

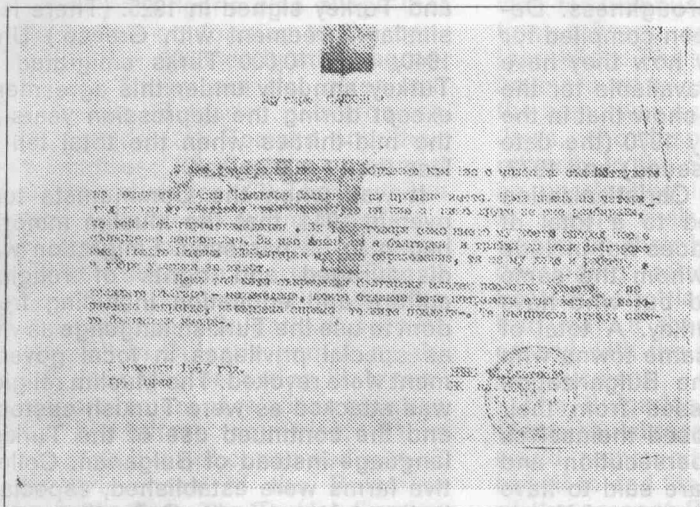
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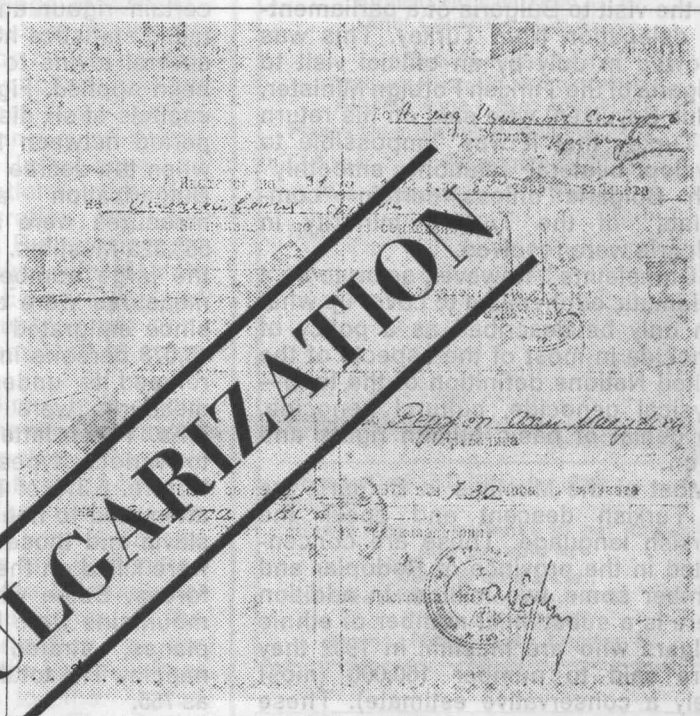
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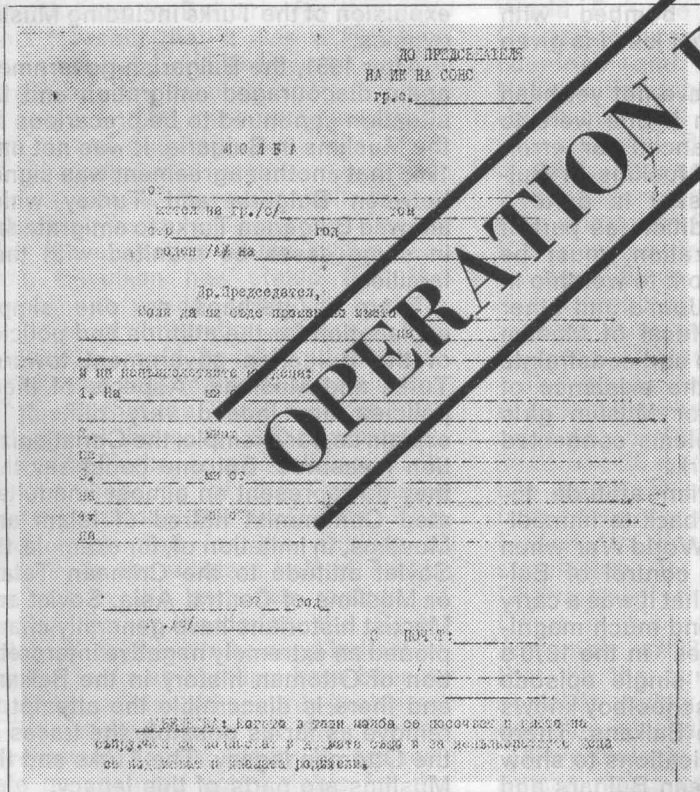
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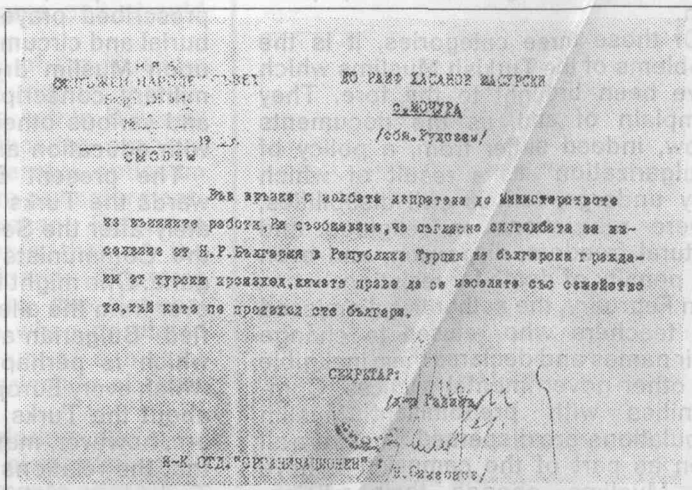
Letter from the director of a college in Varna telling the father of a student that he had completed his studies and that unless he registered his Bulgarian name the degree would not be awarded to him.



A police notice asking a Muslim to intimate Bulgarian names of the members of his family.



A form distributed to heads of families asking them to indicate the Bulgarian names of their family members.



Letter from a local Communist Party refusing permission to emigrate.

OPERATION BULGARIZATION

MUSLIMS IN BULGARIA

A PROBLEM AND A TRAGEDY

The documents published on the cover present incontrovertible evidence of the suppression and repression of Muslims in Bulgaria—a problem and a tragedy quite serious in nature and wide in dimension in spite of the very little that has been heard about it. Aspects of the problem were highlighted last June during the visit to Bulgaria of a parliamentary delegation from Turkey. This was followed in July by an official visit to Bulgaria of the Turkish Foreign Minister, Haluk Bayulken, who said on his return to Turkey that it was "impossible to develop bilateral relations smoothly" with Bulgaria unless certain "complaints" of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria were resolved.

"Complaints", however, seem to be a diplomatic euphemism to cover up what can only be described as a policy of genocide in most of the aspects of the United Nations definition of the term—physical genocide, cultural genocide, the denial of basic human rights and so on.

Most of the Muslims in Bulgaria are of Turkish descent and speak the Turkish language. These are concentrated in the province of Rodopl and number some two million. In addition there is a substantial number of ethnic Bulgars who are Muslim. In 1952 they were said to number 160,000 (most likely a conservative estimate). These are known as Pomaks and have special difficulties. Moreover, there are thousands of gypsies (many of whom have now settled) the majority of whom are Muslims. In 1952, there were estimated to be about 110,000 Muslims gypsies out of a total of 147,000. Altogether, Muslims in Bulgaria are said to number 3.5 million and form 25% of the total population.

Of these three categories, it is the problems of the Turkish Muslims which have been brought to the fore. They complain of and, as the documents show, indeed suffer from, a policy of "Bulgarization" as a result of which they undergo various civil disabilities, severe restrictions on religious and cultural freedom, dispersion, and even the penalty of death for resisting.

In February, the authorities dismissed 165 teachers who refused to change their names and declared them ineligible for other governmental services. Communities with predominant Muslim populations are dispersed. These are all seen as part of the campaign to have the Muslims change their religion, culture, customs and language—in short, their identity—and force them to become Bulgarian Orthodox Slavs. A

resolution of the Bulgarian Communist Party (No. 549, issued on 17 July 1970) directs that Muslims in Bulgaria should be assimilated within the Bulgarian Slav nation.

This rather strange decree, coming as it does from a Communist regime, has obviously been put into force with a certain rigour and thoroughness. Detailed statistics have been compiled for several towns to show how they have been applied. Figures available for the capitals of six districts show that in the period between 17 July 1970 (the date when the decree was issued) and 1972, Bulgarization and Christianization measures were applied to a total of 558,325 Muslims. This does not include the large number to whom the same measures were applied but who have since emigrated to Turkey. A total of 48,073 persons in the same towns who refused to undergo the Bulgarization measures were dismissed from their jobs. These latter exposed themselves to various types of persecution and torture. 6,315 of them are said to have attempted to flee to Greece and Yugoslavia and those who did not succeed were killed on the borders by Bulgarian forces. Some who took refuge in the mountains were hunted down by aeroplanes, strafed and bombed with napalm. The total number killed is given as 765.

The above figures have not yet been corroborated, but even if one were to make generous allowances for error, the overall picture of Muslims in Bulgaria which they present is quite a horrendous one. In addition, as part of the policy of Bulgarization, must be added the lack of freedom to worship in the mosques, to hold Jum'a and other prescribed prayers; refusal of Muslim burial and circumcision and constraints upon Muslim dress; the existence of military conscription for Muslim girls and various other problems connected with education and work.

The present Bulgarian attitude towards the Turks goes back to immediately after the Second World War when the Communists took control of Bulgaria. One might think that it was a carry over from the alleged and much magnified "Bulgarian atrocities" in the 1870's which is perhaps the single episode which every European schoolboy knows about the Turks in the Balkans. There are, however, many indications to show that the relations between Bulgars and Turks were not as bloody and bitter as European propagandists, intent on carving up the Ottoman State in the nineteenth century, made out. After the

creation of Bulgaria, the Turkish minority was described as being "in many respects a model minority group because of their feeling of friendship with the Bulgarians". Later, those Turks who wanted to emigrate to Turkey were allowed to do so under a voluntary exchange agreement between Bulgaria and Turkey signed in 1925. (There is a similar agreement with Greece.) Until 1940, only 10,000 Turks emigrated to Turkey annually under this agreement, except during the depression years of the mid-thirties when the total fell to less than 1,000 a year.

It was when the Communists took over in 1944, that the Muslim minority began to be harassed. Emigration was discouraged and rights of religion, culture and education including freedom to use the Turkish language as well as special privileges in local government were revoked. The Muslim religion was attacked as were Turkish customs and the continued use of the Turkish language instead of Bulgarian. Collective farms were established, especially in the rich and fertile Dobrudja region, which adversely affected the welfare of the Turks. The Turks opposed these measures and the communist government responded in 1950 with a mass expulsion of the Turks including Muslim gypsies.

After 1951, the Bulgarian government again discouraged emigration and the situation continued to be precarious for the Muslims in Bulgaria. It was not until 1968 that another agreement was signed between Bulgaria and Turkey which allowed Bulgarian Turks to emigrate and in some cases be reunited with their families.

There is perhaps no one simple explanation for the attitude and policies of the Bulgarian government towards Turks and Muslims. Aspects of these policies are indeed very difficult to explain as, for example, the Christianization measures. But one could say that they do represent an almost unadulterated Communist hatred of Islam and Muslims, in imitation of, for example, the Soviet attitude to the Crimean Tatars or Muslims of Central Asia. Soviet and Marxist historians have generally championed an extremely negative interpretation of Ottoman history in the Balkans and there is discernible the attempt to remove as far as possible the traces of the Ottoman legacy. The Turks and the Muslims are parts of this legacy.

Secondly, from a purely political point of view, the Bulgarian Communist Party—the only party in the State—have repeatedly stated the desire to

create a "monolithic unity of the Bulgarian people." To achieve this all the minorities have to be brought in line with the dominant race—the Bulgars. In this respect the Turks and the Muslims who form the largest minority are not the only sufferers. The Romanians, the Greeks, the Circassians and the Macedonians who fall within Bulgaria's borders have cause for complaints. The Muslims of Rodoplax are highly suspected, however, because it is alleged that they want to create an independent Islamic State.

Muslims in Bulgaria also allege that certain people conforming to the conditions of the 1968 emigration agreement with Turkey are not given exit visas by the Bulgarian Government. These include: (1) Pomaks and their close relatives; (2) Certain personnel with higher education; (3) Those whose relations have taken asylum in Turkey.

The attitude of the Turkish government in this situation is crucial. One of its overriding concerns is to develop good relations with Bulgaria. It sees its "co-racials" in Bulgaria and in neighbouring countries becoming "bridges" in the improvement of relations between Turkey and those countries. As a secular state it is not concerned with all of the grievances of the Bulgarian Turks as Muslims. The Turkish Foreign Minister said last month that he was "dismayed" at the continuing complaints about "Bulgarization" and that "certain people attempt to take refuge in our missions in Bulgaria for this reason". He said that it was a fact that "our co-racials' children (were) unable at school to develop their mother tongue, the most important element of their natural culture".

