The burning of Al-Aqsa mosque and the tunnelling in and around Haram-ash-Sharif to expose Herod's temple are only two instances of such damage. Christian holy places are not immune either as the desecration of Greek Orthodox churches at St. Elie, Bethlehem and Ain-Karim testify. All this goes on in spite of UN Resolutions, and local protests. What is most deplorable is that this is being done purely for political and financial reasons without any regard to aesthetic or religious considerations. This is in sharp contrast to the period of Muslim control, when Jerusalem was revived as a city of spiritual value, not as it is now—a haven for property speculation and senseless excavation.

Surely this is a matter of grave concern to the heads of Muslim States (if they have time from their internal and regional squabbles) and to the Muslim masses alike. It is time we should be shocked into action. We can begin by mobilising world opinion by writing to newspapers and to world leaders e.g. King Faisal, Pope Paul and UN Secretary General etc.

Mr. Arthur Katcher in his book "The New Jerusalem planning and politics" noted that public action, on a wider and more intense scale, is the only hope of saving Jerusalem from the excesses of planners and politicians. But this action will have to come soon. May we appeal also to all readers to take immediate action—before it is too late.

Wolverhampton,  
Warwick,  
U.K.

DR. M. J. HUSSAIN  
DR. M. M. AHMED  
MRS. F. RABBANI

### Sultan Abdul Hamid's letter

In Dr. Tibawi's letter (*Impact* 3:1) he asks, "Does a sultan-caliph refer to Palestine as the 'Holy Land'? If this is a suggestion that it is unusual for Muslims to do so, how does one explain the reference at Surah Maida, ayats 22 and 23:

"And when Moses said to his people:  
... 'Enter the Holy Land which God  
has assigned for you ...'"

The expression here is *Al-Ard Al-Muqaddasah*, The Holy Land. True, it comes from the lips of Moses here, but he was God's prophet of that time and Qur'an indicates no disfavour of using the term.

Maryland, U.S.A.

S. S. MUFASSIR

### Jakarta's Governor & Cremation

Regarding the article on Indonesia (*Impact* 3:2) in which you mentioned Ali Sadikin's idea on cremation, there were many Muslim scholars who strongly opposed this unlawful idea, among them Prof. Dr. Rasyidi, Prof. Dr. Hamka, and H. Abdullah Syafi'ie. Eventually Ali Sadikin withdrew his proposal and followed the ulama's advice, namely to abide by practices such as those obtaining in Saudi Arabia, without being troubled by the land problem.

Ali Sadikin himself said that he purposely threw open the issue which eventually was taken up by the ulama. But this is just another story.

London, NW2

M. FADHOL AROVAH M.

### The "most" Islamic Constitution?

Your sweeping statement about Pakistan's constitution: "It has been claimed that it

contained more Islamic provisions than any other "Islamic" Constitution in the world, and this is certainly true." (*Impact* 2 : 23) is simply not true. Beside the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia whose declared constitution is the Qur'an and Sunnah (full-stop) the Yemen Arab Republic, to my knowledge, takes the lead in adopting Islamic provisions in its permanent constitution passed in December 1970.

The following examples may conclusively prove that. On the legal aspect, which is the most important from the Islamic point of view, Article 3 defines the Islamic Shari'a as "the source of all laws". Article 152 elaborates: "the provisions of the Islamic Shari'a relating to business shall be defined that they do not differ from any text or ijma". The law provides for the appointment of a technical Shari'a body to assume this responsibility." A Supreme Constitutional Court to be formed from a number of Shari'a scholars of high qualifications to decide upon the constitutionality of laws is provided for in article 155. All judicial appointments are to be made from amongst the "scholars in the Shari'a law, of sound character and behaviour" (Art. 146).

More interesting are the qualifications required in the political organs of the State. Members of the Republican Council (3 to 5 members), which represents the Presidency of the State, should be, according to Art. 75, "well conversant with affairs related to the Shari'a, of good behaviour and conduct, upholding Islamic practises". A member of Majlis al-Shura (the parliament) is required "to be of good conduct (and) to observe religious practise" (Art. 49). The oath taken by all members of the Majlis, the Cabinet and the Republican Council, starts as follows: "I swear in the name of the Almighty God to adhere to the Book of Allah and to the law of His Prophet, to be faithful to my religion . . ." (Arts. 55, 79 and 104). Article 41 states that the defence of religion is a sacred duty. The country's economy should be organised in accordance with a plan laid down by the Government "in which the principles of Islamic social justice should be observed" (Art. 10). Article 37 states that "partisanship in all its forms is prohibited".

