

impact

international fortnightly

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Books New Spectrum News Brief

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When I left Tripoli on the morning of 16 July, President Qadhafi was still confining himself in his native village of Sirte and refusing to see even the members of the Revolutionary Command Council. He had left Cairo by road on the 9th, and after spending two days in Benghazi had retired to the desolation of the desert village. Prime Minister Abdus Salam Jallud was the only one who was known to have seen him in Sirte and when he came out he looked tense and haggard with the word crisis writ on his face.

Qadhafi's arrival in Cairo on 22 June was abrupt and was preceded by a hectic week of loud discussions and hot arguments with and between the members of the RCC. Qadhafi had arrived in Cairo bag and baggage with the determination either to achieve *wahda indimajia*—unity of fusion—or not to return to Libya. Sadat's advice was to go home and try first to create the objective conditions for the desired merger. Qadhafi, however, believes that merger is a matter of determination and once enforced, the objective situation could accordingly be modified. "Well", said Sadat, "speak to our intelligentsia and the political cadres and try convincing them if you can". At the end of a 17-18 day marathon dialogue it was obvious that, except in regard to the avowed desire to unite, they differed widely on everything: Marxism, Islam, Nationalism, Muslim Brotherhood, Cultural Revolution, Wine, Women and even Nasserism!

The effect on Qadhafi of this talk-in must have been both shocking and shattering. He made no secret of it. "From what was said in front of me I felt that Egypt does not want to unite with Libya". *Ahram's* Haykal tried to philosophise and console: "Brother Mu'ammer, history is a struggle between reality and Paradise . . . The problem is that some turn to reality and forget about Paradise, and others live in Paradise and forget about reality . . ." Mu'ammer smiled and remarked: "Isn't there a famous story called Paradise Lost?"

With both the Egyptians and the Libyans so clearly unwilling and unprepared, it is rather impossible to understand Qadhafi's passionate approach to the question. In a diabolical sense this would be the surest way of foreclosing all chances of merger, even in future. In the immediate context there could yet be a device to save face, but *wahda* would not be the only Paradise for Mu'ammer to have lost. The Cultural Revolution experiment and the Popular Committees launched last April on the occasion of the Prophet's birthday have flopped in less than three months. Except for a demonstrative burning of some books when the Cultural Revolution was inaugurated and a voluntary

THE CRISIS IN LIBYA

withdrawal by the bookshops of some known obscene and political titles, life in Libya today is no more puritan or permissive than it was before 15 April.

Lajna Sha'abia — People's Committee — established in the wake of the Popular Revolution, though not new or novel was a useful institution in itself. The *Lajna* implied an admission of the inadequacy of the Arab Socialist Union as an instrument of popular association, but organised thoughtfully it would have promoted grassroot participation and also mustered support for the Libyan revolution. The Popular Committees which have since sprung up all over the country function without either a precise mandate or a defined legal framework. They are required to weed out "all feeble minds from society by taking appropriate measures towards perverts and deviationists (and) to get rid of all forms of bourgeoisie and bureaucracy". The Popular Committees are the instruments "whereby the people may proceed to seize power". In actual practice, however, a Committee is not constituted until approved by the RCC. There are instances where a Committee had to go through more than one election so as to produce an acceptable panel. While it had the effect of purging and shaking some of the incompetent and complacent managers and bureaucrats, it has also been abused for personal or professional vendetta. The Committees are not told the limits of their power until they have actually transgressed. The Popular Committees have no jurisdiction over the Ministries, Defence establishments, foreign staff, and the oil-fields. Even so, their decisions are not invariably approved by the RCC. The US

owned oil companies constitute one area where a Popular Committee could play about but should know its limits.

In the first release of enthusiasm the *Lajna* nationalised Mobil, only to be overruled by the RCC. In Benghazi, one *Lajna* sacked a departmental boss related to the local Governor and the *Lajna* members accordingly found themselves behind the bars. Complications arise when in simple-minded zeal a *Lajna* tries to take decisions on matters which call for an expert or technical knowledge. It is difficult to estimate the ratio between chaos and participation but Major Bashir Hawadi, the number three man in the RCC, is reported to have said that the experiment had already slowed down the country's progress by 22 per cent. What happens when the initial enthusiasm and expectations are replaced by the hard realities of the actual experience? This is a question which must worry Colonel Qadhafi.

The recent rejection of Qadhafi's "Third International Theory" may not have any immediate repercussion within Libya but it must be viewed as a serious set-back to the young Chairman's image. The Theory is claimed to be "based on the commandments of Koran, the Holy Book of Islam which recognises the Holy Bible of Judaism and Christianity and brings their gospels up-to-date". It is based on anti-Capitalism, anti-Communism, non-Marxian Socialism and non-fanatical Arab nationalism. "Our theory is based on Truth and religion—by religion I don't mean Islam alone but the worship of God whatever way it is". The aim is to create a moral and a just society "in which governments shall protect the weak and poor from the oppression of the strong and the rich". The Theory was propounded in October last year and its first international exposition was made late in May at the "International Conference for Political Movements of European and Arab Youth", held in Tripoli. Qadhafi told the Conference that "it is a youthful approach" and urged "to adopt this approach as their own". These youth could comprehend neither the religious nor the socialist content of the Theory and the debate "petered out". The Theory fared worse at the International Islamic Youth Conference, held in Tripoli from 2-12 July. Both the youth and the intellectuals questioned seriously the Theory's title as well as its contents. One Committee recommended a change of title and the Conference while appreciating "what has been submitted by the RCC under the name of The Third Theory" stated clearly that Islam is the solution to all problems of mankind and that it could be expressed only in its own terms and terminology. In Cairo too, the

the crisis in Libya

Egyptians were not very kind about the Theory. Haykal said that as one who has lived the experience of the Nasserist revolution, he found himself "puzzled about the call for a Third Theory". He quoted Nasser: "Do not re-invent electricity, just use it."

While the "Third Theory" episode may pass away as a temporary public relations debacle, the more serious problem for Mu'ammār is the uncertain nature of his power-base. In his own estimate "the applause which the First of September Revolution received within the Arab Homeland was much higher than any initial applause within Libyan Arab Republic itself". Qadhafi's simple life, youthful exuberance, and above all the clamp down on the corrupt and despotic vestiges of the old regime has won for him the desired mass applause. The common man has experienced a positive betterment in its lot and values it.

Qadhafi's popularity at the mass level, though lately diminished somewhat, was not the problem. But the problem is that unless this support was fortified through popular and participative institutions it did not mean much in real terms. An un-inspired mass may not be a threat to any regime but it was no source of strength either. Qadhafi's failure lies also in his inability to develop a rapport with the country's intellectuals and the rising new generation of university students. The mixed origins of the "Third Theory" have left the Libyan genius unmoved and the intellectual drop-outs around Qadhafi have been more of a liability than an asset to the Libyan revolution. There are over 1,000 political prisoners in the country. Not more than a score or two can be labelled as "Muslim Brothers" or communists. The rest are ordinary Libyans who have either tried to stand up or have been victimised for personal reasons. A high proportion of these is of Berbers. It seems the Libyan revolution has allowed itself to develop a Berber-sensitivity and this is portentous.

In Tripoli one could also hear about a group of 40-50 Free Officers, mainly Second Lieutenants and some Captains. What kind of politics they represent and what sort of challenge they constitute is hard to tell. Apparently Mu'ammār Qadhafi continues to enjoy sufficient popularity as well as protection. The big four U.S. oil companies continue to pump out crude, confidently. A newer revolution by Mu'ammār Qadhafi himself seems more probable. The Popular Revolution programme announced on 15 April is understood to have had six points instead of five: the sixth point was about the dissolution of the RCC and Qadhafi is known to have explored the possibilities of having a new cabinet.

These are some of the problems for Qadhafi but the Libyan is going to be shocked when he comes to know of the state of the country's economy. In order to meet the situation caused by mounting deficits, and decreasing reserves, Libya is considering, *inter alia*, a proposal to borrow from the international money market. The words 'deficit' and 'credit' sound so strange to the oil-rich image of Libya.

A. Irfan

Survey

● AFGHAN COUP

Afghan Coup — towards new adjustments

The assumption of power by General Sardar Muhammad Daud in Afghanistan is likely to have far-reaching effects not only on the course of internal Afghan affairs but on the alignments and balance of power in central and southern Asia as a whole.

The coup on July 17 brought an end to the 40 year old rule of King Muhammad Zahir Shah who came to the throne in 1933 at the age of 19 on the assassination of his father. Announcing the end of the monarchy, General Daud said that patriotic people in the country had watched with deep sorrow and anguish how traitorous elements had resorted to the tactics of "divide and rule". The administrative set-up became so corrupt there was no longer any hope of reforming it, so the patriotic people decided to liquidate this corrupt system and save the country from ruination. The new system, he said, is "the republican system which is in accord with the genuine spirit of Islam". He criticised the constitution introduced by the King 10 years ago as "a pseudo-democracy the foundations of which rested on personal and class interests".

General Daud was Prime Minister of Afghanistan from 1953 till his abrupt resignation in 1963. During this time he received much economic aid from the Russians with whom he is said to be on very good terms. He is said to have strong support within the army which is largely Russian trained and equipped. There have however been reports of loyalist troops and certain tribes who were prepared to revolt against the new authority, but, with hints of Zahir Shah's possible return now almost firmly crushed, General Daud should not face too much early difficulty in remaining in power.

Internally he has a great deal to accomplish. Afghanistan is one of the least well-endowed of States in the area. It has a population of about 13 million, only about 5-10 per cent of which is literate and there is a high infant mortality rate. It has tried to develop on aid from the United States, the Soviet Union and China, allegedly trying to play off one against the other. It is the Soviet Union which has emerged as the most influential power. This was underlined by the visit to Afghanistan of President Podgorny of the USSR last May when Soviet economic and technical assistance was recognised as "an important factor in boosting the economy of Afghanistan." At the time this help was described as being "disinterested" but it is clear that it was nothing of the kind. In the tortuous jargon of Moscow, "peaceful coexistence creates more favourable opportunities for the struggle of the peoples for their national and social liberation" and "the growing might of the Socialist Community and its coordinated policy, does enable it to exert increasing influence on international affairs".

One of the big questions now is how much

"influence", if any, has Moscow had in General Daud's coup or whether it was a purely indigenous affair. The swiftness with which the Soviet Union recognised the new regime may indicate if not collusion, certainly strong sympathy. The Russians may argue that it has a genuine interest in being on good terms with Afghanistan which has its longest common border with the Soviet Union. For those who see Russian designs in the context of its uncanny pursuit of Tzarist territorial and world power ambitions, Afghanistan may merely be a stage in the long cherished road to a place in the warm waters of the Indian Ocean.

The next two neighbouring countries to recognise the new regime are India and Iran. The quick Indian recognition was understandable and there are indications of knowledge of the coup before it actually happened. India radio was the first to broadcast news of it with a detail that is rather surprising. In reporting the coup New Delhi paid particular attention to General Daud's reference to "the Pakhtoonistan issue and relations with Pakistan, the only country with which Afghanistan has an unresolved dispute". During his earlier premiership General Daud had championed the cause of a separate State of Pakhtoonistan which was to include the Pushto-speaking peoples of the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan. This resulted in a breach in diplomatic relations between the two States in 1961. General Daud's opening of this issue in his first policy statement will undoubtedly cause apprehension and anxiety in Pakistan for its own integrity.

What makes the situation even more interesting is the speedy recognition which has been accorded to the new republic by the Shah of Iran, a 'staunch' friend of Pakistan. The Iranian recognition has virtually put the seal of success on the coup.

The encouragement of Pushto separatism may give rise to severe difficulties for General Daud and may lead to other unforeseen changes in Afghanistan's territorial composition. Afghanistan is made up of several tribes speaking dozens of different languages. What holds them together is an allegiance to Islam and this may account for General Daud's reference to it in his opening broadcast. If linguistic nationalism is encouraged there may well be a disruption in the balance between the Pushto and the Dari speaking communities, the two main ones. This is something the Iranians could exploit.

The new government has decided to continue the "traditional policy of non-alignment and non-adherence to military pacts". This is certainly commendable but whether it will be able to sustain it remains to be seen. It is undoubtedly a major task, as difficult as the task of giving reality to "real democracy" and an end to "economic bankruptcy". General Daud has promised major reforms to achieve these ends but has so far not given any details.

Survey

● IRAQ ● PALESTINE ● SAUDI FOREIGN POLICY ● CHINA & MALAYSIA

Iraq - striving for a new image

The unsuccessful coup attempt in Iraq led by Nazim Gizar, former Director of Security tended to confirm Iraq's reputation for endemic political violence. A total of 36 people have been executed for complicity and changes made in the Iraqi Provisional Constitution conferring wide-ranging powers on President Bakr such as appointing and dismissing vice-presidents, ministers, governors judges, civil servants and military officials. These changes can be taken as being indicative of a greater repression and totalitarianism for its own sake. This however, would be a superficial view. For, while the Ba'ath regime has acted with expected firmness and severity against the plotters of Gizar (himself described as a psychopath who killed hundreds in the course of his work as director of security) Iraq is nowadays very much concerned with words like stability, development and rapprochement. The image which Iraq has held may be in the course of changing. It is trying to present a pragmatic and reasonable picture of itself to the outside world, both East and West, and this is necessitating major changes in the country's internal and foreign policies.

The direction of the change was indicated on 18 July, after the Ba'ath anniversary celebrations were over, by Vice President Saddam Hussain, regarded as the strong man of the regime. During a four hour long press conference, he spoke about Iraq's relations with the Arab world, the situation in the Gulf, the abortive coup, democratization and attitudes towards the international oil companies.