The government apparently is not over-anxious to have the bulk of the Bulgarian Turks emigrate to Turkey. After the expiration of the 1968 agreement, Bayulken has stated that the government would consider keeping the hope of emigration alive but that emigration would be allowed only "in modest and reasonable numbers". One may recall that the Turks expelled from Bulgaria in the early 1950's were considered by Turkey as a possible security problem because of the Communist elements among the emigrants. This partly accounted for the settling of refugees in the western half of Turkey and not in the sensitive regions of eastern Turkey bordering the Soviet Union. So far there is no overt indication that the Turks as Muslims have been or would be considered security problems.

The present policy of the Turkish government seems wisely to concentrate on securing equal rights for the Turks in the countries in which they live, be it Bulgaria, Greece, Cyprus or Syria. This was well summed up by Foreign Minister Bayulken: "Our desire

is to see that our co-racials benefit on the basis of equality from the rights enjoyed by the citizens of the countries in which they live and that if a status stipulated by a treaty exists, that status should be respected and if no such status exists, certain basic human rights recognized by international charters should be respected. We have no political aim."

For the future, some of the decisions taken during Bayulken's visit to Bulgaria may lead to some improvement of the Bulgarian Turks' situation. These provide for biannual meetings of information officers and mutual visits by journalists. The situation could certainly be improved by greater publicity in much the same way as the position of Soviet Jews, who despite being a privileged minority in the Soviet Union, have had an unrelenting international campaign to secure their emigration to Israel waged on their behalf. Bulgaria's rapid developing relationship with Middle Eastern countries like Egypt, Syria and Iraq may, if these countries are concerned with the problem, lead to some improvement.

The Bulgarian Muslims, in a document, issued recently, have called on the world community to petition on their behalf to end "the injustice and tyranny of the present Bulgarian rule over the afflicted Muslims". They want their case to be presented to the UN Committee on Human Rights, to the International Court of Justice at the Hague, to the World Refugee Organisation, to the Council of Europe and the Warsaw Pact countries and even to the United Nations Security Council. The Soviet Union may well be the key in all this: when Leonid Brezhnev visited Sofia in 1971, Bulgarian pressure on the Macedonians was eased considerably. (The issue has long been whether the Macedonians are a distinct strain of southern Slavs entitled to an autonomous republic within Yugoslavia, or whether they are Bulgars and should be part of Bulgaria).

The future, however, of the Muslims in Bulgaria—whether Turks or others—rests on developments within Bulgaria itself and it is there that the problem has to be solved. Excessive optimism in this regard may seem premature particularly in view of recent Bulgarian statements, for example that of the Chairman of the Bulgarian Supreme Court in his report to the National Assembly on 28 June when he stated that "in the building up of a mature socialist society, the principle of State coercion is valid".

Nevertheless, the glaring denial of human rights and of elementary freedoms which the documents attest to is the responsibility of the Bulgarian government and, failing that, of the world community.

impact international fortnightly

Muslim viewpoints on current affairs

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Survey

Flare up in Cyprus

The recent events in Cyprus—terrorist bombings, kidnapping of the Justice Minister, Mr. Christos Vakis, and the rounding up of the suspected supporters of General Grivas—all point to an approaching inter-Greek civil war. It is essentially a conflict between the President, Archbishop Makarios and General George Grivas, the 76-year old Eoka hero. The Archbishop has been fighting for almost two years to hold his republic together in the face of terrorist campaign for union with Greece. General Grivas, who is reported to be suffering from serious ill-health, is leading the campaign for Enosis—immediate union with the “Hellenic motherland”. The General believes that the President has turned his back on the union with Greece and is now prepared to compromise with the Turkish-Cypriot minority. The addition of kidnapping to anti-government bombing by General Grivas is not unconnected with the progress made in the inter-communal negotiations which have resumed after a month's recess. Violence reached a similar peak last April when progress was being made in the Turkish-Greek intercommunal talks. The Greek Cypriot negotiator Mr. Glafcos Clerides has stated that during recent talks “we have considered all the aspects of the constitutional structure of the Cyprus state. On the subject of the Executive, Judiciary, Legislature and Public Service our views are so close to each other that it is difficult to say that because of the outstanding differences it is not possible for a solution to come about in these aspects. We also considered the subject of autonomy and that of local government. When we refer to autonomy for the Turks we made a distinction. It is the autonomy that concerns the matters of religion, education, cultural institutions, etc., in which complete autonomy is given to the Cypriot Turks”.

The Turkish government has made it clear that Enosis will not be tolerated, and if necessary, be resisted by military means. President Makarios's response has been to press on with the negotiations with the Turkish-Cypriots (some 18 per cent of the Island's total population of 660,000) through the help of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, whose own representative on the island, Sr. Osorio Tafall, is participating in the discussions together with constitutional experts of the Turkish and Greek communities.

All this has rightly enforced General Grivas' fear that the President has turned his back on Enosis. The unopposed reelection of President Makarios earlier this year no doubt convinced the General that guerilla tactics alone could not advance

● CYPRUS TROUBLES ● TURKEY & SYRIA ● BANGLADESH DEATH

his cause. But Grivas, as President Makarios himself has pointed out, is “not in a position either to overthrow the Government or to place the existence of the State in jeopardy”. What the General can do, however, is to create further strains in the inter-communal talks.

Meanwhile the Turkish community closely watches the chaos in the Greek quarters. With a Turkish army battalion and a police force of 1,500 at full alert, they fully appreciate that Grivas, if pushed to the extreme to frustrate the inter-communal settlement, could release an attack on the number of isolated Turkish-Cypriot villages. The three thousand strong United Nations peacekeeping force will then have to intervene.

Syrian — Turkish Friendship

In general, the Arab relationship with Turkey has been more formal than cordial. The recent ten-day visit of the Syrian Foreign Minister Abd al-Halim Khaddam to Turkey, however, was another positive step forward in the bilateral talks at foreign ministerial level which began last December. Khaddam discussed bilateral relationships with his counterpart Haluk Bayulken, Turkish Foreign Affairs Minister. The two sides expressed satisfaction with the tangible progress in preserving and strengthening the friendly and beneficial relations between the two countries and promoting trade and better economic relationship. They also expressed mutual desire to speed a trade agreement, a draft of which is under study. Both agreed to speed up the study and conclusion of the transit, transport, tourism and veterinary co-operation agreement. It was decided to conclude a civil aviation agreement which will open the way for further fruitful co-operation in this field. Smuggling of goods and persons between the two countries and a cultural agreement also came under discussion. Khaddam ended his visit with an agreement to frequently exchange visits between senior officials of the foreign ministries of the two countries.

Bangladesh — a case of inquest

The death on 18 July of Fazlul Qadir Chaudhry inside Dacca prison is sad, but sadder still are the circumstances surrounding it.

Mr. Chaudhry was a prominent and popular Muslim Leaguer from East Pakistan, a former Central Minister, National Assembly Speaker, and above all one of the very few who believed in principles

more than “politics”. That caused his break with Ayub Khan and the thrust of his subsequent politics was to save Pakistan from disintegration. And that is why after the surrender of Dacca, he found himself within Bangladesh prison for committing the crime of “collaborating with the Pakistan occupation army”. He had since been held as an under-trial and was to appear before a Special Tribunal on 21 July.

Mrs. Fazlul Qadir Chaudhry has issued a statement (*Ganakantha*, Dacca, 24 July) which is a shocking reflection on the human rights situation in Bangladesh. Circumstantially it appeared to be murder and not death due to “pulmonary embolism”, as claimed officially.

Mrs. Chaudhry has said that her husband had been kept in a small, ill-ventilated, dark and hot cell and despite her repeated pleas and his ill health he was not allowed proper medical facilities. She was not permitted to take even a *punkah* (hand-fan) for him. A medical board was reportedly constituted early in June. It is not known whether he was actually examined by this board and if so what did they say. He is said to have died at 9.45 p.m. and was reportedly well until 6.50 p.m. But Mrs. Chaudhry says, Mr. Fazlul Qadir wrote her a letter at 6.00 p.m. (delivered to her on the morning of 19 July) in which he virtually bid good-bye to the family. Was it a premonition or did it simply reflect on some depression within him? Mrs. Chaudhry alleges that immediately after taking his supper her husband vomitted blood and cried: “What has happened to me after this meal”.

Prime Minister, Sheikh Mujib, told her son that he had “ordered” the news to be conveyed to the family the same evening, but Mrs. Chaudhry came to know of this when friends rang her the following morning saying that the local daily *Ittefaq* had reported the death. Mrs. Chaudhry also alleges that her husband was transferred to the prison hospital only after he had actually died. Fazlul Qadir was a handsome person but within 24 hours of his reported death, his body had started turning black and was completely “coal black” after about 26-27 hours. This is said to have been witnessed by many who participated in the funeral. The funeral itself was attended by over 100,000, surpassed only by that of Mr. H. S. Suharwardy, the Awami League founder.

But there is something more. In the last letter he wrote to his family, Mr. Fazlul Qadir advised them not to “approach any lawyer to file any case with High Court before you consult me on the 21st instant”. What does it mean? At what hour was the letter actually written? It has been said openly that Mr. Chaudhry, if actually brought to trial would have exposed those who were now parading as super-patriots

Survey

● SUBCONTINENTAL TANGLE ● PHILIPPINES

but were actually in collaboration with the West Pakistani oligarchy in the game of splitting up the country. Early this year a very high placed Bangladesh source had claimed having obtained a "confession" and an oath of loyalty from Mr. Chaudhry and few other East Pakistani leaders. Could there be a relationship between the two: The allegation and the claim?

Subcontinent — a successful failure?

Indian and Pakistani officials who met in Islamabad from 24 to 30 July failed to announce an agreement on the solution of the humanitarian problems left behind by the 1971 war. These are: Bengali civilians and armed personnel stranded in Pakistan; 93,000 civilian and military prisoners of war held in India (including 195 earmarked for a threatened war crimes trial), and about 260,000 "Biharis" and others who have opted for Pakistan.

The deadlock was caused by Sheikh Mujib's refusal to abandon the threatened war trials and Mr. Bhutto's unwillingness to accommodate what he terms a wholesale migration of the Biharis. India pleads that she is not the least keen to hold the PoWs. While she claims to be trying to persuade Bangladesh, she is, however, bound to do so because the PoWs had surrendered to a joint Indo-Bangladesh command. One crucial reason why these colossal human problems have lingered on for nearly two years was that the three parties were only half earnest in their resolution. India, already facing severe anti-Indian feeling in Bangladesh did not want to let relations between the estranged Pakistans normalise. This affected her political as well as trade interests. The Bangladesh establishment (and also India's) was very much averse to the return of senior and trained defence and civil service personnel from Pakistan. This would alter drastically the power equation in Bangladesh. Bhutto could not afford to acquiesce on the "war trials" and would also like the PoWs' return to synchronise with his general election plans.

India and Bangladesh are now understood to have agreed to defer the war trials and this is a victory for Mr. Bhutto. The price is a modification of the Pakistani stand on Bangladesh recognition?

The next round of the talks begins in New Delhi on 18 August and Mr. Bhutto will go to the US on 18 September. The deal if eventually carried would mean: (i) repatriation of an agreed number of Biharis to Pakistan, (ii) return of the stranded Bengalis (minus 200) to Bangladesh and 93,000 PoWs (minus 195) to Pakistan, (iii) recognition for Bangladesh and (iv) and a twin hostage of 200 Bengalis and 195 Pakistanis.

Philippines status quo

In a nationwide referendum on 27 July, the Filipinos were asked one simple question: "Under the present (1972) Constitution, The President, if he so desires can continue in office beyond 1973. Do you want President Marcos to continue beyond 1973 and finish the reforms he initiated under Martial Law?" Under the 1935 Constitution President Marcos otherwise had to step down on 30 December. However with Martial Law, a nugatory opposition, a fully controlled press and communications media, and severely curtailed civil liberties, Marcos was hardly removable.

As expected the Filipinos have accordingly said overwhelmingly that Marcos should stay. The U.S. too which has an investment of \$2,500m had an interest in the status quo.

The French explosion

While the international community continues to protest about the latest series of French nuclear tests, France, like the three celebrated monkeys, saw, heard and spoke no evil. The loudest voice against the tests come from the countries closest to the Mururoa Atoll test sites: New Zealand, Australia, Japan, Malaysia and other Asian nations on the one hand, and on the other countries on the eastern rim of the Pacific such as Canada, Argentina, Chile, Peru and Fiji Isles. The French claim that the protest lacks scientific backing is naive. The Fiji protest committee said after the blast that there was enough "irrefutable scientific evidence" to put the test in a dangerous light. The Association of the Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has issued a joint statement that "such tests pose unknown hazards to human life, disturb ecology and pollute the environment . . ." Meanwhile France continues to assert that the test will bring no threat to health. Why then not test the bomb over Corsica or the Cote d'Azur? The whole argument put forward by Paris in defence of the tests has a colonial logic about it. A lot has changed since the massive series of atomic explosions triggered by the American, Russians and the British during the Cold War. France seems to overlook the non-proliferation treaty, SALT, the new information on the existing radiation in the atmosphere and the negotiated detente. To overlook these is to take an arrogant and out-of-date line.