No written constitution in the Muslim world, to the best of my knowledge, goes as far as that. However, it remains absolutely true, as you comment, that the Islamic quality of a constitution "is determined not by the number of provision it contains, but by the simple criterion of its ability to establish what is regarded as good and desirable in Islam and to control what it regards as evil and undesirable". In other words, how serious is the government in taking the whole question of realising an Islamic society? In that respect the Yemen Arab Republic, like the rest of the Muslim world, leaves much to be desired.

Cambridge, U.K.

A. Z. AL-ABDIN

### "Slavery and liberation"

S. S. Mufassir's article, "Slavery and liberation" (*Impact* 2 : 24) with particular reference to the Swahili booklet "A History of Slavery in Islam and other Religions" by Sheikh Muhammad Kasim Mazrui was very interesting and most attracting to that issue of the magazine itself.

The last paragraph, however, on the phrase "Mwenyezi Mungu" needs comment. In East Africa "Mwenyezi Mungu" is a term used by both Muslims and Christians when they refer to God. And I believe that the booklet would not have served the purpose better than to be in that language which the Christians would also understand and favour. This will, no doubt, be a benefit for those Christians in East Africa who were misled during colonial days by false information given to them.

May I also point out that Sheikh Muhammad Kasim Mazrui was not a Chief Justice but a Chief Kadhi of Kenya. It may appear to be one and the same but, in Kenya these are two different offices.

Mombasa, Kenya

HAMMAD MOHAMED

## An Islamic Centre for Brussels

### Impact Report

With the arrival of thousands of Muslim workers and students from various countries during the sixties, the Muslim community of Belgium was obliged to arrange for the necessary facilities to practice Islam.

In 1963 the General Council of the Muslim Community and the Islamic Cultural Centre were established. Steps were taken to obtain from the Belgian government the facilities for the essential needs of the Muslim community in Belgium: a mosque and an Islamic Centre; a cemetery; recognition of Islam in Belgium as an official religion.

The Mosque and Islamic Cultural Centre were recognized by royal decree no. 3695 of 26 April 1968, as a non-profit making body. Both are directed by the General Council of the Muslim community, comprising 26 heads of mission of Muslim countries, the Imam-director of the Centre and also five members elected by the Muslim community of Belgium.

A solemn ceremony was held during the state visit of King Feisal of Saudi Arabia, when the Minister of Justice handed over the keys of a building known as "Oriental Pavilion". This is an old building located in the centre of the city, a few hundred yards from the headquarters of the Common Market and the Belgian ministries. It requires substantial changes in the structure and needs redecoration before it can serve as a mosque.

Egypt has proposed a scheme requiring an expenditure of about one million dollars to enable the building to be put to proper use as a mosque. A library, an institute and a school will be added to the Centre so that it can become a radial point for Islam in the capital of Europe.

A term of ten years has been granted to the Centre by the Ministry of Public Works to restore the building. Four years have now past without any substantial progress. The fund collected so far stands at a total of \$220,000.

Land for a Muslim cemetery was donated by the county of Liege in 1969. The Islamic Centre is negotiating with the local authorities for a second cemetery in the near vicinity of Brussels.

The Islamic Centre has submitted to the Parliament a bill providing recognition of Islam as an official religion in Belgium, which implies that eventually the Belgian Government has to bear the costs in connection with the Islamic and Arabic courses in the schools.

The Islamic Centre supervises Islamic instruction and Arabic lessons in the schools. The Tunisian government has sent two bilingual teachers and the Moroccan, Libyan and Egyptian authorities are considering sending teachers for the new school-year. In spite of the limited resources the Islamic Centre has recruited eight teachers who are now teaching in governmental schools. For a school population of more than 2,000 the Centre needs at least 40 teachers more.