Of particular interest were—the emphasis on the need for peaceful co-existence with Iran, the desire to avoid further difficulties with the western oil companies, a disclosure that Iraq was not “completely in agreement” with the Soviet Union, and an admission that in the border incident with Kuwait, Iraqi police had committed “an error”. All these attitudes are generally pleasing to the West in as much as they seem to indicate a more flexible external policy. According to Siddam, “World relationships have changed”. “Nowadays”, he added, “there is no winning partner and no losing partner. Relationships are between two gainers. Iraqis cannot drink oil and our markets are in the West and Japan.” Certainly easing the tension between Iran and Kuwait would be a sign that paranoia is on the wane and would leave more time and energy for internal development. Iraq is said to be experiencing a vast economic leap forward and is being described as “a land of Middle-Eastern promise”.

There are signs too that the Kurdish problem may be approaching some sort of solution. The Kurds have been promised self-government by next March and the Ba'ath has expressed its determination to carry this out. Also in the programme of democratization is the creation of a national Parliament to achieve ‘a national consensus’.

The changes taken together are exciting enough and observers of the Middle East would be watching keenly to see which way the tide flows.

Campaign against Palestinians

The Security Council of the UN resumed its debate on the Middle East as several new manoeuvres are being made with the political future of the Palestinians in mind and specifically the creation of a Palestinian state.

It is not surprising that many of these manoeuvres are being viewed by the Palestinians, the chief victims in the conflict, with intense scepticism and suspicion. Not only the attitudes of countries like Jordan, Tunisia, Egypt, the United States and the Soviet Union are being called into question by the Palestinians, but even of Algeria—the symbol of revolution and liberation.

The general uneasiness has been well conveyed by Abu Iyad, Fatah Central Committee member, at a General Federation of Palestinians seminar in Cairo on 15 July. He spoke of what he called an international campaign against the Palestinian revolution, the latest ingredient of which is to describe the Palestinians as a terrorist people. He referred to the London Sunday Telegraph series which say that the coming summer season would be a dirty season because the Black September was planning several operations. The identification of the Black September with al Fatah and the PLO which is being made was “a prelude to the liquidation of the Palestinian people” as part of a psychological war. The real terrorists were Israel and the United States.

He said that the Palestinian revolution cannot include terrorists but that a small percentage of fighters had been transformed into murderers because of the events of September 1970: “We understand the meaning of Black September as a phenomenon. We understand the motives which prompt these youths to carry out such acts. But this does not mean that we are the planners, the financiers and so on”.

Unofficially it may be that some Palestinians would accept, even as a tactical measure, the creation of a Palestinian state on the West Bank of the Jordan. But most organisations single-mindedly oppose anything less than the recreation of a State embracing historical Palestine. The way to this, Abu Iyad reiterated, was in the line of armed struggle and of long-drawn out popular war.

Saudi - American Relations

An article last May on the ‘Shaping of Saudi Foreign Policy’ (*Impact* 2: 24) concluded: “So far as Saudi Arabia is concerned, the sooner it can rid itself of the taint of being a docile pro-American imperialist ally, the better will be its position in the Middle East”.

In this light the recent statements of King Faisal in an interview with the Beirut paper *Al Sanyad* are welcome. In it Faisal warned that continued U.S. support to Israel “would definitely reflect adversely” on Saudi-American relations. He said quite plainly that Zionism was in control of both the U.S. Congress and Government. He said Israel was actually a burden on the U.S. and that America's real interests were with the Arabs.

At a meeting with executives of Aramco's holding companies Faisal is also reported to have said that he could no longer resist Arab pressure for use of Arab oil weapon in the confrontation with Israel and that the oil companies must try to bring pressure to bear on their Government so they may adopt a better stance where the Arab cause is concerned.

Also indicative of a tougher Saudi policy was the speech of the Saudi Minister of Defence and Aviation, Prince Sultan ibn Abdul Aziz at a graduation ceremony of Dhahran's Technical Institute cadets. He said that they were all answerable to God, Glorified be He, and to history for the defence of the country and its independence and for the defence of Arab and Islamic dignity. He spoke at length on the situation in the Gulf, on Palestine and other issues. He said that if neighbourliness had a right (on the State) then religion, language and consanguinity had more and bigger rights.

These are fine words but how capable Saudi Arabia is to back them up is an important question made more interesting by the assertion of the Israeli Air Force commander, Maj. Gen. Benyamin Peled that American sales of Phantom jets to States in the Gulf area, would not be “a critical development” for Israel.

Return road to Peking

The end of the isolation of the People's Republic of China and its improved diplomatic standing in the world have had the by product of making closer the links with the “Overseas Chinese”. This was symbolised by the meeting on 17 July between Chairman Mao and the Chinese American scientist Dr. Yang Chenning, winner of the Nobel Prize for Physics in 1957.

The increased contact with the overseas Chinese whom Peking refers to more possessively as “compatriots” is expected to be a potentially useful source of technical skill and capital on which Peking could draw.

In South East Asia, there are about 13 million Chinese and the Chinese American rapprochement has made it easier for many of them to show pro-Peking sentiments without the risk of being considered communists or subversive elements.

These developments are of particular interest to Malaysia which has a substantial Chinese population and which is trying to set up diplomatic relations with China. An obstacle in this regard is the banned Malayan Communist Party (MCP) which is predom-

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antly Chinese and which remains a "major irritant" on the border with Thailand. In this case China has adopted a different policy in its dealings with the Malaysian government emphasising that Overseas Chinese are the citizens of their "adopted" countries and no real difficulty is anticipated. The resistance of the Malay community to establishing relations has been reduced substantially partly by such acts as Chinese supplying emergency rice as an example of practical co-operation. The country has also been prepared for the move by the Malaysian-North Korean agreement to establish diplomatic relations.

There is almost no doubt now that agreement to establish diplomatic relations would be reached. Malaysian and Chinese diplomats have been meeting in New York to work out details. Before this talks were conducted on a semi-official basis by officials attaching themselves to trade and sports teams visiting each other's territory. For example, a senior Foreign Ministry official was the deputy leader of a visiting Chinese pingpong team and he prepared the way for the current New York talks.

Racial Riots in Israel

As external pressure is relaxed, Israel's internal problems, especially its treatment of its minorities, come to the fore. This is not to say that they were not there before, but Israel's foreign relations tended to catch the limelight and put a cloak round what it was doing on the home front. The latest trouble concerns the Georgian—Soviet Jewish immigrants to Israel. The Georgians have been protesting over their dismissal after more than six months work as temporary workers at the port of Ashdod. Complaining of mistreatment, unjust dismissal and other racial discrimination, 47 Georgians started a hunger strike on 15 July. A few gave up after two days but the majority carried on and promised to fast to death until their demands were met.

A week later the condition of some strikers was very close to death. Eventually the hunger strikers were joined by some 2,000 fellow Georgians who massed into the town to show solidarity with them. This led to rioting in the streets of Ashdod: the Georgians eventually took over the town hall, the labour exchange, the rabbinate, the Absorption Ministry office, the Jewish Agency, the national insurance office and several Kupat Cholim clinics. The end results were two wounded nurses, two injured patients from Kupat Cholim clinics and thousands of broken windows and much damage to property. The town police along with 300 military men rushed to the scene but allowed the protesters to vent their anger on the city. After hours of negotiation with the strikers, the Minister of Communication, Mr. Simon Peres, reached an agreement giving into their demands. Answering a criticism on

allowing himself to be "sold out to violence", Mr. Peres said he was "gravely concerned at the lack of understanding towards immigrants.

Of somewhat lesser importance but a clear sign of Israel's treatment of its minorities is the re-emergence of the Black Panthers who demand equal rights for the oriental Jews, the Druzes and the Israeli Afro-Americans.

The State of English Discrimination

In Britain, racial discrimination is on the increase. Both *The Annual Report of the Community Relations Commission 1972/73*, published last week, and *The Report of Race Relations Board for 1972*, published earlier on in the month, confirm this conclusion.

According to the Community Relations Commission the latest immigration rules approved by the Parliament have damaged race relations in Britain. The Commission makes a plea for equal opportunities in education and employment for the immigrant children. The Commission says, "We are not asking for any special privileges, but for a policy providing real equality of opportunity which recognises and copes with separate needs and does not dismiss them as problems". The Commission emphasised that Britain has become a multi-cultural society and all aspects of life involve the immigrants as much as the host community.

The *Report of the Race Relations Board for 1972* states that the number of complaints of discrimination increased from 813 to 845—the first annual increase since the Race Relations Act came into effect in 1968. The increase would have been far greater but for the Industrial Relations Act, 1971, which has dealt with many factory floor disputes involving discrimination. The number of Section 17 investigations fell from 88 to 68. The Section 17 of the Race Relations Act gives the board power to investigate cases which show signs of unlawful discrimination. In 1972 the Board disposed of 908 cases compared with 759 in 1971. Opinions of discrimination rose proportionately from 20.5 per cent to 28 per cent—in absolute terms from 120 to 181.

The Board reports that many clubs and Institute Unions discriminate on grounds of colour or race. The Board also emphasises the urgent need to promote equal opportunity in employment. The report warns of the dangers of inaction by citing the case of Asian workers strike in Mansfield Hosiery Mills. The case concerned the exclusion of Asian workers from skilled posts. The Board's investigations revealed that the exclusion of Asian workers resulted from the opposition by the skilled indigenous workers and that the trade union involved was a factor in the opposition. The event culminated in the Asian workers going on strike. Equal opportunity for the Asians was achieved only after a locally damaging conflict.

Discrimination due to the denial of equal opportunity is termed by the Board 'passive discrimination'. 'If this passive discrimination is allowed to continue', said Sir Geoffrey Wilson, Chairman of the Race Relations Board, 'a situation will develop in which second class citizens are locked into second-class jobs and second-class accommodation. In the crucial field of employment, housing and the provision of goods we are uncovering and dealing with more individual cases of discrimination than ever before'.

PEOPLE

PEOPLE

Dr. Ahmad Anis, Director, Arab League Office, London, returning to Cairo. Tariq Ali, left-wing Marxist arrested in demo against Portugal. Col. Bala Arabe, new Niger Chief of Staff, Adml. Sudomo appointed new deputy head of Security and Order Restoration Command, *Kopkamtib*. Agha Shahi replaced Mumtaz Ali Alvi as Pakistan's Foreign Secretary, latter appointed ambassador to China.

VISITS

Prince Fawwaz Ibn Abdul Aziz, Governor of Mecca district, to Cairo and London. Soviet Defence Minister, Marshal Grechko, to India. Iranian PM, Abbas Hoveyda, to Moscow in August. Gen. Ismail Ali, Egyptian Min. of War to Ethiopia, Somalia and Sudan. Shaykh Isa Bin Salman Al Khalifah, Amir of Bahrain, to Saudi Arabia. Umar as-Saqqaf, Saudi FA Min. on official visit to Ethiopia. Yasir Arafat to Saudi Arabia. Ruler of Kuwait, Shaykh Sabah as-Salem as-Sabah to Egypt, Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco and Mauritania in September. Turkish FM Haluk Bayulken to Bulgaria. Egyptian FM to Belgrade. Bangladesh FM Kamal Hussain to Jakarta. Pres. Bhutto to Rome, Geneva, Britain; USA visit postponed till Sept. Japanese Premier Tanaka to visit Europe and USSR. Nepalese Princess Shokha Shah to Peking.

DELEGATIONS

Egyptian-Soviet Friendship Society to Moscow. Nigerian Agricultural to Hungary. Libyan, headed by Mashur Qaum, Under-Sec. Ministry of Labour, to Burundi. Muslim World League to Sana'a on third leg of Islamic countries tour; delegation already visited North Africa, the Gulf States and Kuwait. Iranian Military to Jordan. Indian CP to the Soviet Union. Egyptian Association of Muslim Youth led by its president Ibrahim at-Tahawi, to USSR. Pakistan Parliamentary led by Speaker Choudhry Ilahi to Tehran. Nigerian Agricultural to Hungary, Soviet CPSU led by Sharaf Rashidov First Sec., Central Committee of Uzbekistan to Iraq. Chinese Military to Albania. Egyptian Economic to Hungary.

DIED

Yahya Nasir Hajjar, Ass't North Yemeni Military Attache in Moscow, probably murdered, in Cairo. Agha Mirza Paya and Allama Inbe Hasan, prominent Shia leaders of Pakistan. Fazlur Qadir Chaudhry, former Pakistan Speaker and President, Pakistan Muslim League, imprisoned in Bangladesh as Pakistan 'collaborator', reported heart failure. Prof. Abdul Wahab Bokhari, South Indian Muslim educationist.

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The Subcontinent Changing the Physical Geography

Matiur Rahman

It was Professor Reginald Coupland of Oxford who in the early 1940's proposed the creation of three regional States in the South Asian subcontinent on the basis of its main river basins—the Indus in the West, the Ganges in the East and the Narvada in the South. Coupland's suggestion was rejected off hand by the nationalist leaders on the alleged grounds of its being the product of an imperialist conspiracy to divide 'Mother India'.

The economic advantages of the river basin scheme, however, were not entirely lost on the Indian leaders. Soon after the creation of Pakistan and the Indian Union, the leaders of the latter country sought to take advantage of India's geographical position as the upper riparian of the Indus and the Ganges. India tried to appropriate for her own use all the waters of the Sutlej, the Beas, and the Ravi—tributaries of the Indus—which fed most of West Pakistan's irrigation system. Pakistan was thus faced with a grave situation. It was a question of her survival both economically and physically. Indian plans to divert the waters of the Indus would surely turn vast areas of fertile lands into deserts. But Pakistan was in a weak position geographically as well as militarily. She therefore took recourse to appealing to the good sense of India and the world community. Fortunately for the subcontinent, at the intervention of the World Bank and the U.S.A., India and Pakistan subsequently agreed to share the waters of the Indus by constructing new dams and canals at a huge cost to be shared by the two countries and the World Bank.