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PEOPLE

PFLP denied Lebanese paper "*al-Liwa*" report that the unidentified girl killed in JAL hijackin was **Laila Khaled**. **Pir Pagaro** elected President Pakistan Muslim League (united), Pakistan Muslim League (Council) expelled former party presidents **Mumtaz Daultana** (new ambassador in London) and **Shaukat Hayat**. U.S. Senate confirmed appointment of **William Colby**, as CIA Director. **Mohammad Sahnun**, new O.A.U. Dy Secy-Gen. for science and culture. Nigerian Navy Commander **Hussein Abdullahi** sworn in a member of S.E. State Executive Council. New Afghan Government. **Mohammad Daud**; Head of State PM, Defence and FM.; **Dr. Mohammad Hassar Shafaq**; Vice PM; **Dr. Abdul Majid**; Justice; **Abdu Elah**; Finance; **Faiz Mohammed**; Interior; **Dr Niamatullah Pazhwak**; Education; **Padsha Gul** Boarder Affairs; **Dr. Abdul Karim**; Mines & Industries; **Ghausuddin**; Public Works; **Abdul Hamid**; Communication; **Dr. Abdul Rab Navin**; Information & Culture; **Ghulam Jelani Bakhtari**; Agriculture. **Lt. Gen. Samadianpur** appointed Chief of National Police Force, Iran. **Sukarmen** reinstated Governor of Bali Province. **Aristides Pereira**, new Sec-Gen. of PAIGC in succession to the assassinated **Dr. Amilcar Cabral**. **Emperor Haile Selassie** of Ethiopia celebrated 81st birthday.

DIPLOMATS

Alawi Abd ar-Rahman as-Saqaf first S. Yemen Amb. to Hanoi. **Jamshid Meftah**, first Iranian Amb. to Nigeria. **Dr. Awang Hassan**, New Malaysia High Commissioner to Australia, replaces **Dato Donald Stevens**. **Yahya Abd-ar-Rahman** new Yemen Amb. to Czechoslovakia. Israel radio said Egyptian FM **Zayyat** may be replaced by Tourism Min. **Ismail Fahmi**. **John Phillips**, 56, named U.K. Amb. to Sudan. **M. A. Numan**, Dy. PM & FM North Yemen resigned. **Muhammad Wafa Hajazi** named first Egyptian envoy to Bangladesh. **Hikmat Sami Suleyman** first Iraqi Amb. to the Central Africa Republic. **Marshal Sri Bimo Ariotedjo** Indonesia Amb. to Philippines. **Li Chao** first Chinese Amb. to Jamaica. Bangladesh Envoys: **Shamsur Rahman** ambassador in Moscow accredited also to Czechoslovakia. **Ashaduzzaman** named Charge d'affaires in Algeria.

VISITS

Turkish Min. of Labour, **Ali Naili Erdem** to Austria, the Netherlands, and W. Germany to study conditions of Turkish workers. **Pres. Nguabi** of Congo to Peking. **Leonard H. Goldenson**, Chairman American Broadcasting Company to Peking. **PM Trudeau** to China possibly Oct. Soviet poet **Y. Yevtushenko** touring Asia. Japanese Premier **Kakuei Tanaka** to Washington. **Mr. Brezhnev** and Premier **Kosygin** to visit India end of the year and **Marshal Grechko** later. **Nafi Qasim**, Head Iraqi Waqf officer to USSR. **Mali FM** to Algeria. **Mauritania FM** to Libya. **Jordan Economy Min.** to Somalia. Algerian Culture Min. **Ahmad Talib** to Baghdad. **Amir of Kuwait** to Saudi Arabia on 27 Aug., later Egypt. **Algeria**, **Morocco**, **Mauritania** and **France**. **Bangladesh Foreign Trade Min.** to Burma. **Pres. Amin** invited **Queen Elizabeth II** to visit Uganda. **Abba Eban** to Brazil. **Sheikh Mahmoud Subhi** and **Dr. Ali Turayki** to Kabul with **Col. Qaddafi's** greetings.

DELEGATION

S. Yemen Trade Union to Albania. **Chinese Trade** to USSR. **Soviet Steel Engineering** to Karachi. **Pakistani Petroleum Trade** to Iran and Saudi Arabia. **Unofficial Soviet** to Israel. **Chinese Basketball team** to Mauritania.

DIED

Aref-el-Aref, 81, Arab nationalist and chronicler. **Arye Pincus**, 61, South African born Chairman of the Jewish Agency. **Tun Ismail**, Dy. PM of Malaysia on 2 Aug. **Zia Ahmad Badayuni**, Indian scholar of Persian and Urdu, on 8 July. **Iluddin Salik**, Pakistan scholar on 28 July.

Kerala Crisis on Indian History

Matiur Rahman

The latest rift within the coalition ministry in the south Indian state of Kerala has just been patched over. The two junior partners in the coalition government—the Congress and the League—have toned down some of their recently proclaimed views and have agreed to co-exist despite differences. This has prolonged, at least for the time being, the tenure of the communist (pro-Moscow) led Kerala ministry and saved the state from an immediate political crisis.

Kerala is a unique coalition. The three parties in the coalition stand, at least theoretically, for three different ideologies — communism, secularism and Islam. In no other Indian state has a coalition of such heterogeneous elements been possible for any length of time. But then among all the Indian states the percentage of education in Kerala is the highest. Keralans are politically more conscious than their compatriots in other parts of India. Kerala claims to have provided an adequate and effective guarantee to the rights of the minority communities. Kerala can also claim to have the first democratically elected communist government in the world.

The role of the Indian Union Muslim League in Kerala is possibly the most inimitable. The very name, Muslim League, is an anathema to the average non-Muslim Indian and particularly to the members, supporters and sympathisers of the Indian National Congress. They never forgave the pre-independence All-India Muslim League for its part in creating the state of Pakistan. Ever since August 1947 successive Congress governments have made it impossible for the League to continue as a viable all-India body and except for certain areas of south India where the mostly non-Brahmin communities largely tolerated the occasional political activities of the sparse Muslim community, the League practically ceased to exist. Following the independence of India the leadership of the League fell upon Muhammad Ismail of Madras. Ismail had started his political career as a Congress nationalist, subsequently joining the League and becoming a member of its executive only in 1945. In 1948 he was elected president of the League now renamed the Indian Union Muslim League—and was allowed to claim and take possession of the property in India of the All-India Muslim League. The Indian Union Muslim League, however, remained until recently a south Indian party with its bases in Kerala and Madras. It was in Kerala that the League met its first post-independence electoral success. Since 1960 it has remained a partner in the successive Kerala governments led either by the Congress, or the communists, whether of the pro-Moscow or pro-Peking variety.

The League's key position as the maker and breaker of any coalition government in Kerala strengthened its influence amongst non-Muslim Keralans. At the same time, by

its sincere and adroit handling of the issues confronting the Muslims, it established itself as the only representative of the community in Kerala. The League's achievements in the fields of Muslim education and social reform in Kerala has earned it the appreciation of the Muslims in other parts of India. The Kerala League's objectives of protecting and advancing the interests of the Muslim community, however, never impeded its contribution to the cause of the Keralans generally. It has been a party to the implementation of the various radical socio-economic measures, such as land reforms, nationalisation of private forests without compensation, curbing of the private educational 'empires' and state-trading in grain.

The League's performance as the custodian of Muslim interests in Kerala and its recent successful attempts at widening its activities in Western and Northern India have made it a target of increasingly bitter attacks by Hindu extremists of the Jana Sangh and the Congress. In Kerala itself the Congress rank and file, and particularly its youth wing, have started a bitter criticism of the League. Earlier this year the rift between the Congress and the League in Kerala came to the fore over the holding of the Panchayat elections in the state. Despite repeated statements of the League leaders, including Abu Kader Kutty Naha, minister of Panchayat administration, that the Panchayat elections would be held in time, the Congress leaders insisted, and finally succeeded in, postponing the elections from May to November of this year. It is widely recognised that the Panchayat elections, if held in May would have further increased the strength of the League thus placing the Congress at its mercy in the Kerala administration. E. S. M. Namboodripad, a former Communist (Marxist) chief minister of Kerala agreed that an earlier holding of the Panchayat elections would have forced the Congress "to choose between two alternatives: either make substantial concessions to the League both in the matter of seat adjustments in connection with the Panchayat elections as well as a number of issues on which the League and the Congress are seriously divided amongst themselves; or face the prospects of a crushing defeat at the hands of the Opposition, since the League is not prepared to rescue the Congress" (*People's Democracy* May 12th 1973).

Almost immediately after the League-Congress controversy over the Panchayat election date was resolved, the two coalition partners became involved in another dispute which nearly wrecked the foundations of the Kerala government. This time the point of contention was the recognition to be accorded to the Moplahs of Malabar in the subcontinent's struggle for independence from British rule. Inspired by the call of the leaders of the Khilafat movement, the Moplahs, had, in June-July 1921 organised a violent campaign against the British government. So determined was their movement that within a few days of the launching of the movement they succeeded in establishing a 'Khilafat' over a large area of Malabar and installed their leader, Haji Muhammad, as 'Khalifa'. They also defeated the British India army in three successive battles. Eventually, however, the Moplahs were overpowered by the vastly superior numbers, weapons and tactics of the British Raj. On January 7, 1922, Haji Muhammad was captured along with 21 of his closest followers. The 'Khalifa' and six of his followers were

shot dead after a summary trial and the rest were sentenced to life imprisonment. The huge scale of the Moplah uprising can be gauged from the number of their casualties, as recorded in British Indian sources. The record shows that among the Moplahs involved in the 'Khilafat' cause, 2,266 were killed in action; 1,615 were severely wounded; 5,688 were captured (some of whom died in captivity); and 38,256 surrendered to the government. (These figures also include over one hundred Moplahs who were incarcerated in a small railway wagon and died of suffocation while on their way to Podanoor station.)

The Moplah uprising is doubtless one of the most significant events in the annals of the subcontinent's struggle for freedom. But there was one unfortunate side to it. In their bitterly anti-British mood some Moplahs also rose against the Nairs, the Hindu money-lending class, who had tyrannised them for several decades and had actively sided with the British during the uprising. Some Nairs were also killed, some wounded and a few others reported to have been converted to Islam. The alleged anti-Hindu activities of some of the Moplahs were grossly exaggerated by Hindu extremists of the Mahasabha and the Congress. Even after independence, Congress leaders refused to acknowledge the contribution of the Moplahs towards India's freedom.

The controversy regarding the role of the Moplah-Khilafat movement is the most glaring instance of the incompatibility of the Congress and the League's basic attitudes. The Congress being the most dominant as well as the ruling party in India, its version of Indian history has been disseminated as the only true history of India. The Congress view of Indian history forms part of the history syllabus in schools, college and universities all over India. The Congress claim of exclusive credit for the achievement of Indian independence would perhaps be less galling were it not accompanied by absolutely baseless allegations against the non-Congress parties and individuals in pre-independence India.

There are several villains in the Congress-inspired history of British India. But the most hated of them are the All-India Muslim League and its leader Muhammad Ali Jinnah. The Congress writers, almost without exception, have condemned the All-India Muslim League and Jinnah for causing the partition of India and the creation of Pakistan. The Kerala Muslim League, fortified by its organisational strength as well as by its victory over the Moplah-Khilafat issue, has now taken it upon itself to press the Congress to correct some of its anti-League and anti-Jinnah views and to put the record straight.

The climax of the controversy over the interpretation of the British Indian history was reached in Kerala during the middle of July this year, when the League Education Minister dropped a history text-book in Malayalam from the school syllabus. This book, entitled "Jawharlal Nehru-Bharatratnam", is a typical example of the Congress view of Indian history. It presents a highly distorted version of the history of the freedom movement in India, as is evident from the following excerpts to which the League minister took serious exception:

"Growth of the Muslim League, a communal organisation, under the leadership of Mr. Muhammed Ali Jinnah, caused Mr. Nehru anxiety... The British administra-

tion in India declared that the Indian princes and the Muslim League oppose the Congress demand for independence . . . In the Lahore session of the Muslim League in 1940 Muhammed Ali Jinnah proclaimed the creation of a Muslim state in India as the goal of the Muslim League. The declaration which was against the Congress call for independence had the tacit approval of the British government . . . It (the Muslim League) grew with the help of the government . . . India was moving towards freedom. But the Muslim League's demand for Pakistan was a stumbling block to the movement . . ."