The Centre has appealed to all Muslim governments to send teachers with knowledge of French and Arabic to help in its teaching programme. The Centre also made an open appeal for donations. Money is needed to make the Islamic Centre fully operational within the time allotted by the Belgian government.

## Pakistani Embassy arranges Loans for Students

Impact News

The Education Division of the Embassy of Pakistan has issued a circular to Pakistani students in the UK informing them that all arrangements for the grant of student loans have been finalised. These loans will be given to bona-fide students who were receiving foreign exchange from their parents/guardians in Pakistan at the time of devaluation and who were adversely affected by the new rate.

The maximum available loan has now been increased from Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 15,000 and the parents/guardians of students have been absolved of responsibility of being the prin-

cipal guarantors for repayments, the students themselves are assuming this. The loans are being sanctioned with effect from May 12, in keeping with the date of devaluation.

## UKIM Issues a Resolution on Pakistan Bill and a Fatwa on Purdah

Impact Report

The Pakistan Bill has drawn strong protest from the UK Islamic Mission. "This Bill puts many Pakistanis and Kashmiris into a very vulnerable position", declares the Secretary of the Mission, Mr. Saleem Kayani. The Bill makes an unknown number of Pakistanis residing in Britain illegal immigrants and subject to deportation. "The mission considers the Bill to be completely unfair", says Mr. Kayani "and has asked its branches and Circles throughout Britain to mobilise public opinion against the Bill by approaching their local MP's and by co-operating with other organisations working towards this end to safeguard the rights of a large number of their Muslim brethren in the UK."

The Central Executive Committee of the Mission has issued a resolution condemning the Bill and requesting the British Government to end the agony of hundreds of Pakistanis and Kashmiris. The Mission thinks that the Pakistani Government too bears some responsibility. The resolution asks the Pakistani Government to "take some positive steps regarding dual nationality and to end the uncertainty faced by Pakistanis and Azad Kashmiris".

The Central Executive Committee of the Mission has also issued a fatwa concerning the observance of Purdah. The Executive Committee defines the limits of Purdah as the whole of female body which must be covered with the exceptions of face and hands. "This is the minimum that should be insisted upon in this country, the desirable being the covering of the entire body

including the face", says the Central Committee of the Mission. Although the basic responsibility to conform and mould her way of life according to the Qur'an and the traditions of the Beloved Prophet lie with the wife, the husband cannot be "exonerated from all responsibility, especially as he is responsible for running the affairs of the household in accordance with the Divine guidance".

●The Mission plans to hold its Annual Conference in Leicester on 25-27 August. The participation fee is £9.00 per head but there will be some concessions for students and youth. Mr. A. K. Brohi, Prof. T. B. Irving, Director General of World Muslim League, Sheikh Ahmad Siraj, President of Azad Kashmir, Sirdar Abdul Qayyum and Prof. Ghulam Azam are expected to be amongst the guests.

## A Mosque in Rome

The Italian Government, through its Foreign Minister, has promised the Islamic Culture Centre of Rome to find a plot of land about 5,000 square metres on which the Rome Mosque together with a library, lecture rooms and offices for the officials of the Centre, could be built. The Islamic Centre has asked for financial help from every Muslim country in the building of the Rome Mosque. (Impact News)

## Bonn Ban on Palestinian Organisations Continues

An application by the General Union of Palestinian Students and The General Union of Palestinian Workers to lift the ban on the two organisations has been rejected by a Federal administrative court in West Berlin. The two organisations were banned by the Bonn government last October for alleged 'conspiratory activities'. The court ruled that they had not stopped their activities and that there was still danger of 'terrorist acts' from the Palestinians with the support of the two groups. (Impact News)

## Insufficient use of Turkish in Yugoslavia

At a recent meeting of the Kosovo League and Socialist Alliance commissions for the development of socialist inro-national relations, held under the chairmanship of Ismail Bajra, the speakers showed concern about the continued inequalities suffered by the Turkish language in Kosovo. In many public concerns the equality of the Turkish language had not been ensured and some activists did not make an effort to learn the language of their environment—Turkish. It was decided that the League leadership and Party organizations must become involved in ensuring the equality of languages and alphabets. (Impact News)