While negotiating with Pakistan over the sharing of the Indus waters, the Indian authorities took several measures to appropriate vast quantities of waters of the Ganges flowing down to what was then East Pakistan. One of these measures was to construct a barrage on the Ganges near Farakka in the Murshidabad district of West Bengal to divert the Ganges waters to the Hooghly. The Farakka barrage scheme was strongly opposed by Pakistan as being highly detrimental to East Pakistan. India largely ignored this protest and when after several years of persuasion she agreed to discuss the matter with Pakistan her representatives at the talks evaded any decisions by raising technical questions.

Bangladesh inherited the Farakka dispute from Pakistan. The change in the political geography of the sub-continent and the close Indo-Bangladesh friendship, however, led many people in the two countries to expect a better understanding of the problems by the Indian leaders. It was suggested in the Bangladesh press that since Farakka was conceived out of 'hostility' towards Pakistan, India should in the context of her friendship with Bangladesh abandon this project.

The recent news of progress in the con-

struction of the Farakka barrage has upset a large section of Bengalis who have started to echo the apprehensions expressed by the former East Pakistan administration. According to these sources the completion of the Farakka barrage besides adversely affecting the economy of Bangladesh would also change the ecology and physical geography of vast areas in northern and southern Bangladesh. These arguments against the Farakka barrage may be summed up as follows:

(a) The diversion of the Ganges waters to West Bengal would decrease the flow of waters through the Ganges and its tributaries including the Gorai, the Arial Khan, the Ichhamati, the Bhairab, the Kumar, the Madhumati, the Mahananda, the Baral, the Nava Ganga and the Chitra. Consequently the waters of these rivers would be deprived of the flushing effects of the tide by upland discharge thus allowing the saline waters of the Bay of Bengal to penetrate into large areas of land in the districts of Barisal, Patuakhali, Khulna, Jessore and Faridpur.

(b) The inland navigation in the northern districts of Bangladesh including Rajshahi, Patna and Kushtia having been almost entirely dependent upon the Ganges and its tributaries, withdrawal of waters at Farakka would disrupt and during the dry season almost wholly paralyse about 700 miles of major waterways in Bangladesh.

(c) Saline waters in southern Bangladesh and dried up rivers in northern Bangladesh will play havoc with the agriculture, fishery and flora and fauna of vast areas with grave consequences upon the livelihood of a large number of Bangladeshis.

Instead of reconsidering the Farakka barrage scheme the Government of India have now unfolded several other plans to appropriate more and more waters of the Ganges and to divert other waterways within Bangladesh itself. In May this year the Government of India suggested that the recently constituted India-Bangladesh Joint Rivers Commission should approve a scheme to link the Ganges in northern Bangladesh (i.e. the Jamuna) with the Brahmaputra in Assam. This would necessitate constructing new waterways through the breadth of Bangladesh causing considerable change in the physical map of that country. This proposal has been made on the pretext of easing the problem of flood caused by the Jamuna. But some Bangladeshi newspapers have alleged that the 'real motive behind this suggestion is to strengthen India's stranglehold over Bangladesh' (Desh Bangla, Dacca, 3 June 73). It has also been alleged that while facilitating the transfer of Bangladesh goods to India the proposed Ganges-Brahmaputra link-up would also enable Indian troop movements into Bangladesh easier and quicker.

The economic consequences of Ganges-Brahmaputra link-up would be far more

damaging to Bangladesh than its political and military consequences. The diversion of the Ganges waters would allow saline waters of the Bay of Bengal to penetrate into the heart of Bangladesh. The diversion would also deprive large areas of Bangladesh of the alluvial deposit carried by its present river system. Moreover, this project would stop the further growth of large islands now being formed over a vast area in the Bay of Bengal.

One can understand India's concern for short and dependable waterways through Bangladesh into eastern states of India. The narrow, hilly strip of land north of Bangladesh now linking northern and eastern India is inadequate for India's communication and defence purposes. At the time of India's China War the need for better communication between northern and eastern India was keenly felt. It was at this moment that the U.S.A. had suggested the creation of an independent East Pakistan or the merger of the East Pakistan with India so as to provide better facilities for India's communication and troop movements. But the recent political changes in the subcontinent and the creation of a friendly Bangladesh would relieve India of any misgivings regarding the free and unfettered use of Bangladesh's land and waterways which have already been put at her disposal. India has no reasons to think that Bangladesh would or could disturb the present arrangements between the two countries.

India, however, seems to justify the construction of the Farakka barrage and diversion of the Bangladeshi rivers on grounds of her own economic interests. Indeed, these two schemes are parts of a much larger and grandiose plan called the 'National Water Grid Plan' prepared by the Central Water and Power Commission of the Government of India. The next phase of the national plan concerns the linking of the Ganges in the north with the Cauvery in the far south by constructing a canal 1,500 to 2,000 miles long. This is perhaps the most ambitious of water grid plans. This is also most dangerous from the ecological point of view. This canal which begins near Patna in Bihar is expected to cost £1,500 million over a period of 30 years. The completion of this project would turn the Ganges and its tributaries in Bangladesh dry and the surrounding areas desolate.

The supporters of the Ganges—Cauvery link-up have projected it as a means of removing the adverse effects of drought in parts of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Southern India. The navigational use of the canal has been shown as an additional advantage. The United Nations organisation has been approached for financing the construction of this canal and it is hoped that the world body would be pleased to sanction a large part of the necessary finance as a means of solving the problems of perennial drought and famine over a considerable part of India.

Speaking of 'perspective'—the ability to see a situation in its full context and from all points of view—I am reminded of a World War II story told about an angry Ambassador and a diplomatic Secretary of State. The newly arrived Soviet Ambassador, Andre Gromyko, called at the Department of State to protest: "Mr. Secretary, you are behind in sending us reinforcements to our common front in Asia," cried the Ambassador. "You are behind in supplying ammunition, tanks and trucks, as well," the Russian added. "And you are behind also in the food, blankets and tenting you promised," charged Mr. Gromyko.

The Secretary listened to the Ambassadorial plaint calmly and then replied "Mr. Ambassador, we are behind with reinforcements, what have you done with those sent? You are behind in making the proper disposition of these. If we are behind with ammunition, tanks and trucks, what have you done with those already sent? They are rotting away in the rains. You are behind in making the proper disposition of these! And as for food, blankets and tenting, the same thing applies. You are far behind in distributing these properly and preventing spoilage".

Ambassador Gromyko who did not understand English fully at this stage in his career was red with rage and he pounded on the Secretary's desk, shouting "Mr. Secretary, I did not come here this morning to talk about my behind. I came to talk about your behind".

The task before us in this battle in the Middle East is to present the world with perspective, with all behinds on the problem—to relate cause to effect.

ZIONISM IN PERSPECTIVE *

Alfred M. Lilienthal

Twenty-five years ago today in Tel Aviv Zionist leaders, speaking in the name of the Jewish people, promulgated the existence of the State of Israel. But from the outset there were Jews who vigorously opposed this action and emphatically stated "You do not speak for us". Albert Einstein, the great atomic scientist, declared, "There can be no peace without understanding, no political settlement without the permission of the Palestinian Arabs". And Dr. Judah Magnes, the revered first President of the Hebrew University, had the courage to speak out and

denounce the Zionist terrorism of that day. What he stated then could be said today and would have been his commentary on the Libyan plane incident and Beirut assassinations: "Zionist totalitarianism is bringing the entire Jewish people under its influence by force and violence. I have not yet seen the dissidents called by their rightful names: Killers—brutalizing men and women. All Jews in America share in the fault, even those not in accord with the activities of this new pagan leadership, but who sit at ease with folded hands".

There was nothing new about these voices of concern for Palestinian Arabs—the Arabs and Jews have been and are our cousins. The Koran refers to them in this manner and calls them the people of the Book. And down through the ages when Jews were persecuted in other lands, they always found a sanctuary, a refuge in the Arab world. The "Ahlin-wa-sahlin" never failed to welcome refugee Jews in Arab lands. Islam accorded Jews from the outset the right of dimma, protection and security. The Golden Era of Judaism, so-named by Jewish historians, was a reference to those years under Islamic sway when that Empire extended from the heart of Asia to the very doors of Vienna and Jews like Maimonides and Halevi served under Islamic rulers to bring famed glory to their land.

When I was a soldier in Cairo during World War II I saw thousands of Jews crowding into the Egyptian capital who had escaped the Nazi crematories and were enjoying the warmth of the Arab welcome, permitted to attend the many synagogues there and to enjoy equal rights with Muslims and Christians. And the same was true in other Arab cities.

But the appearance of Zionism in the '30s had begun to disrupt this ancient, close, relationship and soon unwittingly Jews were being pitted against Arabs, Hebrews against Muslims as the history of the centuries of good relations was obliterated from sight with the onrush of political Zionism. Cause and effect were never related to the sad exodus of the Oriental Jews from Arab countries. Next to the tragedy of the Palestinian Arabs is the tragedy of these Jews whose fate was plotted by the ingathering policy of the World Zionist movement carried out through the Israeli state. Since the first Hebrew diaspora in 58 B.C. when the tribes of Judah and Benjamin were carried into their Babylonian captivity by Nebuchadnezzar, the followers of Moses have lived in what is now Iraq. They were there, in the words of the prophet Jeremiah, "enjoying the peace of the city whither I have caused ye to be carried away captives", thirteen centuries before the coming of Islam. And there they stayed for another additional 1200 years until the impact of Zionism on their lives literally squeezed them out with the creation of the Israeli state.

But this history of Arab-Jewish relations has not been told to the outside world. The voice of anti-Zionism has also been muted. The Arabs have taken it for granted that people outside know that they are not motivated in their opposition to Israel by feelings of bias and discrimination nor by any hatred of Jews as Jews. As a result in the West and particularly in the U.S., the Zionist machinery has been able to depict the conflict, not as one between Arab rights versus Zionist rights but as a continuation of the war between Nazis and the Jews.

In the U.S. if you are not for Israel, you

are for Hitler. This myth-information is a tragic result of a failure in public relations. It is no secret that Arab public relations is very poor. And the other side of this coin is Zionist excellence in propaganda with their near-control over the media. Thus they are able to continue to spread this false information and to conceal past history. The Arab treatment of Jews and their present differentiating between Judaism and Zionism has been lost from sight in the western world where the spectre of Hitler moulds public opinion. In the U.S., Britain, France and Belgium, etc. Zionists have added two new commandments to the ten handed down by Moses from Mt. Sinai: The 11th Commandment: Thou Shalt Not Be Anti-Semitic. The 12th Commandment: Thou Must Be Anti-Anti-Semitic. This has resulted in silencing anti-Zionism and throttling the truth about Palestine. This can only be overcome by the clearest and most public recognition of anti-Zionists, by making them partners in the struggle against the racist Zionist state. Only a combination of American anti-Zionist Jews and Christian Americans, with the mobilization of the nearly one million Arab Americans can turn the tide of battle in the U.S. which is the centre of the struggle. A respectable American minority voice—there is no respectability given to this position in the U.S. today—can be raised if there is this recognition of anti-Zionism as an—if not the inherent factor in this battle.

As Churchill said to America in the darkest moment of World War II, we say to the leadership of the Libyan Arab Republic "Give us the arms, and we will do the rest". There are other Moshe Menuhins, Elmer Bergers, Marion Wolfsons, Maxime Rodinsons, Alfred Lilienthals—Jews against Zionism, there are other John Booths, A. C. Forrests, David Neses—Christians against Zionism, there are other J. William Fulbrights, Mark Hatfields—Senators against Zionism. They must be encouraged to come forward.

But the past and present true history must be brought forward to dispel the prevailing myth-information. The American people want to be given the facts. In our country foreign policy both comes down from the Administration in Washington and up from the people across the country. Voices of justice must be heard and will be if an appropriate organization to echo the truth is built.

And let us not forget that anti-Zionist Jews will never accept a Zionist Israel. A pluralistic secular democratic Palestinian state is the goal of anti-Zionist Jews, of *Jews against Zionism* just as it is the goal of Palestinian Arabs. We Judaists can never accept the transformation of our religious communities into a national ethnic grouping, bound by separate and distinct ties to a foreign state which in the name of spiritualism demands our loyalty. The Jews as a people ended their nationhood 1900 years ago, if not before when their dispersion began. The anti-Zionist motto is this: "To the Jews as a nation—nothing: To the Jews as an individual—everything".

In the coming battle in the U.S. and elsewhere we can all use the true spiritual values underlying the Third International Theory as set forth by Colonel Gaddafi. The western world is facing a moral decadence and badly needs a return to God and non-materialistic goals.

My respect for Islam goes back to that early morning at a Cairo airport many years ago when I saw employees halt their work,

* Address to the Conference of Euro-Arab Youth, 15 May 1973, Tripoli, Libya.

take off their shoes, turn to Mecca and make their morning prayer—no priest—no rabbi—no imam—no intermediary was needed—no fine clothes, no socializing—only just communing with the Lord. I was deeply impressed. True Jews—the spiritual minded Judaists will appreciate Colonel Gaddafi's differentiating between Judaism and Zionism to the same extent that the late Gamal Abdul Nasser did nineteen years ago after I presented him with a copy of *What Price Israel?*

It has been no easy task to stand by universal humanism in a world in which intense tribal and clannish ties have far higher priority, let alone to do this from a base in New York City, Israel's Atlantic capital in the U.S. When I have wavered in dark moments, I have found comfort in the universal precepts of Judaism, as opposed to the nationalist Zionist ideology, to its unwavering belief in monotheism and insistence that man is brother to man. The great Hebrew prophet Amos declared: "O ye are to me, O children of Israel, as are the Ethiopians". Were Amos alive today he would shout out to the world: "O ye are to me O children of Israel as are the Palestinians". Such was the universality of the founders of monotheism.