Thus, while depicting the League and Jinnah as lackeys of British imperialism, the author of this book continued to apportion all blame upon them for partitioning the subcontinent. Any unbiased student of Indian history would agree with the leaders of the Kerala League that the above interpretation of the League and Jinnah's role in the freedom movement is tendentious and partisan. The League's struggle under Jinnah was a dual one, it was a fight for independence not only from the British but also from Congress-Hindu rule. As for the Lahore Resolution, who can deny that the Congress leaders' intransigence over providing constitutional safeguards for the Muslim community and their refusal to share power with the League forced the latter to adopt the Pakistan resolution? A former President of the Congress, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, himself has categorically stated that in 1937 Nehru's refusal to share power with the League in the U.P. was responsible for Jinnah's 'offensive which ultimately led to Pakistan'. Regarding the partition of India itself no fair-minded person would deny that as late as 1946 the League had accepted the Cabinet Mission plan which provided for a united India while safeguarding the legitimate interests of the Muslim community. It was Nehru himself who wrecked the Cabinet Mission plan and he has been blamed by Maulana Azad for his irresponsible action.

The Kerala League minister based his order regarding the banning of 'Bharatratnam' on facts. But the Congress leaders found it difficult to renounce their decades-old prejudice against the League and its erstwhile leader. The matter was referred to the liaison committee of the coalition government where the communist members were inclined to accept the League's point of view. The Congress leaders, however, remained adamant. Finally, after discussing the matter with the central leadership at Delhi the Kerala Congress has found a way out of this impasse, thus saving the Kerala ministry from imminent downfall. As a compromise, Sankara Pillai, the author of the controversial book, has agreed to delete those sections of the book which offended the League minister, who in his turn has rescinded his order proscribing the book. Whether the revised book would be continued as a 'non-detailed' text for school children will be decided next year by the liaison committee of the coalition.

The Kerala League has obviously scored a point over the Congress. But it is just a point. While tolerating the League viewpoint on the history of the independence movement, the Congress has not committed itself to revising its own views, certainly not in the context of other Indian states. And even in Kerala the unamended 'Bharatratnam' is still taught at university levels, though as an optional book. Yet the 'defeat' seems to have stiffened Congress attitudes towards the League.

THE MIDDLE EAST

Between the Thug and the Friend

A. W. Hamid

In recent weeks, diplomacy in the Middle East seems to have undergone changes or shifts in two directions largely as a result of Brezhnev's visit to the United States and the debate in the UN Security Council in which the USA exercised its veto on a resolution condemning Israel's continued occupation of Arab territory seized in the 1967 war.

The first of these changes is the growing awareness, and the willingness to speak more openly about it, of the nature of Russian policy in the Middle East. In his 23 July speech to the People's Assembly, President Sadat admitted that Egypt was "very concerned at the Soviet-US detente" and this was why Hafiz Ismail was sent to Moscow — to find out the extent of Soviet support for the Egyptian cause in the event of the Soviet Union and the United States taking a single view on the Middle East situation. Hafiz Ismail returned from Moscow with certain assurances but despite these Sadat admitted that Arab-Soviet cooperation "has really been facing problems". In effect what he has been saying is that Egypt has been stuck with a "friend" which it has been trying to get rid of but cannot succeed in doing so. The return of the Russians following their expulsion last summer demonstrates this.

Sadat has admitted that there are "certain groups" in Egypt which are critical of Egyptian-Soviet relations but has been constrained to tell these groups that even if there are certain disagreements with the Soviet Union, this should be treated as disagreements between "friends", not "adversaries".

One of the most damaging criticisms to be voiced so far has come from Mr. Hussein Shafei, the No. 2 man in the Egyptian leadership. In an interview in the Lebanese paper *Al Hawades*, Shafei said that the Soviet Union was in agreement with the U.S. that Egypt should be defeated in the 1967 war with Israel. "The events of 1967," he declared, "were an international conspiracy concocted by those who did not want Egypt to play a bigger role than the super powers desired." He said that the open agreement between the Russians and the Americans may have been reached at Glassboro in the U.S. where the Soviet Premier, Mr. Kosygin, met the then President Lyndon Johnson after the Middle East war. But the implicit agreement between the two powers had been arrived at several years before.

Suspicion of the Russian role in Egypt's defeat and in support of Israel is now becoming overtly deeper and is strengthened by the increasing number of recent "non-official" visits of Soviet and Israeli delegations between Moscow and Tel Aviv — delegations of physicians, journalists, Communist Party officials etc. The mass emigration of Soviet Jews, despite the smokescreen which has been put around it, has also been a major cause of apprehension.

The Soviet Union is clearly aware of these damaging criticisms and attempts to put itself forward as the only major power concerned with protecting Arab interests in the Middle East. Moscow has been making the maximum propagandist use of the Nixon-Brezhnev declaration on the "legitimate rights of the Palestinian people" and its "firm" support of the Arabs at the Security Council. It apparently fails to see the hypocrisy of supporting the Brezhnev-Nixon accord on the Middle East on the one hand and at the same time condemning the USA's "open hostility to the Arabs and its protection of the Israeli aggressors". But despite the growing Arab awareness of the Soviet stance in the Middle East, it is the Russians who still hold the initiatives in Soviet-Arab relationships.

The second change, if change it be, really confirms the position of the USA. Throughout 1971, 1972 and early 1973, Egypt has been putting faith in the USA's ability to bring about a political

solution to the Middle East. According to Sadat, Egypt eventually realized that this political solution was intended to be a partial solution only involving a re-opening of the Suez Canal. Sadat virtually staked his political life on this solution by proclaiming 1971 his "year of decision". However, nothing could be done; the Israelis held on to all the occupied territories and shows no sign of giving them up despite all the talk of the creation of a Palestinian state on the West Bank and various other proposals.

The American veto has finally shown, if indeed it needed to be shown, that American support for Israel is complete. For the Arabs to realise this is for them to realise that the USA cannot be a mediator in the Middle East situation. Sadat has given expression to this in the strongest of terms by describing the United States as the "world's biggest thug" which helps Israel "to do what it likes and defy the world, world opinion, the United Nations, the Security Council and everything else." He has further said that the object of going to the Security Council was not in support of a "solution" but "to bring everybody face to face with their responsibilities". Anger at the US stand has tended to obscure the expediency of other powers like Britain and France. The obfuscation has been rendered more complete by Israel's remonstrating against these and other countries, like Australia and Brazil, for voting for the resolution.

It is now being argued in some quarters that Arab anger at the complete US support for Israel would affect American interests in the Middle East and that the US will therefore ultimately have to come around to supporting the Arabs if it is to preserve these massive interests. This argument is related particularly to Saudi-American relations. Talk continues of a possible Saudi restriction of oil expansion intended to hurt Americas oil supplies. Algeria is said to be considering similar measures.

One of the most remarkable—in view of the strength of pro-Israeli feeling in the U.S.A.—support for this argument was contained in a statement last week by the Chairman of Standard Oil Company of California which gets half of its total oil production from the Middle East. He said that there was "a growing feeling in much of the Arab world that the U.S. has turned its back on the Arab people. Many are said to feel that Americans do not hold proper regard in the national interest of the Arab States, their long history of important contributions to civilization, their efforts to achieve political stability and their attempts to develop sound and modern economic styles." He added that unless America changed this attitude it could find itself in severe difficulties in meeting its energy needs from Middle East suppliers.

This attitude, commendable as it is, still leaves the Arabs at the mercy of the super powers. But the fact that there is a growing awareness on the part of the Arabs of the role of the powers and the willingness to speak openly about this role, seem to be a hopeful sign.

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"It becomes essential to make it abundantly clear to clerics who are trying to revive a discredited conservative version of sharia, this is unacceptable today . . ."

The Shari'a and individual Liberty

Kemal A. Faruki

Whenever we speak of the supremacy of the *shari'a* of Islam today, we find that this brings back into sharp focus the differences in approach between the traditional, conservative view and the non-traditional, modernist view of the nature of *shari'a*. It is entirely pointless for the protagonists of either point of view to claim that they alone are orthodox and the others are heretics. As Doctor Johnson once cynically remarked: "Orthodoxy is my 'doxy. Heterodoxy is your 'doxy." But, nevertheless, it is legitimate and desirable to ascertain which of these two approaches to *shari'a* is nearer to the approach of the earliest generations of Muslims and, indeed, to the Qur'an and *sunna* themselves, when they are studied directly instead of through thick layers after layers of commentaries and commentaries upon commentaries and glosses upon commentaries and glosses upon glosses.

A point of fundamental importance in understanding how to apply *shari'a* in a state aspiring to be Islamic like Pakistan today, is the question of the extent to which the laws that we derive from *shari'a* permit liberty—whether it is the liberty of different communities within an Islamic state or the liberty of different schools of law or thought within the Muslim community or the liberty of individual citizens of the state. It is proposed to consider here only the question of individual liberty as it applies to citizens who acknowledge the supremacy of *shari'a*, although much of the conclusions reached will apply, *a fortiori*, to the question of the liberty of groups, both Muslim and non-Muslim.

Islamic law, draws a distinction between the rights of God and the rights of men. Thus, when *shari'a* calls upon a Muslim to do something or to refrain from doing something, this command is to be qualified as involving either a right of God (*haqq Allah*) or a right of men (*haqq al-'ibad*) according to certain criteria, of which one of the most important, if not the most important, is whether other human beings will be affected by the individual obeying or failing to obey a command that is laid down.

For example, the rules regarding trade, inheritance and marriage, because they con-

cern relations between individuals or groups of individuals are classified as social transactions (*mu'amalat*) and fall within the purview of the rights of men. On the other hand, the rules regarding prayer and fasting concern the individual alone and, therefore, are classified as acts of devotion (*'ibadat*) and are considered amongst the rights of God.

Of course, in a non-technical and almost philosophical sense, all the commands set out in *shari'a* are rights of God and, conversely, to the extent that the observance of personal duties makes for better human character, it might be said that they affect the social relationships of human beings. But these more abstract ways of considering the matter should not distract us from understanding the distinction in Islamic law between the rights of God and the rights of men.

On directly reading the Qur'an it will be found that all the exhortations which are personal in significance (i.e. do not tangibly and directly affect other human beings) are addressed to the conscience of the individual believer and point out that these positive and negative commands are for the good of the individual believer and that obedience to these commands must rest, voluntarily, on the individual's realization of their desirable and beneficial necessity. If an individual chooses to disobey such commands, he personally will suffer in this world and in the Hereafter. In other words, the punishment (as well as the reward) with respect to such commands which involve rights of God will be meted out by God Himself on the Day of Reckoning. This is repeated throughout the Qur'an in different contexts.*

It is only when the *shari'a* injunctions concern relationships between human beings that the community is permitted to make rules on the basis of *shari'a* and even then, for some of these injunctions which are non-individual in nature, the *shari'a* envisages the matter being decided by the two individuals or the two parties affected without the intervention of any community-wide or state-wide *shari'a*-based laws.

This, in fact, is the spirit in which the great early jurists (such as Abu Hanifa, Ja'far al-Sadiq, Malik ibn Anas and Abu Yusuf) approached these questions. These great men were properly and acutely fearful of God's wrath descending upon them personally on the Day of Judgement, if they were to make something obligatory by law when it was not specifically stated to be obligatory in *shari'a* or prohibiting something by law which was not prohibited by *shari'a*, in precise terms. It was this which led to the elaboration of a five-fold scale of values (*al-ahkam al-khamsa*) with respect to all human acts, namely: obligatory (*wajib*), recommended (*mandub*), indifferent (*mubah*), disliked (*makruh*) and forbidden (*haram*). The distinction between the first two was that there are rewards for doing and punishments for not doing that which is *wajib*, while there are rewards for doing but no punishments for not doing that which is *mandub*. While, if anything was classified as *makruh*, there are rewards for not doing but no punishments for doing. But if anything was *haram*, there are rewards for not doing

and punishments for doing. For the middle category of *mubah* there are neither rewards nor punishments.

But in order to determine by whom the punishments were to be administered, the five-fold scale of values were correlated with the distinction between the rights of God and the rights of men which have been already mentioned. Where punishments to be administered by the community here are concerned (*'uqubat*), they require detailed consideration in a separate article in which the distinction between e.g., *makruh* and *haram* has to be carefully taken into account and in which the true, primary meaning of *hadd* has to be considered.

When we come to Muslim legal thought of later centuries, however (from which the conservatives of today obtain their understanding of *shari'a*), we find that a curious change has taken place. In medieval law books the community is virtually regarded as capable of exercising all the prerogatives of God, on earth, and being authorized to administer punishments not only where infringements of the rights of men are concerned but even where the rights of God are transgressed. Indeed, to achieve this, the normal distinctions between these two types of rights as derivable from the Qur'an, have undergone a change. It is precisely from this characteristic about medieval, traditional Islamic law that the *'ulama'* of today try to obtain their justification for looking upon the ultimate state of affairs in an Islamic state as being one of total regimentation, of prying into the most intimate aspects of a Muslim's personal beliefs and even attempting to dictate to his very conscience itself.