## Colour Codes for Milk Bottles

From December 1 it will be compulsory in Britain for milk bottles to carry colour codes to show the type of milk the bottle contains. Ordinary pasteurized milk will have silver caps with black lettering. High cream pasteurized milk will have gold caps with black and silver lettering. Pasturized kosher milk, homogenized or with high cream content will have caps with blue and silver stripes and Kedaffia, a milk produced under strict Jewish laws, will have purple cap with silver stripes, both types will have black lettering. (Impact News)

## Pakistanis Given A Year to Decide the Nationality Question

The British Government has had an unexpected change of heart: the Pakistanis are now given a year instead of six months in which to decide whether they wish to take up British citizenship as a result of the Pakistan Bill. Under the Bill many Pakistanis become alien and remain so until they apply for and gain British citizenship. The Pakistani

## Muslim Youth Camp

From A. Sharif

The Young Muslim Society of Nottingham recently organised a two-day Muslim Youth Camp at Nottingham Mosque. Participants came from Brighton, Birmingham and Bradford. Youth leaders delivered speeches on various aspects of Islam and held lessons on Ahadith and the life of the Prophet Mohammed. The participants discussed 'The Challenge of Islam to the Modern Age', and debated the question, 'Should the Muslims integrate themselves with the British Society and Culture?'. The verdict reached by the majority was that we should adopt those things which are within the boundary of Islam. The programme also included two films: 'Road to Arafat' and 'There is no Conquerer but God'.

The camp was quite successful although the programme was very congested.

community has expressed concern about the Bill and has protested saying that the six months' period was not long enough. (Impact News)

## Muslim Youth Federation Proposed

The Muslim Youth Society of Luton (18 Maple Road, Luton LU4 8AE) has decided that the time is now possibly ripe for various youth societies to get together and form a federation. Zubair Ahmad, their secretary, says: "The purpose of this federation will be to show the right way to the Muslim youth and help them to solve the problems they face in this country". The Society invites all Muslim youth associations to give their opinion on this proposal. (Impact News)

## A Social Group for Muslim Ladies in Walthamstow

From Azeema Ally  
By the end of July the Islamic Social Group will be a year old. The Group was formed to create a social centre for the Muslim girls of Walthamstow. As such it caters mainly for the young generation. The meetings, are held fortnightly during term time and weekly during vacations at the Walthamstow Mosque, 21 Verulam Avenue, London E17. The Group meets on Sundays from 2.30 to 5.00 p.m. and follows a main programme of talks and discussions on Islam and the nature of problems faced by young Muslim girls in the Western society.

Now that we are more organised our aim is to attract more young girls. We have many projects to fulfil this aim. One such project was an 'open day' which we organised in conjunction with the Ladies' Islamic Society of Walthamstow. This function was very successful and we collected a substantial sum of money which was donated to the local Mosque Fund. We invite Muslim teenage girls to participate in our function and/or exchange ideas with us regarding the need and nature of Islamic social groups.



The... "new" Kalimah: "... Ilajah (Elijah) Muhammad is God's Messenger."

Muhammad Speaks, 8 June 1973

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

**ARAB AFFAIRS.** The Arab Economic Unity Council met in Cairo and was attended by the Finance and Economy Ministers of the 7 member states. Secretary-General of the Council, Dr. Sakban has said that Arab monetary surpluses with the International Monetary Fund which now stood at \$15,000m and which would rise to \$50,000m in the early eighties, was not commensurate with the 8% of the voting power commanded by the Arabs. Arab countries should have a bigger say in the running of the IMF.

**AUSTRIA.** In an address in Vienna on Austria's cultural accomplishments, President Senghor of Senegal said that Sigmund Freud had led him to the sources of "negritude".

**BANGLADESH.** Diplomatic relations with Egypt being established. ● Parliament adopted a Bill providing for the citizenship of Bengalis resident in Britain. ● More than three million people have been cut by rising flood waters in northern Bangladesh which caused extensive damage. ● Minister of Commerce and Foreign Trade announced a new import policy which imposes a total ban on luxury items including cars and refrigerators. 82% of imports are to be channelled through Government agencies.