Not all of us, of course, have the same courage of Socrates to declare as he faced his maker: "I love you, men of Athens, but I love truth more". But cannot we all declare our allegiance to humanity, above and beyond any group of which we are a member?

Three years ago exactly on this day I marched in the last Palestinian parade in Amman. Since coming here I have marched twice in demonstrations of solidarity with my Palestinian cousins, I am an American of the Jewish faith. But I am also a Palestinian. *Ana Falastin!*

In my most difficult hours I have turned to the words of Cervantes' hero, Don Quixote, as sung in the *Man of La Mancha* for inspiration:

"To fight the impossible dream
To fight the unbeatable foe
To bear with unbearable sorrow
To run where the brave dare not go.

To right the unrightable wrong
To love, pure and chaste from afar
To try when your arms are too weary
To reach the unreachable stars.

This is my quest to follow that star . . .

And the world will be better for this
That one man scorned and covered with scars
Still strove with his last ounce of courage
To reach the unreachable stars".

Only by reaching for those unreachable stars can we ever hope to bring peace to the 105 million people of the Arab world and of Israel!

from column 3

suppressed by a foreign power in their native land. Have the liberal and humane sentiments of these 'new' Arabists been dulled by the daily drone of the British press singing the praise of Israeli democracy? Does this account for their double standards: sympathy for Arabs maltreated by their own government and indifference to other Arabs maltreated by a foreign government? Traditions of centuries die very hard indeed

Western Views on Islam: A Retort

A. L. Tibawi

The piece 'Western Views on Islam' by J. D. Latham (*Impact*, 22 June, 1973) is disappointing and patronising. It mistakes change of tactics for change of minds. As an outsider its writer presumes to know better than Muslim thinkers the Western attitudes to Islam.

After a very brief glance at the history of the hostility towards Islam in Christendom, he draws an irrelevant and untenable conclusion. He alleges that the apology for Christianity by St. John of Damascus (8th century A.D.) 'stimulated the growth of Islamic theology'. Here the surmise by Western scholars that St. John's manual for Christian arguments with Muslims stimulated the Qadarite school is inflated to such dimensions as to detract from the writer's own objectivity and precision.

Equally reckless is the assertion that medieval Christian denigration of Islam and defamation of Muhammad were 'borrowed' from the ideas of Eastern Christian Arabs or Arabic-speaking Christians. Since this statement is categorical without any qualification, the reader is left with the fantastic idea that all the Western anti-Islamic sentiment is Arab or Arabic in origin.

The writer argues that the number of those who bear animosity towards Islam in the West is diminishing and that Arabic and Islamic studies are now independent of missionary or political involvement. But this argument ignores the fact that the field of Arabic and Islamic studies is now much cultivated by large numbers of Zionists (whether Jews or Gentiles) whose animosity towards the Arabs (and by extension towards Islam) is manifest to the thoughtful observer. The argument also ignores the other fact that many 'independent scholars' who are not Jews or Zionists are anti-Islamic by upbringing and previous training under well-known anti-Islamic academics.

Nor are the two very vague quotations from two contemporary British scholars, in support of the argument, more convincing. The one is from 'a friend' of the writer and, though of no consequence as such, may be ignored as propaganda. The other, more relevant is from Montgomery Watt and calls for comment. In a monograph entitled *English-Speaking Orientalists—Their Approach to Islam and Arab Nationalism*, as well as in reviews of two of his books, I recognized Watt's attempt to redress the balance. But I had to point out the fundamental contradiction in his approach: at the same time admitting Muhammad's sincerity as a prophet, and seeking to show Judaeo-Christian 'origins' of his message as enshrined in the Koran! Is this a great improvement on the medieval 'False Prophet'?

The writer's assurances about the missionaries are even less satisfactory than the apology for the new orientalists. One example will suffice—Kenneth Cragg. He knows that Islam recognizes Jesus as one of God's prophets sent with a divine message, but he is very reluctant to concede, in these 'tolerant' days, the divine origin of Muhammad's message. He seeks to change the Muslims' view of Islam by persuading them to believe in Christ, not simply Jesus. He frankly writes that 'Islam has halted at a half-way house', and he hopes to succeed where his bigoted and less informed predecessors failed, in leading the Muslims to 'the discovery of Christ'. How, one wonders, except by repudiating the Koran and abjuring their faith?

The plain truth is that the improvement in the academic and missionary field is so infinitesimal that it is not yet influential. There is less abuse but there is more subtle argument: the motives are still much the same, but the methods of attack are now more varied and sophisticated. Confining the argument as hitherto to Britain, consider the works now produced on Islam and the Arabs. For example, *The Cambridge History of Islam* proclaims under the name of its editors that Islam is less 'developed' than Judaism or Christianity. Consider also the textbooks used in schools, colleges and universities. And worst of all consider the press, where reports often reflect the attitudes of centuries of misrepresentation and prejudice, and where the old animosity towards Islam is perpetuated by transfer to the Arabs.

How can the 'new' Arabists and Islamists in Britain explain their callous indifference to the tragic fate of the Arabs or Palestine, originally created by a major Christian power in alliance with world Zionism? Who is the 'new' Arabist or Islamist who was prompted by human considerations to express public sympathy at least once in a quarter of a century? Compare this complete silence with the loud and persistent noises of other academics who publicly and frequently defend the Israeli cause, and who include not only Zionists and Jews but also Gentiles.

But no. Recently a few 'new' Arabists, giving St. Antony's College, Oxford as their collective address, published a short letter in *The Times*, protesting against (hm)—the expulsion from a political party in Egypt of certain writers and journalists. One wonders why they made no similar protest against restricting the freedom of Arab teachers and poets under Israeli control. The plight of these Arab teachers and poets seems to be equally, if not more, deserving of sympathy, because they are

Continued column 1

Muslim and Christian Indonesian citizens were equally rich or poor at the time of independence. But when hundreds of millions of dollars flowed into Indonesia from Europe and the United States, the situation suddenly changed. Skyscraper buildings mushroomed in both big cities and small towns, constituting Christian hospitals, Christian Universities, Christian printing offices, Christian centres, Advent Youth Centres, and so forth. The Islamic Da'wah and social organizations are not in a position to match them.

Indonesia : The Seeds of Conflict

Muhammad Natsir, former Prime Minister of Indonesia, writes

In the course of his conversation with the Secretary General of the Ministry of Religious Affairs sometime ago Prof. Dr. Johannes Verkuyl (of the University of Amsterdam) expressed his admiration of the religious tolerance in Indonesia, and proposed "that the world should learn much from Indonesia" in this field.

Indeed the Christian minority in Indonesia can live and co-exist peacefully with the Muslim majority, and even can occupy important positions, both in the cabinet and in government offices, military and civil, at the Centre and in the provinces.

The posts of ministers, governor of the Central Bank, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, provincial governors, military commander of a province, commandant of a military area, almost everything, are open to them without any discrimination whatsoever. They can even lead a party and direct the biggest political faction in Indonesia, i.e. the Golkar (Functional Group), inside and outside the legislative body. Such is the prevailing situation in Indonesia. We should, however, be aware and remember that religious tolerance between communities has its terms and prerequisites. And of paramount importance especially is forbearance and certain limits.

It is indeed the characteristic of the Indonesian people to behave tolerantly towards fellow citizens embracing different religions. In communities in the Moluccas, for instance, we find a system of life in which the Christian and Islamic communities can co-exist in harmony and concord. They give mutual assistance in erecting a church or a mosque and this is the well-known system called "pello" (Dr. Sijabat, a prominent member of the Indonesian Council of Churches, opposes this pello-system vehemently because he considers it as an obstacle in the progress of

Christianization of the area). We also observe how a family can live in harmony and peace in North Tapanuli, even though among its members are Muslims and Christians. There are also close and intimate friendships between many individuals embracing the Christian religion and individuals embracing Islam—first in the struggle for freedom and in the years after independence. I myself have many Christian friends.

Islam teaches a code of ethics which must be observed in inter-religious life. Islam teaches that difference in religion should not in itself be a source of conflict; that in conducting the Da'wah one should not use compulsion or cunning; that we must respect the dignity of man as God's creation together with his individual identity. It has even been declared to the Muslims that "the nearest among men in love to the Believers (i.e. Muslims) you will find those who say we are Christians, because among them are men devoted to learning and men who are priests, and they are not arrogant." (Qur'an 5:85)

The case, however, is different when Muslims find that Islam, is becoming the target of corrosive activities from the Christian side or the side of any other religion.

Islam has warned its followers that there are "quite a number of the People of the Book (i.e. Christians and Jews) who wish they would turn you back to infidelity after you have believed". (The Qur'an, 2:109). It confirms time and again that "never will those Jews or the Christians be satisfied with you unless you follow their form of religion".

Indonesia, since independence, has become the target of Christianization from all directions of the world: from Geneva where you have the World Council of Churches, from Italy, from tens of other missionary and evangelical societies outside these two centres, especially from the United States of America, e.g. Baptists, Adventists, Jehova Witnesses, Students Crusade for Christ, and many others:

They all come to Indonesia with foreign personnel — priests, religious teachers and social workers, pioneered by scholars and research students and workers. They come here well equipped with modern devices for Christian propaganda, such as films, cassettes, books and literature, and even missionary ships (such as "Logos", "Stella Maris", "Ebenezer" and others) which call at Indonesian ports, islands and islets, such as Lombok, Sumbawa, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Maluku, etc.

In the regions outside Java, such as Nusa Tenggara and Kalimantan, the missionaries have their own modern communications, such as radio transmitters and Cessna airplanes. And whenever necessary they can get licenses from the Department of Communications to build their own airfields or air stations. The personnel of the Government and its postal services are "served and serviced" by the air services of the Christian missions, especially in the remote regions, such as from Timor Kupang to Waingapu.

The map which was issued recently by the Council of Churches of Indonesia shows that the Indonesian archipelago has been divided into target areas of 41 Churches, all under the auspices of the Council of Churches of Indonesia.

If the MAWI (Grand Council of Catholic Churches) of the Catholic Churches also makes its map public, then the Christianization drive in Indonesia would become even clearer. And the World Council of Churches will be holding its Congress for the first time in Asia at Jakarta in 1975.

It is also a well known fact that for the programme of Christianization the World Council and the Vatican, as well as other missionary bodies, are following a new approach, i.e. the "economic development" approach with the slogan "From the Church to the Masses". There already exists an institution called CCPD—Council of Churches Participation on Development (Majlis Partisipasi Gereja dalam Pembangunan), which is active in the field of the "economic development" of agricultural areas with job training direct credit supplies to the peasants by the way of institutions called Credit Unions (Persatuan Perkreditan), trans-

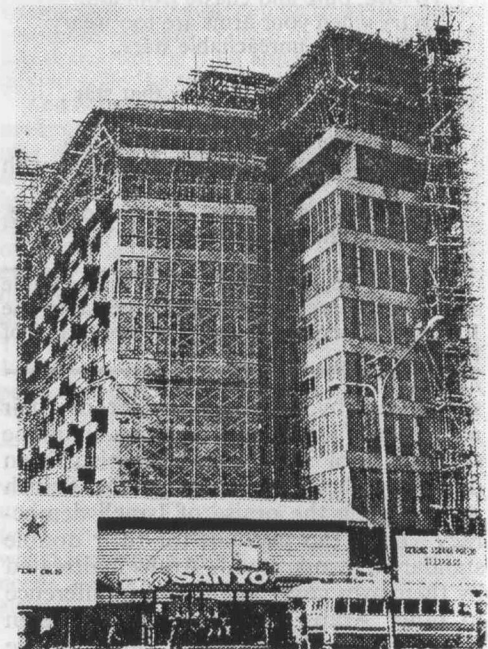
migration, etc. The CCPD has made four countries as its main targets, namely Ethiopia, Camerouns, the Caribbean and Indonesia (see "Sinar Harapan", January 10, 1973).

It is naive to believe that these foreign missionary and evangelical organizations, with their unlimited resources are coming to Indonesia merely to enhance the prosperity and scientific knowledge of the Indonesian people, just as has been done by the International Red Cross, Ford Foundation and others.

In practice, for example, it means that in every hospital built a cross is to be hung in each room, and in every school, recognized usually as of good standard, Muslim pupils are obliged to attend Bible lessons and also have to take part in all Christian rituals. At the SMA (high schools) for instance, Muslim students are not given the opportunity to offer their Friday or afternoon prayers, let alone have lessons in Islam. The schools say, "If any objection . . . well, why then come to school here?" The recent incidents at the SPG (Teacher Training Schools), SLTP (Secondary Schools) and SLTA (High Schools) at Ujung Pandang, where Muslim students and teachers who constitute the majority are compelled to learn the Bible from the foreign missionary institute called "The Gideons International", are examples of the general situation almost everywhere in Indonesia today.

Everywhere land and houses (belonging to Muslims) which may be strategically placed for church and missionary use, are being purchased at extraordinarily high prices. The poor Muslim owners usually sell out and move to rural areas. In the villages of Cigagur, close to the town of Kuningan (West Java), for instance, a good property which was previously used for Islamic lectures and which stood opposite a church, was bought by the Church for a price not less than three-and-a-half million rupiahs. Now that house is being used as a Christian polyclinic called "Sekar Kemuliaan". It happens almost everywhere, both in big cities and in the hinterland of Indonesia.