The predictable result of this has been to drive underground the beliefs actually held by people and create on a large scale that cardinal sin according to Islam, of hypocrisy (*nifaq*). There has grown up a smug and unwarranted satisfaction with a pretended outward conformity with the demands of the *muhtasib* or official inspector of morals. It was thus that Islamic society lost touch with that essential basis, of fostering the development of the individual's conscience which, by its very nature, must be voluntarily convinced of the rightness or wrongness of an act or thought. Even when the outward shell of Islamic society continued to look impressive, the inner core had become decayed and hollow.

When, therefore, today we are confronted with the obligation to apply *shari'a* in order to give practical evidence of our commitment to an Islamic state and our acknowledgement of God's sovereignty, it becomes essential to make it abundantly clear to clerics who are trying to revive a discredited, conservative version of *shari'a*, that this is unacceptable today and that the only understanding of *shari'a* which is acceptable (and even workable) is one which recognizes that matters of faith and practice which only concern the individual himself are a matter between the individual's conscience and his Maker, for which the unavoidable reckoning will take place on the Day of Judgement. This alone gives meaning to the assertion that there is no intermediary between the Creator and His creation and gives reality to our faith in a Day of Judgement and a Hereafter.

* See, for examples 6:57, 16:61, 2:256, 14:42, 20:135, 35:8, 53:32, 109:1-6, 10:99-100, 3:175, 4:94 and 45:14

On sum, the Conference was a true mirror of the Muslim situation. Its educative and motivational value for everybody is undeniable. . . .

A kind of an international Muslim Parliament

A. Irfan

Last month's International Muslim Youth Conference held in Tripoli was an event of significance in the contemporary Muslim situation. No doubt it could have been better programmed and its recommendations and resolutions more realistically and less generally formulated, but that did not detract from the merit of the Conference. In one respect, it had a definite edge over all other Muslim or Islamic Conferences held during the last few decades, and that was its microcosmic nature. The 300 or so delegates from 103 countries, between them represented the whole cross-section of the Muslim world: the nationalists, Muslim secularists, Islamic socialists, opportunists, romantics and Islamists. They came from both the so-called traditional and the so-called modern backgrounds. That made it a kind of an international Muslim parliament and the Libyans can well congratulate themselves for this, so far, singular achievement.

For most if not all delegates the very togetherness was a thrilling experience. Individually they constituted different racial, linguistic, colour and national entities but being together was a rediscovering of the fact that they were one not only in their aspirations but also in their sufferings and frustrations.

The problems and difficulties in the South Philippines, in Eritrea, in Kashmir, in India, in Bangladesh, in Patani (S. Thailand) in Bulgaria, in the Turkestan territories under the Russian and Chinese control, in Yugoslavia, and in Palestine were identical and part of the same phenomenon. There were areas where Muslims faced subjugation or external colonialism, but there were also areas of self-colonialism. Indonesia being the most outstanding and painful example of such a native colonialism. Then there was the Muslim's dark continent: Africa. Of course, there were also the sovereign independent states. Some labelled themselves as secular and put constraints on Islamic activities. Others proclaimed Islam but the practice did not always match their professions. This made one delegate remark that "Muslims" themselves were a problem. Not a pleasing summation but obviously you cannot get out of a certain situation unless you are able to appraise and identify your faults and inabilities.

The main aim of the Conference was to provide the Muslim Youth an opportunity to take stock of their problems in the wider frame of Muslim world problems, and seek ways and means of deepening their moral and political awakening.

Delegates were, therefore, puzzled to find about half of the Conference time allocated to discussions on the Third International Theory. Most of them had heard the very name for the first time, and very few if any seemed to know what it was about. Whatever it was, no one wanted to get involved into an argument with his host. They seemed more keen in exploring and devising a common approach to the problems of the Muslim Youth, yet it was the Third International Theory which through a fortuitous start became the dominant theme of the Conference.

On the very first day of the main proceedings, the Conference had a lengthy discourse on the Third Theory. In the discussions which followed the delegates wanted to be polite and show understanding: Islam no doubt could not be titled a theory but they appreciated the RCC meant nothing else but Islam. At this stage, an Egyptian delegate proposed—at the prompting of an over-enthusiastic Libyan delegate—that the Conference should send a telegram to Col. Qadhafi (then in Cairo) affirming support to the Third Theory. This was turned down because the delegates said they had only started discussing the Theory. From then on, perhaps, the delegates felt they had to be more careful lest they were made to endorse something which though sincerely motivated compromised or confused the Divine origin, and universal and eternal nature of Islam.

Unfortunately, the official exponents of the Theory were not able either to offer a plausible explanation or develop a rapport with the Conference. There was an "Islamic" set of explanation quoting the Quran and how it spoke about the "Arabs" having been raised as the "best ummah". There was another set of pragmatic explanations:

"If you mention Islam the non-Muslim world will become your enemy . . . Third Theory was for the non-Muslim Third World". "Nationalism is a scientific fact. Had this not been so, Pakistan would not have split into two". And finally: "We are a Revolution and it is we who have proposed the Theory. It is not right for you to criticise it". There was a comic explanation too: Col. Qadhafi had been thinking about the Theory since the fifties. That made one delegate ask what was the date of Col. Qadhafi's birth. He was said to be 28 or 29 in 1969. Naturally except three or four, not even the Libyan delegates were convinced.

On the very first day of the debate, the

Conference Vice-Chairman, Sheikh Mahmoud Subhi, Secretary-General, Jamiyah Dawah Islamiyah, the host body, appointed a Committee to suggest an alternate name. Although the Conference was informed that this Committee had suggested a change in the title, nothing more was heard about it. Sheikh Mahmoud Subhi's contribution was courageous and remarkable. He perhaps saved the Conference from ending in fiasco by firmly telling a Libyan speaker not to employ "intellectual terror" and asking the delegates to express themselves freely. During the King's reign too, Subhi was known for his outspoken courage and prison visits.

Although boring, brilliant, and even bitter at times, the Third Theory debate helped provide a sharp focus on the Muslim World's realities. One could very well discern the intellectual confusion and parallelism in the Muslim society. But there was also a clear and spontaneous assertion of Muslim thought.

This was felt in the discussions on educational reconstruction and popularisation of the Arabic language, problems of the Muslim youth and the question of developing a sound institutional base for Islamic studies and correcting misinformation about Islam. Apart from some Conference papers, the very real contributions on these items were made in the Committees by the various delegates. The proceedings of these Committees if properly preserved and published would provide a mine of background information and ideas. The drafting committee was certainly not able to do justice to the material it had. Some of the end-product was general and superficial. In the case of the Committee on "Orientalism", most members including Prof. Ismail Faruki, Prof. T. B. Irving and Prof. Rasjidi had to dissociate themselves from the draft because it was trivial. Rhetorics, triviality and sloganism which seem to characterise many a contemporary Muslim expression perhaps represent a sublime art of non-expression. The freedom to express is really so rare and those who have the authority to express are so unknowledgeable.

On sum, the Conference was a true mirror of the Muslim situation. Its educative and motivation value for everybody is undeniable. This is perhaps well illustrated by the remark of one African delegate who said "I had brought an application seeking support for work in my area, but now I realise that we have to stand on our own feet and even help our less fortunate brothers".

Briefing

Green March, Black September: The study of the Palestinian Arabs by John K. Cooley, *Cass*, £3.50.

Another story of the Palestinian Arabs whose very entity and existence appears to have become more and more controversial. Everyone seems to be divided on the point. There are more Israelis who wish to believe that the Palestinians do not exist but there are others too who do not want to be so blind. Even the Palestinian is not quite sure whether he is a Muslim, an Arab, a Palestinian, a Jordanian, or an international refugee. Not surprising though, in view of a rigorous military occupation of their homeland and the kind of patronage extended to them by the various Arab States! Cooley traces and follows the vicissitudes of the Palestinian diaspora, and he believes that many Palestinians "have been ridding themselves of the refugee mentality". He thinks that the revolutionary movement "will behave more and more like an established nation, provided it reforms its ranks and finally conquers its own internal disunities and strife". The idea he sells is that of a Palestinian buffer state.

The Kurdish Revolt, 1961-70, by Edgar O'Ballance, *Faber*, £2.95

There are around 5-5-8 million Kurds settled in Turkey, Syria, Iraq and Iran and the book provides an account of the background to the whole Kurdish problem. Coming to prominence in the wake of the Turanist movement and the rise of Arab Nationalism, Kurdish "nationalism" has been less critical, Dormant in Iran and incipient in Turkey, it has so far posed a problem only in Iraq. Despite an outside fanning the Kurds have only been up against a central incompetence rather than aspiring and leading any true self-determinist movement.

The Vatican in the Age of the Dictators 1922-45 by Anthony Rhodes, *Hodder & Stoughton*, £4.25

Based on both published and unpublished Vatican, British and German documents, the book explains and clarifies the apparently ambivalent but realistic policies of Pope's Pius XI and Pius XII towards Italian Fascism and German National Socialism. With perhaps an equal dislike of democracy, communism, fascism and Nazism, there was not much the two Popes could do except to refrain from taking a too committed position with one or the other European governments. The threat of ex-communication would work no more. Working through the Catholic political parties having failed, the best course was conventional diplomacy and dealing directly with governments irrespective of their political complexion. This might produce a situation where a moral judgement is expressed quite late in the day—as happened in the case of German anti-semitism—yet it is, never too late to recompense. History has since been corrected to absolve the Jews of any responsibility in the 'crucifixion' of Jesus and visits exchanged between Pope Paul VI and Golda Meir. Moral and liberal judgements apart, the study does uphold the author's view that Vatican foreign office is "staffed by men of unusual ability who plan far into the future".

The Gentile Zionists: A Study in Anglo-Zionist Diplomacy, 1929-1939 by N. A. Rose, *Cass*, £3.75

The book is about the work of the Jewish Agency and its relations with the Mandatory Power: Britain. Dealing with the eventful Jewish politics of the pre-War II decades, it unfolds the crucial role of the influential non-Jewish Zionists without whose support, it would have been impossible to establish a minority Jewish state in Palestine. The list of the pro-Zionists includes Leopold Amery, Walter Elliot, Lord Balfour's niece, Mrs. E. C. Blanche Dugdale, Winston Churchill, Lloyd George, Arthur Henderson, Sir Archibald Sinclair, Ormsby Gore and many others. Even Ernest Bevin and Malcolm Mac-

Donald, otherwise painted as anti-Zionist, turn out to be friendly to the Jewish cause.

Golda Meir Speaks out, edited by Marie Synkin, *Weidenfeld & Nicolson*, £3.25

An edited selection of Mrs. Golda Meir's speeches, the volume provides a rewarding study of the career and politics of a subtle and simple stateswoman's mind.

Philby: The Long Road to Moscow by Patrick Seale and Maureen McConville, *Hamish Hamilton*, £3.50

Kim Philby who defected to the Russians ten years ago was not a spy, he was a dedicated communist. Son of another famous convert Abdullah St. John Philby, a friend and adviser to King Saud, Kim went to Cambridge, got converted to Communism and soon became an operative for the Soviet intelligence system. He rose as a successful double spy and before the British could get him in the act the Russians were able to whisk him away to Moscow.

Who are the Russians? by Wright Miller, *Faber & Faber*, £3.95

Not written for specialists, the book is an introduction to "A History of the Russian People" and seeks "to fill in a little background" to the events reported in the press. Provides for the general reader a great mass of useful information in a simple and chatty style.

A Treatise on Black Studies by Sam Morris, *The Committee on Black Studies* (63 Napier Court, Napier Avenue, London SW6), 30p

Encouraged by several American works, Sam Morris has compiled this booklet, in the form of a Lecture-Course, for black youth for leadership training. The course, divided into three sections each with eleven suggested lessons, covers topics like Ancient African history, Islam reaches Africa, The Missionaries, Slave Trade, The Berlin Conference, Colonialism, Independence, Coups in Africa, Neo-Colonialism, Black Power Movement, Pan-Africanism, Black people and the E.E.C. Under each lesson a brief theme is given, followed by some suggested readings.

From East Pakistan to Bangladesh by Abdul Malek. *Independent Committee for Human Rights* (19 Erindale Walk, Collyhurst, Manchester 8), 15p

Traces the events which led to the civil war in East Pakistan and eventual emergence of Bangladesh. The author supports his conclusions with quotations from the world press and illustrates the text with photographs of Mutki Bahini revenge and concludes by stating that Bangladesh has virtually become an Indian colony. "The Bengali Muslims will rise and fight against the Indian imperialism".

The Formation of Islamic Art by Oleg Graber, *Yale*, £7.50.

The Sultan: The Life of Abdul Hamid II by Joan Haslip, *Weidenfeld & Nicolson*, £2.75.

Pakistan: Failure in National Integration by Rounaq Jahan, *Columbia*, £5.50.