**CANADA.** A plea on behalf of Indians in Canada was delivered to the Queen while she was paying tribute to the Canadian Mounties. The Chief of the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians said: "A great majority of my people still live in a state of isolation and poverty. The threat to our treaties and the broken promises bewilder, confuse and frighten us. It is our dream that once again we will be free and on equal ground with our white neighbours. But we must be allowed to develop in our own way so that we can be contributing citizens to this great land."

**CARIBBEAN.** A new economic community to strengthen economic integration and co-operation in the spheres of education and foreign policy has been set up between Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. Other islands are expected to join by next year. The British inspired Federation of the West Indies collapsed in 1961 after four years of existence.

**DJIBOUTI.** French radio reported that Ali Aref, the Premier of Djibouti has suggested that French troops due to be withdrawn from Madagascar should be stationed in strategically important Djibouti where they could make an important economic contribution.

**EGYPT.** Britain has offered a £10 million loan repayable over 25 years at 2% interest. The "aid" will be used to provide British goods and services for development projects in Egypt.

**GABON.** 10 Gabonese oil technicians are to train at the Haifa oil refinery. Israel will also send an agricultural adviser to Gabon. Other possibilities of Israeli assistance are being examined.

**GHANA.** All Islamic youth movements in Ghana are to merge

into a single body to be known as the Ghana Islamic Youth Organisation. This follows the coming together of all Islamic organizations in Ghana.

**INDIA.** Commenting on commissioning of a modern US base at Diego Garcia in the subcontinental ocean, Delhi said that it would lead to tensions and rivalries in the area and would be particularly detrimental to interests of the littoral States. ● India denied the *Washington Post* report regarding her influence in the Gulf area, selling Gnat aeroplanes to Oman and secretly training Iraqis to fly MiG 21. Spokesman said India provides training teams to friendly countries like Oman but is not involved in combat activities and there has been a small Indian Air Force team in Iraq for 14 years now.

**INDONESIA.** The National Women's Union and the Association of Women Graduates have called on the Government to set before Parliament a bill on the basic rules of marriage and to do away with such practices as "child marriage, polygamy at will and divorce by one-sided and indiscriminate repudiation". ● According to Dr. Haryono Syono of the Family Planning Co-ordinating Board, a total of 400,000 babies have been prevented from coming to birth during the past 2 years. The head of the social research centre of the National Economic Institute, Dr. Mely Tan, said the ideal number of children for an Indonesian family was two, or at the most three. ● Air Chief, Vice-Marshal Saleh Basarah reported as saying that Air Force would be reduced from 33,000 to 20,000 by 1978, but this number was insufficient to repel aggression. National security and defence would be secured as in 1952 when with a strength of 17,500 men it was able to crush insurgency. Naval cuts from 16,000 to 5,000 already announced.

**IRAN.** Tehran radio commenting on alleged Indian worries about Iran's defence build-up said that Iran's interests lie in the further closeness of the countries of the Indian sub-continent and asked "Can Pakistan be expected to endanger India's territorial integrity? Is this what experience has shown?"

**ISLAMIC SECRETARIAT.** The Islamic International News Agency (IIN) is to publish its news bulletin daily instead of three times a week as from this month. ● Tunku Abdur Rahman met King Faisal to discuss the meeting scheduled for mid-July of businessmen and economists to consider the Islamic Development Bank project "a step towards economic unity of Islamic countries and a decisive response to the challenges facing the Islamic world."

**ISRAEL.** In his opening address to the World Jewish Congress, Dr. Nahum Goldman said the greatest difficulty of Jewish life faced by Israel and the Diaspora was to learn how to use power with responsibility and a sense of proportion. Dr. Prinz, Chairman of the WJC governing council said that to speak of Israel as the centre of Jewish existence in the Diaspora was nonsense. To orthodox and other religious Jews,

The Torah and religious tradition were the central issues in Jewish life. **KASHMIR.** The Indian Government has announced a 20 year plan to beautify the tourist city of Srinagar, the capital. The plan will cost more than £60m and will include slum clearance and the building of new residential colonies.

**KENYA.** President Kenyatta called on women to contest seats in the next year's general elections saying that leadership was not a monopoly of men and urging women to march side by side with men in tackling development problems. In the present Parliament there are two women MP's, one of whom is a nominated member.