In October 1968 a seminar was held in Tokyo under the auspices of the FRIEDRICH EBERT STIFTUNG. There Prof. Dr. Rasjidi put forward his paper entitled "The Ethical and Social Demands of Islam on a Modern Society, with Special reference to the Muslims of Indonesia", in which he said that in Indonesia, churches are being built in the midst of Muslim villages and rice fields; missionary people are purchasing strategic lands at high prices to build churches and schools; in case the proprietor shows reluctance to sell, missionaries send a local buyer who



Extension Work on Catholic Hospital Nursery

will later sell it to them; and the church distributes rice, clothes and money.

The church lends money or seeds to impoverished peasants, on condition that they send their children to missionary schools. Textile workers who lost work in the present alarming economic conditions, are also offered help in the form of rice and cash. Big houses and many shops are converted into churches. Clubs, reading rooms, libraries, swimming pools, sport grounds are being built for non-Christian youths. Christian girls are trying to convert Muslim youths and Christian youths are trying to convert Muslim girls. Muslim teachers who explain Quranic verses concerning Jesus, are detained by Christian officials. Houses of Muslim families, including that of Prof. Rasjidi's are visited by missionary people who insist on being listened to while explaining Christian beliefs. These facts were revealed by Prof. Dr. Rasjidi at the seminar.

In fact the Muslim and Christian Indonesian citizens were equally rich or poor at the time of independence. But when hundreds of millions of dollars flowed into Indonesia from Europe and the United States, the situation suddenly changed. Skyscraper buildings mushroomed in both big cities and small towns, constituting Christian hospitals, Christian Universities, Christian printing offices, Christian centres, Advent Youth Centres, and so forth. The Islamic Da'wah and social organizations, such as the Muhammadiyah, Jamiatul Washliyah and others are not in a position to match them.

In the near future when the concept of the Golkar Party (Functional Group) to form the so-called "floating mass" has become a policy of the Government, and consequently all contracts of the Islamic mass organizations and other are cut off from reaching the villages, then the way will be open for the Indonesian Council of Churches or the Council of Churches Participation on Development (CCPD) to scatter their missionary activities into the villages in the guise of "motivators of development". Regarding funds, there is no problem—from the "International Christian Aid" alone there is \$150,000 on hand, and from the "World Council of Churches" \$200,000 and that is only for the year 1973 (see "Sinar Harapan", May 25, 1973).

In short, the ICC/Vatican/CCPD and other foreign missionary and evangelical institutions are handsomely endowed compared to the Islamic mass organizations and foundations in Indonesia. Even government offices in certain areas which provide social, agricultural, cattle-breeding and health services are or were at their wit's end for lack of well-trained personnel and operational funds.

In this situation the common Muslims are feeling as "starvelings", symbols of poverty which at any time of scarcity should humbly stretch their hands to receive foreign canned milk and bulgur from the *Romo Pastur* (i.e. Catholic priest) or from Tuan Domine (i.e. Protestant or any non-Catholic priest). Dr. Verkuyl as a well-known scholar of missionary activities should not then be surprised if the Muslims of Indonesia feel their religion being surrounded and besieged! These facts are no exaggeration.

In 1967 an inter-religious meeting was convened by the Government. There, President Suharto launched an appeal to the followers of all religions to concentrate their minds on enhancing religious values of their own religions and to *stand guard so that no religion feels itself being made a target of propaganda by another religion*. The Muslims submitted an Inter-Religious Charter as a *modus vivendi*, complying with the appeal of President Suharto. But as Prof. Verkuyl probably must have known, the Christian have refused and rejected it bluntly. There is now a veritable "free fight for all" with "survival of the fittest" in the field of religion. This phenomenon has created a situation which is highly praised by Dr. Verkuyl, because "on the surface" it appears fair. Muslims have exercised restraint and discipline mixed with fear of the authorities who might accuse them of "opposing the Development Plan of the Government".

There are elements in this situation which could jeopardise religious tolerance in Indonesia.

International Islamic Youth Conference, 2 — 12 July, 1973 No Socialism, No Nationalism

S. S. Muffassir reporting from Tripoli

It began as an incredible journey. I was part of the North American delegation to the International Islamic Youth Conference, and it seemed that we would never leave Kennedy Airport in New York. Our flight to Paris was first delayed due to heavy fog; other connections were cancelled, missed, improperly arranged. We spent a whole day in New York, another day in Paris and Frankfurt, a night in Zurich. A nice tour, but we would miss the first sessions of the Conference.

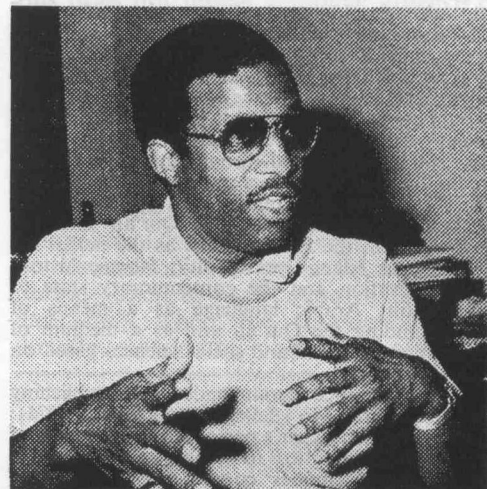
We finally arrived in Tripoli at 16.30 (Tripoli time) on a Swissair DC-9, after flying around Europe in Boeing 727's and 747's. We approached "the shores of Tripoli" after an aerial view of Rome. The transition from the verdure of Europe to the dustiness of North Africa was a shock, sharp and startling.

So this is "home"! I could not resist contrasting my "return" to Africa aboard a DC-9 with the dispersal of Black Africans aboard pestilential slave ships during the American slave trade. I was much reminded of pictures I had seen of 14th and 15th century Mali (Timbuktu especially) upon first viewing Tripoli from the air. The same flat-roofed architecture. The same scrubby bushes. The same sombre dust.

The Conference was both a joy and a disappointment. It was both honour and a thrill to meet Muslim workers and scholars from all over the world. It was a disappointment to find the tenor of the Conference alive with socialism and Arab Nationalism. Perhaps the Libyan Revolutionary Command Council wanted the Muslim world, representatively through these delegates, to put a stamp of Islamic approval on their newly formulated "Third International Theory". That the delegates did not, may or may not be the reason why Colonel Qadhafi, who was to open the sessions, never bothered to show up, being occupied in Egypt for the entire ten days of the Conference.

The spokesmen for the "Third International Theory" did not do a good job of presenting it. Their explanations were contradictory. They limited open discussion. They repeated the same discredited slogans over and over. The American delegation was not allowed to get a word in edgeways, perhaps from fear that we were all capitalists anyway, though many of us were Afro-American victims of capitalism, who would hardly defend it. The Third Theory attempts to present a plan for implementing Islam, on the basis of socialism and nationalism, both of which are un-Islamic. This attempted mixture of naturally antagonistic elements is an experiment destined to go the way of most heart transplants: a disaster due to incompatible parts.

We were well watered and fed. We were given outings at Al-Kashaf Farm and taken on a visit to Zawia's oil refinery. We joined a protest march in support of the Palestinians, starting from the headquarters of the Islamic



John Ali

Call Society, a Catholic Church in former days. The hospitality was simply beautiful. The building projects going up everywhere in Tripoli are inspiring, as are the lofty minarets of the many mosques, preaching Tawhid in the skies.

A little excitement was provided on Tuesday, 10 July, when a representative of Elijah Muhammad's "Black Muslims" was spotted amongst the delegates. The American delegation objected in the strongest terms, quickly gaining support from other delegations, who threatened to walk out if John Ali (national secretary to Elijah Muhammad) were allowed to speak. A member of the American delegation stood up to publicly oppose John Ali, challenging him to accept true Islam or to leave.

The surprise came when, after Maghrib prayer, it was announced that John Ali, secretary to Elijah Muhammad, had accepted Islam according to Qur'an and Sunnah. The crowd applauded and at 8.57 p.m., John Ali ascended the stage to be given a long, detailed specific *Shahadah* by Shaykh Mahmoud Subhi of the Islamic Society. The Libyans had long contended that their support of the "Black Muslims" was to bring them to Islam, but it is not known how news of this conversion will be accepted by Elijah.

At its final session, the convention passed several important resolutions and made many worthy recommendations, most of them designed to reform the educational process in Muslim lands or to further educate the Muslim minorities. However, among them was a recommendations to send a cable to Elijah Muhammad to accept Islam, join with the workers of Islam, and cease his strife against the Muslims. As for the Third Theory, the Conference maintained its own integrity. While commending the Libyans for their revolution and their desire to implement Islam, the Conference recommended that only Islamic terminology and methodology be used. No socialism. No nationalism.

International Islamic Youth Conference Tripoli, Libya, 2-12 July 1973

Recommendations

The Conference recommended that Islamic education should include all the various spheres of life—economic, political, social, etc.—and aim at raising a behaviourally and intellectually conscious Islamic personality. To realise this, the home, the school, the society and the state, all should cooperate and coordinate their efforts and prepare an integrated curriculum. Islamic education should be realised through curricula reform, audio-visual aids, teachers training and by improving the school environment. An integrated curriculum should include: the Qur'an and the Islamic faith; the Prophet's life as the model for building an Islamic personality; Islamic history and civilization and the contemporary state of civilization; Arabic language as a means of understanding the Qur'an and as a medium of instruction; physical and social sciences based on Islamic premises.

The Conference recommended the establishing of laboratories to develop educational aids; improving the teacher's personality; formation of specialized Committees to prepare reference books in all the disciplines constituting a panel of experts on Islamic education to prepare an integral educational plan for the Muslim countries; establishing publishing houses to prepare and publish Islamic books; initiating Islamic pedagogical research and establishing model Muslim universities; providing academic grants for Muslim minorities; opening hostels for Muslim students in foreign countries; reforming the information media in accord with Islam; setting up a broadcasting system for the West and other parts of the world to explain Islamic culture and remove misinformation about Islam; and encouraging the reading of the Holy Qur'an as part of the curricula. **The Muslim Youth:** The Conference recommended that in order to protect and strengthen their Faith, the Muslim Youth should be given sufficient Islamic knowledge; that Muslim governments, organizations and institutions should regularly send lecturers from among the 'Ulamas to deliver lectures in Muslim and non-Muslim countries; that the governments of the Islamic countries should protect the Muslim Youth from such evils as alcohol, gambling, ballrooms, etc; firm legislations should be set and strict laws issued with deterrent penalties to keep the youth well informed of the burdens of our fateful battles in military, social and political fields; more effort should be made to provide physical and military training for the Muslim Youth; Muslim workers should be trained in the art of organizing and training the youth; possibility of issuing an International magazine that speaks for the Muslim Youth should be studied; that the international academic organizations, when choosing academics to be sent abroad, should give priority to the married members and give chance to those who have obtained a first degree to continue their studies and preference should be given to sending academics to the universities in the Muslim countries; that an International Islamic panel on the highest intellectual level should be convened to study and investigate the problem of Brain-drain and to find necessary solutions and to prepare for the employment of those experts in Muslim countries; and that funds and grants should be given to Muslim Youth Organizations serving Islamic purposes within the framework of raising the scientific, moral and cultural standards of our youth.

Muslim Minorities: The Conference expressed grief and concern over the situation of the Muslim minorities; condemned the denial to them of the fundamental human rights and the genocidal campaigns they face in certain countries; and called upon the U.N. and the world community to lend support against these oppressions and help restore a relationship of cordiality and co-existence between people of various faiths and culture. The Conference also recommended the setting up of a committee to translate selected

Islamic works in the language spoken by Muslim minorities; building of orphanages, clinics, centres of rehabilitation and relief; and publish an International Islamic Directory to facilitate contacts among Muslim minorities and Muslims in general.

Palestine: Called for an effective support to the cause of liberating Palestine and declaring the 15 May as an international day to mobilise support to the Palestinian cause.

Islamic Sharia and Arabic: Called for the implementation of the Islamic Sharia and the introduction of Arabic language in all Muslim countries.

Permanent Secretariat: Recommended establishing a Secretariat in Libya to follow up the implementation of the Conference resolutions.

Orientalism: Invited attention to the problems caused by subjective and misinformed orientalist studies and the need for a correct presentation of Islam and the Muslim viewpoint; and recommended preparation and publication of an Islamic encyclopaedia.

Muslim Women: Emphasised upon the role of Muslim women in the shaping of an Islamic society and suggested steps to enable them to play this role more effectively. It also called for a reform of the civil laws so as to conform to the Sharia.

Islamic News Agency: Recommended serious and speedy effort to establish an Islamic News Agency.

Resolutions

The Conference condemned those Muslim States which deal in any way with Israel; denounced Zionist-Christian alliance against the Muslims in Lebanon; stated that all true believers were 'Allah's party'; and there is no place among Muslims for those who work as Communists and Capitalists, and the enemies of Islam; warned against the Ethiopian-Zionist threat against Somalia; and authorized the General Secretariat to send two delegates on behalf of the Conference to submit to the Secretary General of the United Nations a general protest over the situation of the Muslim minorities exposed to the murder, expulsion and aggression.

The Third Theory: According to what had been submitted by the Revolutionary Council under the name 'Third Theory', the Conference confirmed: Its confidence in the leadership of the Libyan Revolution and its good Islamic will in presenting Islam as a third alternative to the two contemporary systems; its great sympathy with the pioneer Libyan experiment under the leadership of brother Mo'amar El-Gadhafi to adopt the Islamic way to the solutions, and hoped that the Government of the Islamic world would take, as an example, the spirit of this experiment in adopting the Islamic Sharia comprehensively as the only basis of social and economic systems and of international relations. Its deep belief that the Islamic solution, based on the Qur'an and Sunnah is the only effective way for the Muslims to obey God and build up a civilization that would reform their condition.