British Social Life in India 1608-1937 by Dennis Kincaid, *Routledge & Kegan Paul*, £3.00

The North-Western Provinces of India: Their History, Ethnology and Administration by Philip Mason, *OUP*, £3.75

On Translation of the Bible by H. F. D. Sparks, *The Athlone Press*, 45p.

● **East Pakistan Crisis and India** by Dr. Hasan Zaman, & published by the now defunct Pakistan Academy, Dacca, banned by Bangladesh Government for containing "material tending to influence a section of the citizens of Bangladesh in a manner likely to be prejudicial to the safety and sovereignty of Bangladesh".

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The despair and degeneration that enshrouds the unfortunate Bengali Muslims today have few parallels in the history of Mankind. A comparable situation occurred in the annals of the very same people a little more than two centuries ago. In 1757 the treachery of Mir Jafar who joined hand with the Hindu money-lenders and businessmen such as Umichand, Jagathseth and Rai Durlav sold Bengal into slavery of the adventurous and crafty traders. With the inevitability of a great tragedy the last sovereign King of Bengal Sirajuddaulah fell and Bengal was enslaved. For a whole decade after the battle of Plassey the East India Company deliberately contrived to bring about administrative and economic chaos in the region. Law and order vanished like summer miasma. The economy was shattered beyond the level of tolerance. Under the circumstances the British found it easy to defeat the last semi-sovereign ruler of Bengal, Mir Qasim and take the land under their sway.

Prior to 1971 the Bengalis in Pakistan wanted to establish their legitimate rights. They were in majority. They were denied their rightful place in political, economic, and military decision-making. They wanted to gain that place. Sheikh Mujib, as the leader of the autonomist movement epitomized their legitimate demand. Immediately after scoring a resounding victory in the 1970 general elections Mujib said *Joi-Bangla* and *Joi-Pakistan* (victory to Bengal and victory to Pakistan). He resisted the pressure of extremists and Indian agents within the fold of his own party even on 7 March, 1971, when the postponement of the N.A. session by Yahya Khan, in collusion with Mr. Bhutto, had made his position extremely precarious. On that fateful day he desisted from declaring independence unilaterally and kept the way open for a compromise. History will judge Mujib. But history can never forgive the foolish and wicked army action that spelt the death of Pakistan and initiated the beginning of the new slavery of the Bengali Muslims.

In a war-ravaged and 'liberated' Bangladesh Mujib finds himself in a terrible predicament. India is the master in all but name. It calls the tune without paying the piper. According to press reports in Bangladesh, India has drained out wealth worth £4,000 million in a period of eighteen months. Neither the East India Company nor the Pakistani regimes could match this record.

Throughout the twenty-six years of her existence as an independent state India has played her cards extremely well. There is no doubt that in spite of her elaborate constitutional facade of secularism India basically has been and still remains a High Caste Hindu State. It imbibed well the lessons of two centuries of probation under the British and threw up an 'elite' which reflected faithfully the basic characteristics of the society it leads: infinite patience,

History threatens to repeat itself in Bangladesh today. The role of the East India Company is being played by Indira's India. The figure of Sheikh Mujib stands out as that of a new Mir Qasim, doomed to meet his Buxar before long.

Bangladesh Pangs of the coming Liberation?

Mir Mardan

caution verging on cowardice, a certain cunning and diplomatic though constant yearning and endeavour to get even with the insult of untold centuries of foreign domination. In Marxist jargon this elite is an epitome of the 'mature bourgeoisie'.

It approaches all problems confronting it with the duplicity of the gods in its mythology. It meets any challenges to its survival by seeming to yield to these while working silently and surely to erode and destroy their foundations. Thus it 'tackles' the problem of mass poverty and hunger and the strident cry of socialism by declaring its state 'socialist' and then coolly proceeding to crush all anti-capitalist aspirations and movements. Similarly, it declares the state 'secular' and quietly, tactfully carries on the economic, social and political extermination of all religious minorities.

In foreign relations it bows to the strong and embraces the weak, with the iron grip of 'friendship'—its euphemism for a hegemonial relationship.

It fears and understands only one thing: the power of the sword. That is why when the Muslims resolutely and militantly demanded their own homeland in 1947 it yielded hoping all the time that it would get its chance to undo the Muslim independence.

The developments within Pakistan, especially in the period between 1958-70 gave it the much coveted chance. The West Pakistani ruling elite wallowing in the pomp, splendour and glory of power cried raucously about the 'evil' intention of India but never took any adequate steps to meet this challenge by giving the Bengali Muslim that legitimate share in decision-making, administration and leadership of politico-economic life which alone could deter India from pursuing her imperialist ambitions.

The creation of Pakistan greatly enhanced the opportunities available to Bengali Muslims for educational and economic improvements. Pakistan made it

possible for a strong Bengali middle class composed of qualified professionals, administrators, businessmen and small industrialists to emerge. It was this class whose forebears had played a decisive and leading role in bringing Pakistan into being. It was this class again, which getting less than what it considered its due in Pakistan led and sustained the movement for turning unitary Pakistan into a confederal one to become master in its own house without being dominated by the ruling elite of Pakistan or being servile to an expansionist India. Mujib, as the symbol of these aspirations, came to lead this class and thereby the whole of East Bengal. Because of the limitations of his education, lack of sense of history and essentially demagogic temperament he failed to realise the full implications of his dangerous responsibilities. On the other hand, the over-cunning "generals" who wrested power from Ayub having neither political acumen nor qualities of leadership could not understand the delicate character of Mujib's dilemma, or the depth and compulsion of the Bengali Muslim middle classes' feelings and the opportunity their unsatiated desires offered to the Indians. That was the essence of the problem of Bangladesh. That indeed was the reason why Bangladesh came into being.

The senseless military action unleashed by the ruling Pakistani generals on the Bengalis and their subsequent mindless policies facilitated the entry of India into the scene in an overt fashion. In the end it was the military intervention by India which 'liberated' Bangladesh and put at the helm a regime subservient to her policies. The personnel of the regime both at the political and bureaucratic levels, save a few exceptions, are enchained to India. Most of them had fled from the Pakistan army and taken refuge in India. Some of them are, beyond doubt, willing collaborators of the Indian oligarchy. Mujib and Kamal Husain, his Foreign Minister who were in Pakistani jail should not suffer from the handicaps of 'gratitude' to India, but this cannot be said of the others who help 'rule' Bangladesh on behalf of India.

It is through these people and through the very real encirclement by its military and economic chains that India is controlling events and developments in Bangladesh. The few opposition newspapers and journals that are somehow still surviving are vocal in their allegations that India deliberately crippled the economy of the country by removing most of the industrial machinery installed during the twenty-four years of Pakistan and by encouraging smuggling of jute, food-grains, fish and foreign goods received as relief, assistance or by import. They also allege that India controls the law and order machinery in the new-born state by maintaining a presence there through what is called the "Rakkhi Bahini" (Security Force). The personnel of this military group wear

uniforms and caps identical with the Indian infantry. Bengali Muslims are convinced that this force contains Hindu troops from the South India who are dark and short and thus resemble Bengalis. Since they cannot speak Bengali, they usually avoid talking to the people. Again the other important auxiliary armed force, the Bangladesh Rifles is headed by a Hindu who allegedly was in the service of the Pakistan army earlier.

The army proper is ridiculously small for a nation of 75 million. It reportedly contains only eight or nine battalions, less than half of whom are veterans of the Pakistan army. This section of the armed forces is now most neglected and is less powerful than even the police, not to speak of the Rakkhi Bahini or the B.D.R.

The one thing that could strengthen the hands of the freedom-loving people of Bangladesh is the return of the thirty thousand trained troops now held up in Pakistan. Understandably India does not want this sizable force of regular, trained armed personnel returned to Bangladesh. This is why she is contriving to bring about complications in the process of detente between Pakistan and Bangladesh by secretly pressurising the latter to pass the "war-crimes-trial law" at a most inopportune moment.

There are reasons to believe that the present lack of law and order and the intolerable economic distress in Bangladesh are the results of the planned acts of the Indian ruling clique which wants the 'integration' of Bangladesh into India. It aims at a forcible repression of the Bengali Muslims and is following carefully designed political and economic steps. The first stage is the one we see now: the deliberate destruction of the economic and social fabric of Bangladesh. This will bring (and already is bringing) about a state of anarchy from which the Bengali Muslims will beg to be saved. At that juncture India hopes to do a "December 16" once more.

Soviet Union is India's ally: China is too preoccupied with Soviet threat to her territory and sovereignty to even sympathise with the struggle for freedom of the Bengali Muslims. The United States is interested only to a limited degree. Pakistan can be of little help as she is identified with barbarism and atrocities in the Bengali mind. Moreover the Pakistani ruling elite does not have the foresight and maturity that could open a new chapter in their relationship with the Bengali Muslims. For instance a strong enough and wise leadership could and would let the Bengalis stranded in Pakistan, especially the elements of the armed forces, go back to Bangladesh, no matter whether the PoWs are released by India or not. It could have taken other steps to help loosen the grip of India on Bangladesh.

Who then can help the Bengali Muslims escape a fate worse than death? There is no doubt, that they themselves have to come up with the proper answer.

Did Muslims discover America before Columbus?

S. S. Mufassir

Black World magazine, a widely-respected journal of scholarly opinion in America, has created quite a stir with its July 1973 issue. The main article gives a wealth of documentation to prove that Africans, including African Muslims, discovered, explored and settled in the Americas long before Christopher Columbus' historic voyage in 1492 A.D. Included in the evidence are numerous artifacts from Central America, Mexico and North America of pre-Columbian origin which have unmistakable African features or names. The article lists a number of scholars who have written of Muslim African exploration of the New World, which took place before and especially during the rule of Mali sultans Abu Bakr (1275-85) and Mansa Musa (1312-1337), and under their patronage. (It has also been established that the well-known American historical figure Stephen Dorantes, better known as Estevanico, who was the first non-Indian to discover the American states of New Mexico and Arizona in the year 1539 A.D., was a Muslim. He was born in Morocco and spent some time in what remained of Muslim Spain before his voyage to America in 1527 A.D.)

The theory that African Muslims dis-

covered America before Columbus is not new. For example, Dr. Muhammad Hamidullah mentions it on page 181 of his book *Introduction to Islam* (first English edition published 1957):

"According to the Arab chroniclers, it is the adventurous sea-faring population of this region (West Africa) which discovered first the route to America . . . there is every reason to believe that the Muslims of Black Africa, and the Berbers participated in the colonization of America."

What is new, however, is that now serious scholarship is being brought to bear on the evidence of this Muslim exploration, with a view to collecting and assessing the written and archaeological proofs. The resulting benefits may be at least two fold: the creativity and ingenuity of Muslims who followed the Qur'anic advice to reflect upon the world's wonders will become more firmly established in history, and Africans in the Americas can have a new pride in knowing that their ancestors first came to America as explorers, not as slaves. The history books will have to be rewritten, with the Muslim heritage of some 30 million Americans gaining a new prominence.

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Books

Man's Lesser Half

The Fourth World: Victims of Group Oppression, edited by Ben Whittaker, *Sidgwick & Jackson*, London, 342 pages, £3.95.

The Minority Rights Group registered in London as an educational charity aims at "investigating and publishing facts . . . to help the position of persecuted or disadvantaged ethnic, religious or cultural minorities (or majorities)" in any country and the volume compiles the first eight of its reports published between March 1971 and January 1972. The cases of discrimination, presented here, cover four continents: Africa, Asia, Europe, and South America. And that is only a part of the new "Fourth World" created out of man's inhumanity to his own kind. God created man and man created his lesser half—the minorities.

The studies presented in the focus book on the background and nature of the discrimination problems affecting the Asians in East and Central Africa; the Nilotics, Nilo-Hamitics and the Sudanic pagans and Christians of the South Sudan, and the Muslims in Eritrea; the African majority in Rhodesia; the Blacks in the Brazilian society; the Protestants and Roman Catholics in the two Irelands; the religious minorities in the Soviet Union; the Crimean Tatars and the Volga Germans in the USSR; and the "Burakumin" outcasts in Japan.