**KUWAIT.** Military service for all citizens aged between 18 and 30 has been made compulsory.

**LIBYA.** A conference of Islamic Youth was held in Tripoli between 2-12 July and attended by more than 300 delegates from all over the world.

● Libya is to set up diplomatic relations with several Latin American countries in order to "combat imperialism and Zionism". ● Diplomatic relations with GDR at ambassadorial level established. ● Libya is seeking an immediate takeover of three of the largest oil companies operating the country—Occidental Petroleum, The Oasis group and Standard Oil of California.

● Britain has agreed to introduce a rubber stamp that passport details in Arabic may be entered in passports of Britons travelling to Libya. So far more than 20 countries have acceded to Libya's demands.

**MALAYSIA.** Malaysia and North Korea have established diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level.

**MOROCCO.** Foreign investors are to receive new incentives in the form of tax exemptions and low loans to increase foreign participation in economic development. New factories producing goods for domestic consumption would have to be "Moroccanized" but this would not affect factories producing export goods.

**NIGERIA.** The Military Governor of the Western State, Brigadier Oluwole Rotimi in a speech at Ibadan University warned that in Nigeria there was "some indication that the forces of disintegration are again beginning to rear their ugly heads". He referred to editorial comments in the Rivers State government-owned *Nigerian Tide*, severely critical of the Yorubas of the West and the Ibos of the east.

**NORTH YEMEN.** Chinese medical workers replaced.

**OMAN.** Ten members of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arabian Gulf were executed after being sentenced to death for plotting against Sultan Qabus. Of 50 other men on trial 23 were sentenced to life imprisonment. Eight women were also tried and given prison sentences of between 6 months and a year.

**PAKISTAN.** To improve training equipment and salaries of police in Sind ('Sind Constabulary') and to make fully mobile striking force with new jeeps and trucks RS.1m are

being spent. ● Agreement with N. Korea signed in Islamabad strengthening relations and co-operation in cultural and scientific fields.

● Labour Minister, Hanif, said the Government was taking all measures to avoid a brain drain; a ban had been imposed on doctors leaving the country; professional people were being sent to foreign countries on a systematic basis to ease unemployment and to earn foreign exchange. ● Election for the President of Pakistan to be held on 3 or 4 August at a joint sitting of the Senate and the National Assembly.

**PHILIPPINES.** Pres. Marcos reaffirmed his determination to solve through peaceful means the problems of Muslims in Mindanao and Sulu and that a military solution would only be imposed on those who continued to defy the Govt. Priority to land reforms, economic development and educational and social opportunities to Muslims is being given.

**SAUDI ARABIA.** The Muslim World League has supported the decision of the government of Azad Kashmir declaring Qadianism to be non-Muslim. In a statement the Secretary-General Muhammad Salih al-Qazzaz, expressed the hope that Islamic States would take the same stand thereby "purifying Muslims of the evils of this erring sect". ● A ministerial committee, under the chairmanship of Prince Fahd the Premier and Minister of the Interior, has been set up to take responsibility for state investment policy. At present a significant proportion of Saudi state funds are handled by Morgan Guaranty and Chase Manhattan.

**SENEGAL.** Saudi Arabia has agreed to raise an interest free loan of £3.6m for the construction of a dam on the Senegal river.

**SOUTH AFRICA.** The Anglican Diocese of Natal has decided to pay its black and white clergymen equal salaries from next year, seven years earlier than planned. ● South African universities withdrew from the Association of Commonwealth Universities congress in Edinburgh following boycott threats from African and Indian universities.

**SPANISH SAHARA.** Chairman of the Liberation Movement in the Spanish Sahara, Edouard Moha, said that the name of the state on achieving independence would be "The Republic of the Arab Sahara". Its flag would be a blue crescent and star against a white background.

**SUDAN.** President Numeiry has issued a State Security Law for 1973 which bans all political organizations, except the ASU and other state-sponsored organisations. The Law lists a number of crimes connected with the security of the state punishable by death or life imprisonment. Strikes or resignations harming the national economy have been banned. Arrest and search of persons are authorized without a court order and no bail would be given.

**TURKEY.** Cultural agreement with Kuwait to be signed following visit to Kuwait F.M. Sheikh Sabah al Ahmad al Jaber.