The Conference expressed the belief that the Islamic terminology especially that mentioned in the Qur'an, the Sunnah and the Fiqh is most suited to express the implication of Islamic solutions in the fields of politics, economy, social relations and education and distinguished it from the other terminologies of other theories and dogmas.

The Conference believed that Islam is the only hope for humanity capable of giving it a real peace, prosperity and justice, and eliminate all forms of tyranny and exploitation between nations and individuals. This Conference urged the Muslim countries, and the Libyan Arab Republic in particular, to establish Islamic research centres to advise on the application of Islam in all departments of life.

The Conference expressed its belief that the differences in colour and language etc. were a

means of identification and cooperation, and not of division and conflict. The conference supported the efforts of the Libyan Arab Republic in realizing the honour and dignity of the Muslims, and in liberating their lands; and expressed its total accord with the Libyan leadership in its great consciousness that Islam presented a satisfactory answer to all the problems of the contemporary world.

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Atrocities and the Press

Zia Sardar

"Of all public transactions", wrote Samuel Johnson in 1773, "the whole world is now informed by the newspapers". With what accuracy can we make this statement today? Certainly, the development in the means of transmitting information has been immense. But there is, however, no cause for congratulation when we consider how much information is given, what information is withheld and what subtle means are adopted to present a distorted view of the facts.

Take the recent reports concerning the massacres in Mozambique. *The Times* published a report by Father Adrian Hastings describing brutalities committed by Portuguese soldiers against African civilians—men, women and children—in the Mozambique village of Wiriya. The report was graphic and horrifyingly convincing. The Wiriya massacre became an issue—an issue for which the press rightly demanded an answer from the Portuguese government. At about the same time when the Wiriya massacre was reported it came to light that the United States had made secret bombing raids over Cambodia in early 1970, at a time when it respected Cambodian neutrality. The press largely ignored the disclosure: the Cambodian raids became a non-issue.

What made the Wiriya massacre more important than the Cambodian raids? "In considering the Mozambique accusation", *The Times* wrote in its 13 July editorial, "we are dealing with an alleged event which was by its nature secret, committed in a military area by the army of a dictatorial regime, an event which if it occurred was bound to be concealed by those responsible for it." Were the considerations which made Cambodian raids a non-issue any different? Defence Secretary, Mr. James Schlesinger, who admitted to the secret bombing of Cambodia, is reported to have said: "Because of the sensitive operational and diplomatic situation, special security precautions were taken to ensure the operation would not be compromised". The Wiriya massacre was indeed terrible, but in terms of terror and slaughter of innocent folk and children, it was less so than any bombing raid—and there were thousands of them.

We are witnessing in our time whole cultures and people being decimated, displaced, disposed and in some cases threatened with imminent extinction. In addition to being oppressed many are persecuted because of their ethnic, racial and cultural differences. In Brazil, for example, whole Indian communities are being mercilessly butchered, especially in the Amazon Basin where they are building the Trans-Amazon highways. Con-

fronted with this fact, a Brazilian government official said that "Brazil cannot stop economic development because of a few hundred savages in the bush". In Uruguay, the aristocracy hunts and kills Indians much in the same way as the English aristocracy has fox-hunts. In the former case it is not only a matter of the unspeakable cruelty in pursuit of an uneatable, but an evil affront to human dignity. In Colombia, the Catholic missionaries enrich their organisations by seizing the land of the indigenous Indians and then forcing them into slave labour. Colombian ethnologist, Victor Daniel Bonilla, illustrates his book *Siervos de Diosy Amos de Indios* (1969, Bogota, published by the author) with a picture of a priest being carried along on the back of an Indian in a chair fixed by a band to the Indian's forehead, and another showing an Indian held in stocks. Why has the press not made issues out of these acts of brutalities?

Over in Africa dictatorial regimes commit unbelievable acts of genocide, with agonising frequency. Massacres have been committed in Africa not just by the Europeans against the Africans but also by the Africans against the Africans. In Burundi, the regime of Col. Michel Micombero and the ruling Tutsi elite has deliberately and systematically massacred thousands of teachers, bank managers, junior civil servants, executives and small businessmen of the majority Hutu tribe. "At one school the army first took 55 boys and 15 masters. They returned the next day and took 70 boys. They got into the lorries singing". In Zanzibar, President Aboude Jumbe, has the whole nation under the suspicion of treason. Many people have already been tried, sentenced or put to death. People are watched day and night by the secret police and live in a constant state of terror. Then, of course, the Portuguese dictatorship has not resorted to brutality and terror over night, it has been doing so for the past two decades; and with increasing vigour since the repression of Angola in 1961.

Over in South East Asia, the Philippine Muslim minority has faced many atrocities from the ruling party but little ever filtered through to the world press. In nearby Russia the Crimean Tartars are no more there—they have been wiped off by a ruthless policy of suppression by the Russians. Why has the press remained silent at the loss of such uniquely cultured people?

The press has responsibilities to bring all these, and many other, acts of brutality and suppression into focus without any magnification. One cannot expect a reporter, let alone the editorial staff, of a newspaper to be completely unbiased. Each of us thinks and speaks from a point of view. But

this does not justify complete absence of reports on one brutality and an undue magnification of another. Reports of terror and brutality must be given in correct perspective and should have prominence over trivial happenings that have, it is true, 'news value' but only in the deplorable sense that the phrase has come to mean now that the press has become primarily a 'commercial concern'. Information of 'public transaction'—to use a Dr. Johnson's phrase—seem to have 'news value' nowadays only when the transaction leads directly to economic or political gain.

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Books

Without conscience or Will

Beyond Freedom and Dignity by B. F. Skinner.
Cape. £2.25, 225 pages.

Professor Skinner's latest book has been a phenomenal success: the second printing was run even before it was first publicly issued, and up to now the book has gone around a dozen reprints. What has kept it at the apex of better-than-best selling chart? Is it Prof. Skinner's reputation? Or does the book represent a new thesis of Behavioural Technology? Certainly Prof. Skinner's credentials are of the highest quality—no one could possibly accuse him of betrayal of any familiar, academic, cultural, intellectual, scientific, ethical ideal or rational interests. Perhaps success has been due to Prof. Skinner's offer of leading a massive readership 'beyond freedom and dignity', hoping to enlighten mankind in the urgent search for a more viable social order. Who can afford to neglect any wisdom on this path?

Having acknowledged both, the success of the book and Prof. Skinner's reputation, let it be said straight away that the book is an intellectual shambles, philosophically naive, scientifically almost worthless—the theses advanced in *Beyond Freedom and Dignity* cannot lead any mouse out of any maze let alone provide guidance for the global village.

According to Prof. Skinner "a culture survives if those who carry it survive" and "survival is the only value according to which a culture is eventually to be judged, and any practice that furthers survival, has survival value by definition". Semantics apart, this thesis raises many interesting questions which Prof. Skinner overlooks. If a culture evolves radically can we say it has survived? And if a nation survives in what sense can its culture fail to survive? How and in what sense can a people be identified over generations of some surviving culture? Did Japanese culture survive when Chinese culture was introduced massively into Japan? Did English culture survive when the Romans invaded England and became the putative bearers of the culture? In what sense is survival the only value by which cultures are to be judged? Is it not possible that a perished culture was more worthwhile than what has survived? Is the American culture superior to now almost vanished Red Indian culture? In linking culture and species, Prof. Skinner has confused ideological and biological matters. Survival of species cannot be culturally assessed and cannot justify the cultural objectives of any subpopulation over any other.

Moreover, regarding "values and culture" Prof. Skinner is prepared to say all of the following: "a culture corresponds to a species"—which suggests that there is only one culture for the race or that the survival of one culture must be considered in isolation from that of any other; "a culture may

develop through a sequences of stages as contingencies develop, but a different order of contingencies can be designed"—which confirms the pluralistic and self-seeking concern of every culture to survive; and "in spite of remarkable advantages, our (western) culture may prove to have a fatal flaw. Some other culture may then make a greater contribution to the future"—which forces us to appraise the contribution of particular cultures in terms other than that of their own survival. Clearly it is impossible to give any logical sense to these remarks solely in terms of biological survival.

In psychology, one of the commonest gambits used by the proponents of a new theory is to erect a straw man—a caricature of the current theory—which they then proceed to cleverly demolish. Prof. Skinner's straw man is termed "autonomous man": that is a person who changes the external world by an exertion of his own free will and deliberate effort, who is utterly unaffected by causal forces outside himself and who is not changeable at all. That such a man is fiction cannot be doubted, what sense is there then in demolishing a myth? By replacing "autonomous man" by planned effects of environmental manipulation, Prof. Skinner hopes to give psychology a flavour of Newtonian mechanics.

The basic thesis of this book is that man is able in some sense and in some measure to alter the world and himself in accord with his purpose, decisions and choice. This, of course, is quite obvious. But Prof. Skinner makes a further addition: that all control belongs to the environment. His task, and the task of his followers, is to produce a noble man by manipulating the environment. Prof. Skinner alleges that "autonomous man" is free "in the sense that his behaviour is uncaused" and notes that the exponents of freedom and dignity "have formulated that task in such a way that they cannot now accept the fact that all control is exerted by the environment and proceed to the design of better environment rather than better men." There are, however, a number of difficulties. The prospect of accepting the fact and proceeding to the design of effective programme is hopeless, and if there is a prospect then some of the normal expectations of the freedom and dignity exponents must be defensible. In short, Skinner has contradicted himself: he cannot deny the relevance of the "mediating states of mind" he mentions and at the same time urge men to rationalize their commitment in accord with the theories he himself posits.

Skinner's programme involves rejecting a simple stimulus-response model in favour of a model of operation conditioning. According to the theory of operation conditioning what we must do is alter the environing circumstances of the human organism; the organism will, as it always does, respond to environmental changes with consequences that will reinforce its behaviour positively or negatively. According to Skinner operation conditioning facilitates the reinforcement of functional responses to contingent environmental changes

that, in the long run, are in accord with survival values. There are, however, a number of obvious problems. Since operation conditioning (in Skinner's view) is most favourably exhibited by non-human behaviour, operation conditioning cannot ensure survival or even the probability of survival. Also, the survival of human species must (in Skinner's view) be fairly compelling proof of the successful operation conditioning of man, in spite of such apparent confusion as the doctrine of the autonomy of man, the practice of aversion therapy and unfavourable independent appraisals of existing institutions. Furthermore, it is difficult to know what can be characterized as aversive or non-aversive. Indeed it is difficult to demonstrate that the theory of operation conditioning is not itself an instrument of ideological struggle rather than a means for rationally and objectively resolving such struggle.

Finally Prof. Skinner offers the thesis of "methodological behaviourism" which limits itself to what can be publicly observed. "Mental processes" says Skinner, "may exist but they are ruled out of scientific consideration by their nature" (as private). This raises the question: how does a behaviourist identify the behaviour he is analysing without reference to the formal, rulelike properties of having intentions, purpose and interests which originate from the very mental states Skinner has debarred? For logical reasons, the behaviourist cannot rule out mental processes. Skinner therefore must be wrong in insisting that we characterize behaviour "in terms the environment to which a person has been exposed". To admit the difference between physical events and culturally or humanly significant action is to admit as well the intelligibility of the interior mental states of each of us. This admission leads to the dismissal as wildly implausible as well as conceptually indefensible Skinner's dialectical opposition between autonomous man and the man of behaviour science. With the dismissal of that difference, however, the entire theory collapses and the original charge is vindicated.

There are no other basic doctrines in the book.

Prof. Skinner has in fact written a pop psychology book. And like most pop psychologists he suffers from a well known occupational disease of premature generalization from limited evidence. A fellow sufferer was Freud. We cannot dispute Prof. Skinner's claim to be a natural scientist, but this is not a scientific book.

Now if *Beyond Freedom and Dignity* is a total intellectual failure, what are the implications regarding the educated, the cultured, the knowledgeable, the informed readership both in the US and in Great Britain, who has bought his book by the thousands. Such wide success and praise of an utterly useless book implies that a large section of professional, semi-professional and informed comment and criticism in Western society is either cosmetic or else the communicators are not willing or unable to be impolitely open in sniffing out the conceptual blunders of would-be leader of the West. It looks very much as both of these tendencies prevail.

Briefing

The Delicate Creation—Towards a Theology of the Environment by Christopher Derrick, *Tom Stacey*, £1.99

Discusses the breakdown of the relationship between man and his environment and man's misplaced faith in the runaway technology. Suggests that there are only three attitudes to the universe: we can think of the universe as a bad creation, everything in which is inherently evil; we could be entirely indifferent to the universe; or we could regard this universe to be a "handiwork of a good and loving God". The author prefers the third option and proceeds to bring forward evidence from the Old Testament. He notes a widespread attitude of the Christian masses: they believe in God but at the same time strongly deny the goodness of this world. This belief is evident in all types of actions from the use of garden pesticides to birth control and countless other practices of "cosmic impiety".

The Middle East Today by Mahmud Brelvi, published by the Author (P.O. Box 5294, Karachi-2, Pakistan). Rs. 15.

Outlines the basic geographical, economic and political make-up of the Middle East. The book is divided into 22 chapters, 18 of which deal with countries of the Middle East and the remaining four with nationalism, socialism, oil, and the influence of Islam on the area. The regional chapters are brief and provide the kind of information a student of Middle East affairs may find handy.

Imperialism and Revolution in South Asia, edited by Kathleen Gough and Hari P. Sharma, *Monthly Review Press*, New York and London, US \$6.45

A collection of essays whose common thread is an apocalyptic Marxian vision of capitalist doom and imminent revolution in India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh. Topics range from "Foreign Capital and Economic Development in India", to Neocolonial Alliances and the Crisis of Pakistan", to the "Structural Matrix of the Struggle in Bangladesh" to "Revolutionary Movements in Ceylon". There is an analysis of President Bhutto, described as another of South Asia's "socialist rhetoricians", by Feroz Ahmad.