Except for the "Burakumin", the special communities of Japan whose classification and consignment as a sub-human group dates back as far as eighth century, the New Fourth World is a fairly recent and modern emergence. These minority problems are very much a post-enlightenment phenomenon, and clearly a product of colonialism—some deceased and some active. The fate of the Crimean Tatars, the Volga Germans and the religious minorities in the USSR; the Blacks in Brazil; and the African majority in Rhodesia signified the latter active type. In East and Central Africa, in South Sudan and in Eritrea, the problem was created and left behind by a departing colonialism. The Asians were brought to East and Central Africa not to enrich, serve and be a part of the local society but to serve the colonising power as middle rank colonialists. In the Sudan "as the twentieth century progressed the influence tending to divide the North from the South grew steadily. Local languages and English were encouraged; Arabic was discouraged. The missionaries . . . inevitably added to their convert's sense of difference." In 1930, Sir Harold MacMichael, Civil Secretary in

the Khartoum administration "defined the main principles of policy towards the South as the building up . . . of a sense of self contained racial or tribal units," and "the gradual elimination of the Northern Sudanese administrators, clerks and technicians". "Most of the South was forbidden territory to foreigners and Northern Sudanese" and "thus by the end of the Second World War, British policy was firmly based on two quite different administrations in the Sudan". (p. 82). The policy motivation for this forced division being colonial, it "hampered the economic development of the South". (p. 82). Besides, the Southerners were neither encouraged nor prepared to get trained in administration work, and this went to sharpen "the superiority/inferiority syndrome which seems still to lie at the heart of the Southern problem". (p. 83). The Eritrean problem is another case of colonialist creation. Occupied by the Italians in 1890 and "liberated" by the British forces in 1891, Eritrea was handed over to Ethiopia by the United Nations in 1952. The Blacks in Brazil were again a Portuguese importation but Rhodesia is perhaps more outstanding as a colonial creation and it is in fact a majority which remain reduced to a minority status.

The two Irelands, were, however, a different problem altogether. It was a problem between the natives and one that belied the suggestion that prejudice and persecution were the inevitable functions of the differences in race, colour, language, nationality and religion. People can be unjust and tyrannical within their own ethnic, cultural or religious groups. The problem of justice was more fundamental than something merely numbers-dependent, but it is the absence of a fundamental view that seems to characterise contemporary approach to the Human Rights situation.

"As you free minority group B from the domination of majority group A, you turn B into majority and expose Group C to its tyranny. And there is a strong probability that C will resent B's tyranny more than A's". (p. 18).

The dilemma posed by Philip Mason is a real one and "The Fourth World", documentary and informative as it is, should serve to direct attention to the resolution of the basic problem underlying the various phenomenon of group oppression.

Ibn Nizam

More moral than "General"

The Life of Saladin by Sir Hamilton Gibb, *OUP*, 76 pages, £1.50

It is still common nowadays to encounter the pained expressions on the faces of many a school-going boy or girl in Britain who are taught a

history of the Muslims which they cannot in conscience accept. In the potted version of history that is handed down in these tender years, the story of the Crusades still occupies pride of place. The shining figure of Richard Coeur de Lion towers above all the others as a paradigm of courage and virtue while his adversary Saladin comes out much the worse in his encounter with the Christian knights.

One would think that with the scholarship on the Crusades so far advanced such a simplistic view would have been consigned to where it belonged and made way for what the late Professor H. A. R. Gibb describes as "one of the great moments in the history of the crusades" which is how he assesses the life and achievements of Saladin.

Prof. Gibb did major and pioneering work on the Crusades, editing and translating rare works and making critical evaluations of many of the original Arabic sources of the period. He has published several important articles on the life and career of Saladin and wrote the chapter on him in the important *History of the Crusades* entitled 'Saladin'. The book under review follows the main features of this chapter and should bring to a wider public some of the benefits of the author's wide and careful scholarship. It simply traces the stages of Saladin's life and excludes all fiscal and administrative policies. It is based on the works of Imad ad-Din and Baha ad-Din, the two historians who were closely associated with Saladin.

Gibb has a high regard for the accuracy and honesty of these two chroniclers. Of Baha ad-Din, he says that he was "an upright and honest man from whom nothing was concealed, and there can be no question of deliberate suppression or deflection of the truth in his narrative of the last five years of Saladin's life". Of Imad ad-Din he says that he "certainly shows a deep admiration for Saladin, but his greatness appears wholly as a corollary from the facts themselves". These conclusions are essentially those reached by W. Stevenson in his *Crusaders in the East* published as long ago as 1907 and still a work which cannot be ignored and which moreover should be required reading for all teachers and students of the Crusades.

From these two sources, which he compares with and corroborates by well-known western chroniclers such as William of Tyre and Ernoul, Gibb has come to an assessment of Saladin which is moving and possibly tinged with admiration. Consider this description of Saladin's concept of government: "A government must be not only a lawful government . . . but must serve God with equal zeal in its administration and in its treatment of its subjects. Saladin's object was to restore to Islamic politics the reign of law, a concept that had become for the contemporary princes not only an empty phrase but an absurdity." Or again: "The spectacular success of Saladin . . . has led both Muslim and western historians to regard him primarily as a great and successful general, whose victories were due to the same military qualities as those of other successful commanders of armies. This is a complete misapprehension. Saladin possessed, indeed, personal military virtues of a high order; but his victories were due to his possession of moral qualities which have little in common with those of a great general. He was a man inspired by an intense and unwavering ideal . . ." Gibb concludes this Book with the epitaph of "one of those who knew" Saladin who said, "This was the only instance of a King's death that was truly mourned by the people".

A.W.H.

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Letters

Sultan Abdul Hamid's Letter

There is no short answer to Mr. Mufassir's question (*Impact*, 13—26 July, 1973). Of course the expression *al-Ard al-Muqaddasah* occurs in the Koran. But the Muslim conquerors of Syria did not apply it to the southern portion of the country commonly known as Palestine or the Holy Land. They actually adopted the Byzantine administrative names. Thus Galilee and the Jordan valley down to the Dead Sea formed *Jund al-Urdunn* (i.e. the military district of Jordan). The rest of the country west to the Mediterranean and south to the desert was *Jund Filastin* (i.e. the military district of Palestine).

Filastin is the Arabic adoption of the Roman Palaestina, itself after Philistia, the land of the Philistines, the sea people who settled on the coast roughly from Jaffa to Gaza. In the Authorized Version the name Palestine is applied to Philistia only. Its application to the larger territory of Palestine is a later practice.

To medieval Christendom this Palestine was reverently known as *Terra Santa* or the Holy Land, but without clear geographical limits. Palaestina, Filastin or the Holy Land formed since Roman times part or parts of larger administrative divisions to the north or south. Under the Muslims it belonged, in whole or in part, to whoever ruled in Damascus or Cairo. The Ottoman Turks continued the practice of their predecessors. So under Abdul-Hamid II the land north of Jaffa formed part of the province of Beirut, and the rest of the country was an independent *Sanjaq* (district) based on Jerusalem and administered directly from Istanbul. (Palestine as we know it was a post-World War I creation.)

Sultan Abdul-Hamid would therefore most likely refer to al-Quds ash-Sharif rather than to Filastin or the Holy Land. His use of the last term would have been most unusual and in my opinion most unlikely.

Esher, Surrey A. L. TIBAWI

P.S. The letter from Dr. M. J. Hussain and others on Jerusalem published in the same issue describes the Israeli tunnelling near the Haram as directed "to expose Herod's Temple". This temple was, however, completely destroyed by the Romans in 70 A.D., and on its site rose a temple for Jupiter. The tunnelling seeks to expose what the Jews believe to be remnants of Herod's Temple. The Wailing Wall (part of the Western Wall of the Haram) is presumed to be such a remnant. A.L.T.

Dr. I. Chiussi

I regret to have to inform you that Dr. I. Chiussi whose translation into esperanto of the noble Koran, *La Nobela Korano*, was reviewed in *Impact*, has died in Frankfurt aged 54. Another work, *Je la flanko de la Profeto* (By the side of the Prophet) was due to be published this year. This early death is a tragic loss. Dartford, Kent.

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Muslims in Japan

Syed Mohammed Jamil

North East Asia is a region which, though small in size and population, has become one of the most important centres of economic and political interest for the world. The history of this region, however, is interspersed with times of defeat, internal dissensions and misery, but the will to work hard even in conditions of difficulty and distress has time and again brought its people to glory.

The general culture of this region is, of course, Mongolian—the same as that of Muslim central and western Asia, and of Moghul India. Islam, however, has not in the past reached this region and the religion of its people has varied from time to time, bordering on nature and ancestor worship and culminating in King worship in Japan. The idea of a King deity broke down completely at the end of the Second World War when the whole of the Japanese people came face to face not only with military defeat, but also with complete economic, industrial and social collapse. The flower of their manhood had largely been destroyed. The whole of the country was faced with starvation and, among other things, about three million young women were without any home or shelter or support. The disillusionment of the Japanese people with their erstwhile deity was complete.

Christian missionaries, who had been conducting their work in Japan continuously for over a century, now saw in the spiritual vacuum an opportunity of a lifetime and multiplied their efforts a hundred-fold. Unlike these efforts, the door to Islam both in Korea and Japan was opened without any conscious effort on the part of Muslims.

A good-will visit of the Turkish fleet to Japan in 1880's introduced members of the Muslim faith to Japan for the first time. The stormy weather so frequent and common set in and one of the visiting vessels was driven onto a concealed rock in the sea near one of the Japanese islands and floundered. Members of its crew got warm shelter from the people of the island, and many of the Japanese so much liked their guests that they gave Muslim names to their children and adopted Muslim names themselves. The world outside this particular island remained ignorant of these attachments of love. What might have developed into a full-fledged garden of Islam slipped into history before blossoming.

Thereafter, in 1917-19, a few hundred Turkish families emigrated from Bolshevik Russia to Japan. They gradually became known to the Muslim traders from the Indian sub-continent doing business with Japan. These traders had built in 1914 a beautiful mosque in Kobe with necessary appurtenances and property to maintain the mosque and its requisite staff. In the war of 1939-45 these traders living in the then British India naturally got cut off and the management of the mosque passed on to the Turkish families living in Kobe. They looked after the mosque splendidly but the activities associated with the mosque lapsed due largely to the absence of a praying congregation.

Shortly after the building of the mosque in Kobe, a mosque was built in Tokyo under the management of the Turkish immigrants living in Tokyo; a school was also built alongside the mosque. With the lapse of time, many of the Turkish families residing in Japan left either for Turkey or for USA. The number of Turkish families residing in Japan is not more than thirty now and they are mostly in Tokyo. There are only two Turkish families now in Kobe.

During the war of 1939-45, Japan had initially achieved rapid and extensive victories. In the course of this expansion particularly in Malaysia and Indonesia the Japanese Military and Civil administration naturally came into close contact with the local Muslim population and some of them even embraced Islam. After the war, most returned to their homeland; others were stationed in Muslim countries in diplomatic and other fields and retained their feelings for and appreciation of Islam. Among these is a Professor Abdul Karim Saito sometimes on the staff of the Japanese embassy in Afghanistan. The number of such Japanese who definitely adopted Islam is not known but is not inconsiderable.

Some Pakistani businessmen went again to Japan for trade after the war. Among them was one Mr. Motiwala who repeated the story of the early Muslim traders whenever he went for trade. He carried with him the Islamic spirit and more than 300 Japanese in Tokushima and Kobe and elsewhere became Muslims. This was between 1952 and 1956. Later he became ill and could not continue his trip. Nobody replaced Motiwala in this connection nor followed up the fruits of his efforts. No mosque was constructed and no centres for them to meet each other were established. Only a fraction of these can now be traced.

About 1955-56 a Tablighi party headed by Haji Abdul Rashid Arshad, a telephone engineer, went to Japan and worked there for some months. Their stay and contacts brought a number of adherents to Islam in Tokyo as well as in Tokushima. Among others a prominent professor in one of the Tokyo Universities, Mr. Mita, became a Muslim. He went to Arabia and gave his full time to learn Arabic and the Holy Qur'an and eventually produced the first authentic translation of the Holy Qur'an into Japanese under Muslim auspices. Professor Mita is now known as Haji Omar Mita.

King Faisal of Saudi Arabi took special interest in the project and arranged for the printing and publication of the Qur'an in Japanese with and without the Arabic text.

During my first visit to Japan in 1966, I met in Tokyo a printing and photographic expert Mr. Morimoto, a sincerely good man, who eventually decided to become a Muslim. He is now the President of the Japanese Muslim Association which seems to have got new life and has made considerable progress during his tenure of office.

FOSIS Tenth Annual Conference

from Azeema Ally

The Tenth Annual Conference of the Federation of the Students Islamic Societies in the UK and Eire held at the University of Manchester was to be a major event in the life of the organisation. The 250 delegates and participants — from as far off as Malaysia, Jamaica, Nigeria, Algeria, Saudi Arabia, Indonesia, USA — faced a four-day programme of talks, lectures and discussions. In addition, there was an exhibition of Islamic calligraphy, translations of the Qur'an, plans and models of mosques.

Prof. Ghulam Azam set the Conference off to a good start with his opening lecture on "Real Problems of Muslims". The real purpose of a Muslim's life was to seek the pleasure of Allah. In this regard the five prayers were very important. *Tahajjud* prayer played an important part in increasing one's faith in Allah. "Rise very early in the morning and pray alone. Then can you really feel Allah's love for you".

Two forums, one on the Muslim Community in Europe" and another on "Muslim People" brought the problems of the Islamic community sharply into focus. Prof. Nevjad Yelcintas of Istanbul University, gave a lively, scholarly talk on the "Problems of the Turkish Workers in Europe". Dr. M. Iqbal made an attempt to talk about "The Muslim Community in Britain". Rashid Binisa and M. K. Hosein highlighted the life-style and problems of the Muslim communities of Mauritania and West Indies respectively. Earlier Mr. Muinuddin gave an informative resume of "Muslims in Canada".