Suez: Splitting of a Nation by Russell Braddon, *Collins*, £3

Expresses the view that "Of those who do remember Suez (in Britain), the majority still believes that Eden was right and still regrets that the Suez policy failed". Proposes that Suez was the reason why Britain joined the Common Market and why politicians today tell more lies than they used to. Of present day Britain, Braddon writes, "Britain, it seems, has become the Commonwealth's embittered old maid. She no longer, it seems, loves anyone; not even herself. She is no longer an affluent society. And she has entered Europe with all the enthusiasm of a conscript ordered to clean the officers' latrines". And all because of Suez.

Thomas Babington Macaulay: the Shaping of the Historian by John Clive, *Secker and Warburg*, £6

The most detailed, and possibly the most important, work on Macaulay. The volume covers Macaulay's life up to his return to England from India in 1838; it is therefore most useful for the study of the British Raj. For example, the case is fully presented for and against Macaulay's celebrated Minute on Indian education, which aimed at creating a large class of Indians educated in English, who were to mediate Western science and sentiment and democracy, with Christianity thrown in, to their uneducated countrymen, as an alternative preferably to supporting the academic study of Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian.

An Economic History of Nigeria 1860-1960 by R. Olufemi Ekundare, *Methuen*, £1.90, paperback

The first attempt at a systematic general account

of the economic history of Nigeria dealing with political, social and economic changes over a century of colonial rule.

Human rights in the World by A. H. Robertson, *Manchester University Press*, £3.60

Deals with developments in international law relating to human rights, for example, regarding slavery, the evolution of humanitarian law and movements towards the protection of the rights of individuals and minorities. The author is head of the Directorate of Human Rights at the Council of Europe.

Protest and the Urban Guerrilla by Richard Clutterbuck, *Cassell*, £3.75

The author locates terrorism within the much broader spectrum of protest and radical politics. The threat of urban violence, in the author's opinion, may be greatly increased as links between international terror organisations become stronger, weapons of mass destruction become more easily available and as the pace of social change increases. A large part of the book deals with the training and arming of guerrillas overseas and with the need for responsiveness to legitimate protests. Political violence can also develop in Britain but it cannot get very far as the British people will not stand for it.

Women, Resistance and Revolution by Sheila Rowbotham, *Allen Lane*, £2.95

A survey of feminist struggle from 'purtan' times to what is happening today in Russia, China, Viet Nam and Algeria. As a Marxist, she is disappointed by the Russian betrayal of both the revolution and feminism. As for Mao's China where food and education are plentiful, family planning is in full swing and life is pleasant, what could be more sad than the presence of those women who want nothing more than to stay home and raise children?

The Formation of the Christian Bible by Hans Von Campenhausen. Translated by John A. Baker, *A and C Black*, £3.75

How was the Bible compiled? How were the individual books brought together? Why were some well known and appreciated books left out of the Bible? For what reasons was the Second Epistle of St. Peter ultimately preferred to the certainly older and apparently more valuable First Epistle of St. Clement? Why were the Jewish scriptures included in the Bible? When it first appeared in 1968, the German original of this book was hailed as the work of a master.

Israel and the Prophecies of the Holy Quran by Ali Akbar, *Seraj Publications*, Cardiff, £1.25, paperback 55p

Ali Akbar offers his personal interpretations of the Antichrist, Gog and Magog, "Dhu al-Qarnayn", "Dabbah al-Ard", etc. He does not consider his interpretation to be the last word on the subject: "it is just possible that, as the time goes on, the future generations might find better answers for these complex prophecies". The author sees these evil influences embodied in the state of Israel where they will all be finally destroyed.

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Follow-up

Is 'Politics' Relevant?

Kalim Siddiqui

Dr. Hasan al Torabi's call to Muslims "to develop an integrated attitude to politics" (*Impact*, 2:24) and Sharif al Mujahid's plea for "politics of national reconciliation" in Pakistan (*Impact*, 3:2) are timely and must be heeded. To be sure, similar calls have been made before and well-meaning scholars have written profound articles, even books, on why it is important that we do so. But of course such calls and appeals have never before led to any change in political behaviour of the politicians, their parties or followers. Indeed, throughout the Muslim World political behaviour has moved more, not less, towards (to borrow some of Mujahid's phrases) "politics of confrontation . . . mistrust, mutual recriminations, uncertainty, violence and increasing polarisation . . . diversiveness and dissensions . . . power (seeking) as an end in itself . . ." and so on.

Politicians are of course well educated people and can be reasonably expected to know or realise the error of their ways. Why, then, do politicians persist in politics of conflict and disintegration? Equally—perhaps more importantly—why do well-meaning scholars like Dr. Torabi and Professor Mujahid keep repeating their pleas for "integrated politics" and "politics of reconciliation" knowing full well, as they must, that their calls will fall on deaf ears and will make no difference to political behaviour?

The answer to the intelligent politicians' unintelligent behaviour lies in the *political system* of which he is a prisoner and must conform to the norms of the political process. The answer to the learned scholar's repeatedly ignored calls for "political morality" (Mujahid) lies in his conceptual framework of politics within which he is accustomed to do his thinking. Both the practitioner and the academic are prisoners of the word "politics" and all that it stands for. Let us examine it.

For Muslims the basic difficulty with "politics" is that it is, so to speak, a non-Muslim word. It, of course, originated with the ancient Greeks but, on the way down the corridor of the history of Western civilisation, it acquired many new shades of meanings. So many meanings in fact that even today there is no agreement among Western political scientists as to the definition of politics. Definitions vary from "politics is a struggle for power" (Morgenthau), "the study of influence and the influential" (Lasswell), to "authoritative allocation of values" (Easton). Bernard Crick settle for the trite comment "politics is politics"! Crick quotes Isaac D'Israeli who called politics "the art of governing mankind by deceiving them." (Need one mention Watergate?). In Western culture the "dirty game" syndrome is widely held. Even politicians who attain high office in Western political systems often put themselves "above politics" and want "to save the country from the politicians". Statesmen are often advised by their followers "not to play politics with the national interests".

The major influences that have dominated the theory and practice of Western politics are Christianity and the class structure of society—first under feudalism and more recently and currently under capitalism. From Christianity and its influence comes the basic philosophical view of man that man is by nature cunning, selfish, aggressive, and sinful. The political system, therefore, is not a positive force for good, but a means for (a) building a social and political order despite man's inherent anti-social traits, and (b) mobilising the cunning, selfishness and aggression of all its members into a 'monopoly of power' for use internally against deviant individuals and externally for either defence or expansion. And the class structure of society gave the dominant

classes a 'Divine Right to Rule' over lower classes.

Hence the central position of "power" in both the theory and practice of politics in the Western tradition. But, like politics, there is no agreement as to what constitutes power—"man's control over the minds and actions of other men" (Morgenthau), "a spectrum of persuasion, from gentle urging to coercion" (Quincy Wright), and "a mean between influence and force" (Schwarzenberger). And when politics is also defined in terms of power the politician must *seek* power by *means* of power. Therefore, he must have power before being "in power". This pre-power power is derived from the organisation of a party, a trade union, or a class. So the politician must "divide" in order to gain the power he needs to pursue more power or the ultimate power.

Such then, briefly, is the nature and practice of "politics" which we Muslims have acquired during our centuries of alienation from Islam and an equally long period of cultural, intellectual and political subservience to the West. We have parasitical classes and ambitious politicians pursuing power, prestige, honour, adulation, class and parochial interests. We also have democracy which is the peculiar ally of those who business it is to "govern mankind by deceiving them". What else does any political party attempt at an election? Thus Mujahid finds "unyielding approach" even "desirable" during an election campaign. The acceptance of democracy in such a political process as "Islamic" (implied throughout in Mujahid's article) is galling.

I am afraid I find nothing "Islamic" or even "Muslim" in the "politics" of any Muslim country today or in the thinking of Muslim scholars on the subject. I speak as a political scientist. I am a Muslim, a committed Muslim but my "political science" is non-Muslim. This goes for us all, however much we may dislike it. We, as Muslims, have to make a fresh start on the basis of the following assumptions:

1. That the political structures and systems of our class-ridden bourgeois democracies are a relic of our recent colonial past and should be rejected and replaced in their entirety; and that the existing political systems of Muslim countries cannot be 'reformed' or gradually adapted to meet our needs.
2. That the political and administrative systems and structures of Muslim countries are a form of continuing colonialism from within and without and should be replaced.
3. That capitalism, communism and democracy (whether bourgeois or proletarian) are equally alien to Islam and, not less importantly, irrelevant to our needs.
4. That there is an urgent need to create an entirely new pattern of social relationships in all fields of human endeavour; and that a new Social Order (including economic and "political") must arise from the values and norms that are deeply rooted in the long and rich history of Muslim political culture and from the eternal concepts of Islam.

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Letters

Mu'ammarr Qaddafi

The article by T. B. Irving on Libya (22 June issue) contained certain deductions based on a misunderstanding of the meaning of *mu'ammarr* in Arabic (which with a capital m is the first name of the Colonel). But it does not mean 'builder' or 'developer'; it means 'built' or 'developed'. It would have to be *mu'ammir* to yield the meaning desired by the writer.
Esher, Surrey

A. L. TIBAWI

Hagar: Slave or Servant?
Ishmael: born of a marriage of a hand-maid?

In the issue 3:2 of *Impact*, Mr. S. S. Mufassir has shed some interesting light on this question, from a philological point of view. Naturally, however, this cannot be conclusive. The legal aspect of the question is also to be taken into consideration.

May I submit that even supposing that Hagar was a slave and hand-maid, it was so to Sarah, and not to Abraham. Had she been a gift of the king of Egypt to Abraham, he would not have required the permission of his wife Sarah to cohabit with Hagar.

Jewish law is the same on this point as Muslim law: a man may have conjugal relations with his own slave girl, without a formal marriage, whereas to do the same thing with the slave girl belonging to somebody else—even to his son, even to his father or wife—he must marry the slave girl with the consent of the owner of the slave.

Otherwise it will lead to prostitution: the owner of a slave girl may allow somebody else to have sexual relations on conditions of material or other advantages, temporarily or permanently, but that is prostitution, forbidden by all systems of law. From a man of lofty character, like Abraham (peace be on him), one cannot expect this. That is the Jewish (Talmudic) law, and that is also the Islamic law. We do not know the revealed law of the time of Abraham, but that could not have been anything else.

As is well-known, when Abraham and Sarah, persecuted in Iraq, took refuge in Egypt, the beauty of Sarah so much ravished the local king that he forcefully took her to his harem. In *Genesis* XVI, 1, the classical commentary of Rabbi Salomon ben Isaac of Troyes (1040-1105) says: "(Hagar) was the daughter of Pharaoh. When this latter saw the miracles which took place in favour of Sarah, he said: It is better for my daughter to be servant in this house (of Sarah-Abraham) than to be mistress in another".

I can supply the Hebrew text if necessary. The *Sahih* of Bukhari also confirms it and says *akhdamahaa* (he gave her as a servant).

Since Hagar was not the property of Abraham, he had to marry her with the permission of the owner of Hagar, and not have conjugal relations without marriage, which is forbidden even according to Jewish law.

I hope I have made clear my point of view: marriage and not concubinage.

Paris, France

A. M. NURUDDIN

Maths, Moros & Muslims

With great grief, I read the article "The Moro Freedom Struggle" (*Impact* 3:2). But when I discovered the word "Moro" mentioned twenty times and the word "Muslim" only three (actually twice referring to the Moro people), I was puzzled and did not know whether I should feel sorry for "Muslims" or happy for "Moros" who are ten times more "Moro" than "Muslim".

London, E.5, U.K.

S. K. SARDAR

AMSS National Seminar

Islamizing the Social Sciences

from Anis Ahmad

Prof. Ismail al-Faruqi, speaking at the Second National Seminar of the Association of Muslim Social Scientists held at YMCA Camp, Indiana, on June 22-24, urged the need for reviewing the practical orientation of the early 'Usulun' in our study of the problems of the relationship of our ideology to the problems of the 20th Century. He said, in Islam knowledge is not for the sake of knowledge. Its objective is to change personality through education. A Muslim social scientist has to work on different levels. He has to look for relevance, between the ideal and the actual. This he should do first at methodological level, second at the level of its application in general such as the problem of Banking and third at the particular level of given locality. This treatment should be followed by a dissemination of the suggested particular solution or 'Ijtihad' leading to consensus (Ijma') of the community. In this connection we need to bring out a journal so that a consensus among the Muslim social scientists—not only in this part of the world, but all over the Muslim world—may be reached.

After this brief introduction Dr. Ilyas Ba Yunus made his presentation on "Problem of Raising a Muslim Family in America". First he took a Western approach to society which in his analysis was an extremist approach, leading to a Marxist or a capitalist society. Islamic society on the contrary is based on the value-oriented organizational and ethical principles of *Shura* and *Zakat*. Both principles demand organization into a group. We do not have a community or an organized group because we do not observe these principles. We need a sensitization so that the need and importance of these principles may be recognized.

How could this sensitization be caused? The answer is that there is a significant concern in Muslim families about the future of their children. It is well recognized that family influence is not adequately effective on juveniles. It is only through a proper educational institution that their acculturation can take place. Muslim community in particular and American society in general are facing the problem of competition in jobs. With the advancement in specialization the situation will become more acute. It is high time for us to take these problems seriously. If we are properly organized only five to six thousand families can very easily develop their own social and educational system.

During a panel discussion on "Education and Social Change", Prof. Munir Ahmad emphasized the need for de-educating the youth of the Western influences and re-educating them in Islamic tradition. This needs to be done at least at five levels: in the home, in the workplace, in social field, and in religious and political institutions. What we need most is Islamization of personality and development of practical attitude

towards religion. The Muslim social scientist should do his best to generate an awareness of the problem so that a solution may develop from within.

Mr. Eltjani Abugederi raised the question that social change implies certain presuppositions or general framework dealing with the nature of man, universe, and the Creator. If man is perceived as a responsible or moral being a learning situation should be created in which man may interact. There are two types of education—education for living and education for occupation. The primary object of any education is social change. How could this be facilitated? First there should be a clear understanding of objectives. Second identification of need, what it is and what it should be, and lastly an education programme based on the first two considerations. Education is not an adjustment. It is a change. Education more precisely is a tool for social change. The task for Muslim social scientists is to analyze the problem of the learner and the educator in the light of the values provided by al-Qur'an and the Sunnah Sahihah.

Mr. Mundhir Kahf reviewing the existing Islamic literature on economics said that most of the works do not take into consideration the real issues in modern economic thought. Most of our writers have dealt with the morality of economics and not with problems like production, economic policy and economic analysis. Fundamental work is needed in most branches of economics. For example, on the Islamic concept of land ownership and on the nature of interest: is it a price for capital or for time?

The Seminar also held sessions on "History and Social Change" and "Sunnah and Social Change".

PSF Advice Bureau for Students and Community

Impact Report

"Due to lack of technical know-how our immigrant community faces a multitude of problems ranging from simple things such as filling rent rebate forms to social security and income tax problems. Often they seek help from solicitors for which they pay high fees. The problem is even more acute with people who do not have any formal education." Saleem Sagal, General Secretary of the Pakistan Students Federation, was announcing the formation of a PSF Immigrant Advisory Bureau. The Bureau will provide an urgently needed service for the community as well as bridge the existing social gap between the students and the community.

The student community too needs help: Pakistani students often find themselves doing wrong courses or facing grant problems. To help the students with such problems the PSF is also planning to start a Student Advisory Bureau. This Bureau will give students valuable information on courses or research topics keeping in view the requirements of Pakistan. In addition, the Bureau will also help students in their accommodation and social problems.

The PSF has asked Pakistani students with experience in community work or student problems to come forward and volunteer their services for these much needed Bureaux.

MSA Regional Conference Discusses Aspects of the Qur'an

Muslim Students Association of U.S. and Canada recently held its Tenth West Coast Regional Conference at Monte Toyon, California. Some 200 delegates from California, Oregon, Washington and Arizona spent three days discussing "Fundamental Aspects of the Qur'an". The talks at the Conference ranged from "Contents and Structure of the Qur'an", "Preservation and Transmission of the Qur'anic Text" to "Manifestation of the Qur'anic Text". The delegates also discussed the Creation and Destiny of Man according to the Qur'an and manifestations of Allah in the Qur'an through His names. A separate simultaneous conference for the women was also organised. (Impact News)

PLO Office in East Berlin

The Palestine Liberation Organisation has decided to open an office in East Berlin, the GDR capital. This decision was adopted at the PLO executive committee meeting held recently in Beirut. The meeting also discussed the organisation's relations with the GDR, the current situation in Lebanon and the situation in the Arab area. (Impact news)

Persian Art Gallery in London's West End

London's West End has a new

addition to its art market: the Mahboubian Galleries which have just opened (at 65 Grosvenor Street, W1) specialize in rare Persian works. The new gallery is said to have one of the greatest collections of Persian art and concentrates exclusively on Islamic art, although Sassanian and works from the earlier periods of Persian art are also on exhibition. The gallery has a whole range of Persian pottery of the Islamic period and there are some pieces from Mesopotamia and other areas of Middle East. The specialists are particularly interested in two groups: one is 9th century wares from Amol and Azerbaijan; the second group consists of Sultanabad wares of the 14th century. (Impact news)

UMO's New Office

Union of Muslim Organisations now has a new office at Flat 4, 2 Claricade Gardens, London, W2 (01-229 0538). The new office which was opened by Salim Azam, first secretary of the Saudi Embassy, will be open from Monday to Thursday from 2 to 5 p.m. (Impact news)

A Mushaira in Rugby

A Rugby branch of Anjuman Taraqi-e-Urdu was inaugurated on 14 July with a grand Mushaira (poetry recital) under the chairmanship of Dr. M. Rahman. The Anjuman plans to organise Urdu classes for youngsters and hold further similar gatherings.

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AFGHANISTAN. A new agreement to expand civil aviation signed with Iran.

AFRICAN AFFAIRS. English and French speaking African states have resolved to negotiate as one bloc any future links with the enlarged EEC. ● Indonesia ambassador to Tanzania, Otto Abdulrahman, presented cheque for 15,000 shillings to Tanzanian FM to aid liberation movements.

ALBANIA. Established diplomatic relations with Cameroon at ambassadorial level.

ALGERIA. Negotiations between Italy's ENI and Algeria's Sonatrach for the laying of a pipeline across the Mediterranean to Sicily nearing conclusion. The piping of Algerian gas could revolutionize all current plans for gas supplies not only to Italy, but also to Germany, Austria, Switzerland and even France.

ARAB AFFAIRS. Arrangements for second conference of Red Sea countries to discuss exploiting seabed mineral resources being made. ● Algeria and Qatar to establish diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level.

ASIAN AFFAIRS. The Third Asian Law Conference in Jakarta, attended by about 1,000 scholars and jurists from 21 Asian and West Pacific countries including observers from the USA and Bangladesh, opened by Pres. Suharto who said that the rule of law must be interpreted in a dynamic and positive way so that it can develop in accordance with the growing interests and aspirations of society. Topics discussed: land legislation in developing countries, measures to combat international drug trafficking and recommendations for trade arbitration. ● Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand signed a continental shelf agreement on the northern Malacca Straits enabling the three countries to exploit international resources.

BANGLADESH. Foreign Minister said Bangladesh wanted an early solution of the subcontinent's "humanitarian problems" without third party mediation. ● Dacca's radio welcomed "quite dramatic" change in Bhutto's attitude on Bangladesh, but said the PoWs were in captivity due to his obstinacy. ● Morocco recognised Bangladesh. ● Bangladesh Parliament amended the Constitution Amendment Bill to enable war trials to be held. ● Indonesia and Malaysia reported working for a Bhutto and Sheikh Mujib meeting possibly at Jakarta. ● Home Minister told Parliament that from 1 Jan 1972 to 30 April last there were 2,035 secret murders and 4,925 killed by miscreants in the past 18 months.

BURUNDI. Presidents Nyerere of Tanzania, Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire and Michel Micombero of Burundi met in Dar-es-Salam in a bid to stop the tribal slaughter in Burundi in which more than 100,000 people are said to have been killed in the last 15 months.

CHINA. Radio Peking introduced

Pushtu broadcasts from 15 July. ● Chinese News Agency NCNA said the Bangladesh recognition resolution was an important step towards normalisation of the situation in the subcontinent.

EGYPT. Protocol on Egyptian-Soviet radio and television co-operation for 1973-4 signed in Cairo.

EUROPE. Britain, Germany, and Italy will jointly develop a 155 mm. self-propelled howitzer "for use in Europe in close and general support roles".

GUYANA. The People's National Congress of Forbes Burnham defeated the opposition People's Progressive Party led by Dr. Cheddi Jagan, former Marxist PM, in proportional representation voting, with accusations of corruption.

INDIA. India is considering exploration for oil on the Continental shelf. ● Anti-Muslim riots broke out in Ahmadabad, Raipur, Khadia and Saranpur. Violent crowds set fire to shops and property. Police opened fire several times and curfew imposed. Several people killed and many injured. ● Kerala Govt. closed all educational institutions due to food situation and student riots.

INDONESIA. Indonesia bought 50,000 tons of Chinese rice through Hong Kong traders. ● Former speaker Gen. Nasution said education in Indonesia lacked priority and was not in satisfactory state.

IRAN. New Delhi daily *Hindustan Times* said it would be a mistake to exaggerate the significance of reports of Iran's military assistance to Pakistan. There is no clash of interests between Iran and India in the region. ● A Bill to end a 1954 agreement with Western oil companies and putting the nation's oil industry under Persian management presented to the Majlis. The Bill also provides for guaranteeing the flow of oil to Western companies for 20 years.

ISRAEL. Israel is to buy 100,000 tons of cement from the Soviet Union in the first major trade deal between the two countries since they severed diplomatic relations in 1967. ● Fewer than 1,000 Jewish girls had married Muslims, of these 250 had converted to Islam, according to official spokesman while commenting on report that 5,000 Jewish girls had married Druse or Arabs since 1948.

JAPAN. Japan and U.S. agreed to cooperate in dealing with the world "energy crisis". Oil and gas resources in Soviet Siberia including a 4,800 mile pipeline from the Tyumen oil fields in the Urals to the Pacific coast would be jointly developed. A conference on oil problems is also proposed.

JERUSALEM. Orthodox rabbis and Muslim religious leaders to ask the Israeli mayor of Jerusalem to ban immodestly dressed tourists from the holy places.

KENYA. Kenyan athletes returned from Tel Aviv after deciding not to

take part in the Jewish Games, in protest at the participation of Rhodesian and South African athletes.

MALAYSIA. New offshore gas strike in the East of the Peninsula.

MIDDLE EAST. Ten Arabs taken prisoners by Israeli troops during a raid into Lebanon last September being tried in Lod. The case is the first of its kind since the Israeli military penal code now claims jurisdiction to try people brought to Israel by force on the grounds that they constitute a threat to the security of the state. ● Premier Dom Mintoff of Malta revealed during an explanation of Malta's stand at the Helsinki conference on European Security, the Libya's Colonel Qaddafi had agreed with him—and Pres. Nasser before him—that Israel must remain in existence. ● Jordan broke diplomatic relations with Tunisia over Bourguiba's statement calling Jordan an "artificial entity". ● Some 400 students transferred from Egypt to the Gaza Strip for summer vacation, according to Israel radio.

MOROCCO. 81 Moroccans charged with subversive activity against King Hassan on trial in Casablanca.

NIGERIA. The Government is to spend £120 million on a new national theatre, cultural complex and village for the second World Black and African Festival of the Arts to be held in Lagos in 1975. Black and African artists from 71 countries are expected to participate.

NORTH YEMEN. Ten men, charged with conducting sabotage, presumably with support from the Marxist regime in South Yemen, executed.

PAKISTAN. Pakistan informed the International Court of Justice that in view of talks with India, consideration of its request for interim measures on the extended war trials was no longer necessary. ● Pres. Bhutto debunked 'baseless' stories about his U.S. visit and said Nixon also did not want to discuss anything which was against Pakistan. ● The ruling People's Party won overwhelming majority of seats in the new Senate. A empowered Pres. Bhutto to recognise Bangladesh when appropriate. ● Lodged strong protest over killing of three PoWs by Indian guards. ● Jamaat-e-Islami Working Committee expressed concern over repression in Baluchistan and called for the convening of Provincial Assembly. It also condemned the continued suppression of civil liberties and politics of despotism. ● Masonic lodges throughout Pakistan were taken over by police and documents, including correspondence and membership lists, were seized.

PATANI (S. THAILAND). According to an official spokesman, in clashes in Patani three government officials were killed and two wounded. One "terrorist" was killed and thirteen surrendered.

PHILIPPINES. Muslim fighters reported to have gained control of one of the Sulu provinces in Southern Philippines. ● Special project

launched to bridge the communication gap between Muslims and the Government by having constitution, decrees etc. transliterated into Arabic script.

SAUDI ARABIA. The Supreme Committee for Educational Policy discussed a new curriculum for secondary schools. The Min. of Education said the new curriculum would be more developed and in line with the spirit of the age; the spirit of the religion and the old Islamic heritage would be preserved.

SOMALIA. Vice Pres. and C-in-C of the Armed Forces, Challe Maj-Gen. Muhammad Ali Samater told 60 religious leaders attending a training course that the National Armed Forces were taking part in a campaign to preserve and bring about the principles of scientific socialism.

SUDAN. Ten accused, belonging to Black September and al Fatah office in Khartoum, for the murder of three western diplomats to go on trial.

SWITZERLAND. New legislation introduced to curb the number of immigrant workers. Annual entry permits reduced from 20,000 to 5,000. One-sixth of the Swiss labour force are immigrants.

TUNISIA. More Soviet doctors, bringing the total to 30, to undertake medical work and training of local cadres.

TURKEY. Soviet-Turkey frontier adjustment talks ended in Moscow in atmosphere of "cooperation". ● Pres. Koruturk signed land and agriculture reform law which will give land to over half a million tenants who now own little or nothing.

UGANDA. A decree, "The Customary Marriage Registration Decree 1973", allows a man to marry as many wives as he wishes. It would not apply to people marrying under Christian or Muslim rites or before a District Commissioner. "Customary marriages" have been the most prevalent form in Uganda.

UNITED KINGDOM. The number of Commonwealth citizens who have left Britain in the last two years has exceeded the number arriving by more than 60,000. ● Teachers have told the Medical Council on Alcoholism that excessive drinking by young people began as early as the age of 13 and 14. Excessive drinking was far greater among young people than drug addiction. Alcoholics Anonymous has opened a special clinic to deal with them.

UNITED KINGDOM. A government report proposed that the main job for family planning services is to increase the use of effective contraception by married women and to promote its more extensive and regular use by single women.

WEST GERMANY. Spanish, Italian, Greek and Yugoslav workers at an electrical component factory brought production to a standstill in protest against selective wage increases in favour of German workers.