Dr. M. A. Yamani Vice-Rector of Jeddah University thought that "The Situation of the Muslims Today" was far from ideal. The Muslims must accept Islam as a complete system and not implement its requirements only partially. For true Muslims there would never be any problem which could not be answered by the *Shariah*. But a conscious search for the answer had to be made. Dr. Yamani called for specialists in Islam as there were in other professions; but they must practice what they preach.

Nasserudin Kaiser, architect of the Manchester Mosque, speaking on the "Mosque—Its role in the Muslim Community" thought that

documentation is an inherent weakness of mankind. But the minarets and domes of the Mosque have many uses: the minaret is used as a watch tower, to call the *Azan*; the dome circulates the air and plays an important part in the acoustics of the building.

The message of "Energy Crisis" was presented by Dr. M. A. Khan.

Shaikh Hussein Siraj, Director-General, World Muslim League, Mecca, talked about "Muslim Youth", and their role in the building of the *ummah*. Discussing "Dynamics of Education", Dr. H. H. Nadvi also thought that youth was "the most dynamic weapon of the Muslim community." As such, "an attempt must be made to emancipate the youth of today from the emulation of others". He went on to say that education was the most important weapon of the Muslim community and there was an urgent need to align the education systems of the Muslims countries with the principles of Islam. Dr. Osman too for Indonesia touched on the subject of Muslim youth. Talking of "Muslims Today and Tomorrow" he said that "the permissiveness of the western society has an influence on the youth. The Muslim community has to be careful and jealously guard the moral values of their youth. All attempts must be made to stop the penetration of permissiveness from the western society into the Islamic community".

Khurshid Ahmad brought the Conference to a thoughtful conclusion. His lecture on "Islam and Problems of Educational Reconstruction" was a plea for Islamic orientation to the methodology of pure and social sciences. He also called for the institutionalization of Islamic social sciences.

meeting the needs of the young Muslims studying in Britain as well as of the newcomers to Islam".

The Trust has already published the First and Second Primers of Islam and hopes to publish a series of booklets on the various aspects of Islam and short life histories of some of the Prophets of God. "As soon as our financial position is strengthened", says Mr. Rahman, "we hope to launch a project for the publication of Students Encyclopaedia of Islam".

Ottawa mosque in Six months



The Ottawa mosque, now out for tenders, is scheduled to be ready in six months. The mosque is designed by G. A. Asad, an architect from Toronto, and is financed by funds raised by the 1500 members of the Ottawa Muslim Association. The Mosque will be dominated by a 40 feet diameter copper-roofed dome, and a 115 feet high minaret. It is

to be constructed in Bluesteel brick veneer so as to achieve beauty and strength in the structure as well as effecting economy with high quality. Bands of ceramic tiles will encircle the building on which Arabic calligraphy will be engraved. The building is designed to accommodate around two hundred people. (Impact news)

Official Opening of the Islamic Centre, Munich

The Islamic Centre of Munich will be officially opened by H.E. Sheikh Mahmoud Soubhy, Secretary General of the Islamic Call Society of Libya, on Friday, 24 August, 1973 at 5 p.m. The opening ceremony will include an address by the President of the Islamic Community in Southern Germany, Mr. Fazal-i-Yazdani. (Impact news)

Centre was held on Sunday, 29 July. Mr. Salem Azzam, Counsellor of the Saudi Arabian Embassy was the chief guest. (Impact news)

Cambridge University asks for an Islamic Lecturer

The University of Cambridge has approached the Islamic Secretariat with a request for a lecturer on Islamic studies. At the recommendation of Tunku Abdul Rahman, Secretary General of the Islamic Secretariat, the World Muslim League has offered to pay the salary of an Islamic lecturer provided certain conditions are met. (Impact news)

Murder in Norway

Norwegian police reports that a thirty-year old Moroccan has been murdered by Israeli agents. According to the police they had come to Norway in order to prevent an attack by the Palestinian Black September organisation against Israeli embassies and airline offices in the Nordic countries. (Impact news)

Manchester Mosque: First Phase Completed

Phase One of the Manchester Mosque is now ready for use. It consists of a prayer room, a gallery and *wudu* and *ghusl* facilities. The opening ceremony of the Mosque, School and the Islamic Cultural

In the News

Dr. Hussain Salih of London University's Westminster School of Medicine is among the three scientists who have been awarded £1600 Paul Martini prize for their research into certain types of breast cancer. Dr. R. Ahmad appointed lecturer, Mathematics Department, Strathclyde University, Glasgow. Dawud Owen elected new president of the FOSIS. Begum Kulsum Sultan, wife of the High Commission of Bangladesh in UK, elected Vice-President of the Commonwealth Country League.

MET's Third Primer on Salah

Impact Report

After a long wait, the Muslim Educational Trust has published the *Third Primer of Islam*. The *Third Primer* focuses on *Salah*: it explains the need for *Ibadah*, the time, the contents and the different types of *Salah*. The text is illustrated with a multitude of line drawings and contains the original Arabic along with transliteration and translations. There are also short sections on *Adhan*, *Dua* after *Adhan*, *Iqamah* and *Tayammum*. Mr. Afzal Rahman, Chairman of the Trust says that "the *Third Primer* will go a long way in

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AFGHANISTAN. Pakistan NAP leader Wali Khan said the same powers which were active in East Pakistan were active in Afghanistan too. ● Muhammad Daud, new President of Afghanistan, categorically denied suggestions that the Soviet Union or any other foreign power had had a hand in the military coup. Afghan patriots, he said, had "never submitted to the views of any foreign country".

AFRICAN AFFAIRS. Pres. Mobutu of Zaire and Pres. Amin of Uganda have renamed Lakes Albert and Edward, lying along their common border as part of "decolonisation", Lake Albert is now Lake Mobutu Sese Seko and Lake Edward is Lake Idi Amin Dada. ● Nzo Ekangaki, the OAU Sec-Gen., has rearranged the duties of his deputies: Peter Onu to head dept. for political affairs and decolonisation, Mohammed Sahnun for science and culture, J. Buliero for economic and social affairs and Kamanda wa Kamanda for administration and finance.

ARAB AFFAIRS. Kuwait considering investing capital in Egypt. ● 11 British killed or wounded by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf (PFLOAG) which also reported 37 military positions destroyed in Dhufar in the last week of July. ● The 60th session of the Arab League Council to be held in Cairo from 10-15 September. Meeting between Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad, Kuwaiti PM and Saddam Hussayn, Iraqi Vice-Pres., to be held to end border dispute. Economic agreement between Saudi Arabia and Qatar providing for exchange of goods and movement of citizens signed.

AUSTRALIA. Australia and China to trade on a most-favoured-nation basis under a 3-year trade agreement. China would have direct air and sea links with Australia to serve other countries in between.

BANGLADESH. India assured Bangladesh that Farakka barrage will not intensify Padma flood. Also that Feeder canals and Jangipur barrage will be so controlled that Bhagirathi will continue to receive during monsoon period as much water as before or more.

EAST GERMANY. Seminar of young people of differing religions and ideologies took place on 30 July. Speakers represented Christianity, Islam, Buddhism and various church organisations. This was part of the World Youth Festival held in East Berlin. ● Young journalists from Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Sudan, Tanzania, Somalia, Nigeria, India, Nepal, Bangladesh, and the African National Council in South Africa completed course in Berlin.

EGYPT. Agreement signed with Switzerland for the protection of Swiss investments in Egypt. This may be the first of other governmental accords to open the door to foreign capital investment in Egypt.

ETHIOPIA. Ethiopia rejected Somali charges that it was preparing to attack Somalia because of oil discovery.

INDIA. India to increase trade and economic co-operation with African countries in a big way. This co-

operation includes: consultancy services to Tanzania and Zambia for developing industrial infra-structure, bilateral trade with Zambia and Kenya, contract for building Kafue dam in Zanzibar, purchase of copper direct from Zambia instead of through the London Metalexchange. All this follows the African visit of the Indian Deputy Min. of Commerce, Mr. A. C. George. ● Mrs. Gandhi told the Christian World Seminar in New Delhi that there existed some misunderstanding between India and USA which both were trying to remove. ● A \$50m 2-year loan agreement signed with Canada for buying fertilizers, copper, nickel, etc. USSR to supply operational equipment and machinery for the 6m ton Mathura refinery. The refinery is to be one of the most modern and technologically advanced in the world and will have a built-in capacity to expand by another million ton. ● Swaran Singh assured Lok Sabha that arms in Iran's possession were not likely to be available to Pakistan, unless it was attacked. ● Mysore state named "Karnataka". ● India expressed concern over the British decision to shelve "Harrier" vertical/short take-off planes for Royal Navy because this meant that the Indian Navy too will not be able to buy it. If this happens Russia may give some similar "Freeland" aircraft. ● Hindusthan Aeronautics Ltd. (HAL) reached production of £50m (£5m increase) in the past year and is to develop further the HF-24 and the Gnat.

INDONESIA. The marriage Bill, based on monogamy but allowing polygamy under certain conditions, being discussed in Parliament to be passed by the end of 1973. Mrs. Asmah Syahroni, Chairman of Muslim Women Association, M.P., did not object to polygamy being adopted in the Bill because men were polygamous by nature but opposed a separate Islamic marriage Law alongside the National Marriage Law. Mrs. E. Sri Hartati S. Pandi Chief of Medical Care Bureau said that abortion on non-medical grounds was a crime and on socio-economic grounds was not acceptable yet in Indonesia, but would have to be instituted. Dr. Kusnadi, director of the Islamic hospital in Jakarta, said abortion was being carried out in Indonesia by those professing the free-sex way of life but that the principle of abortion was rejected in Indonesia by all those who were religious. ● Trial of Abdullah Suparto, former Sec. of the Special Bureau of the Indonesian Communist Party Central Committee, started in Jakarta.

IRAN. The National Iranian Oil Company is to take a 50 per cent share in refining and marketing operations of the Ashland Oil in New York State. In return Ashland will get a guaranteed and adequate supply of Iranian crude. This is the first agreement of its kind.

IRAQ. Mustafa Barzani, Pres.—Democratic Party of Kurdistan, in a memo on political autonomy for Kurdistan, calls for the establishment of two regional councils, one

legislative and the other executive to be responsible for Kurdistan and for the election of the legislative council by direct ballot. ● Economic and technical co-operation agreement with India enforced from 26 July; exchanging Indian goods and services for Iraqi crude oil.

ISRAEL. In first five months of this year, Israel's trade deficit increased by 59% over corresponding period last year and stands at \$533m.

KASHMIR. Sh. Abdullah said India and Pakistan must solve their outstanding issue including Kashmir because there were new dangers in Southern Asia.

KUWAIT. Economic co-operation agreement with Pakistan ratified.

LIBYA. Sweden has agreed to include Arabic in the passports of its nationals bringing to 31 the number of countries responding to Libya's request. Abu Sayd Durdah, Libyan Information Minister, said the hijackers of the Japanese airplane appeared to be "dishonest people who have no cause" and would be brought to trial. ● The Palestine Liberation Organisation has denounced the hijacking and said a "full revolutionary investigation" would be held.

MAGHRIB. King Hasan and Presidents Bumadyan and Moktar Ould Daddah met at Agadir; agreed on building a road from Agadir to Tindouf (Algeria) and Atar (Mauritania). Spanish Sahara issue specially considered. Mauritanian President wish to have his country included in the Arab Maghrib "received with great satisfaction". ● Algeria signed scientific and cultural agreement with Spain.

MOROCCO. The two newspapers *Al-Alam* and *L'Opinion*, organs of the Istiqlal Party and the trade union daily *Maghreb-Information* seized on 25 July. ● Wine output, diminishing for about 10 years, rose during 1971-72 to 1,150,000 hectolitres.

NIGERIA. The Military Governor of Lagos State, Brig. Bobolaji Johnson, defended the present strength of the Army on the grounds of Nigeria's leading role in African Affairs. A former Defence Min. Alhaji Inus Wada called for the revival of banned political parties. He rejected the idea of a joint military and civilian administration after 1976—the date set by Gowon for return to civilian rule—and proposed that the numerical strength of the armed forces should be reduced. The Kano State Commissioner for Finance, Alhaj Tanko Yakassai, has supported the reduction in the numerical strength of the Army but not a "hasty return" to civilian rule.

PAKISTAN. UDF Council of Action asked the President to first implement the agreement reached in Muree. The UDF feared that the present government would split the country and wanted its immediate removal. India-Pakistan talks held earlier in Islamabad to be resumed in Delhi on 18 August. Pres. Bhutto claimed in London that Pakistan had staged an economic recovery more rapid and confident that "any nation ravaged by war". This was just one of the aspects of the "new

Pakistan" which had emerged since 1971. Prime Minister to be elected on 12 August under new constitution. **PALESTINE.** Meeting held between Abu Lutuf, Director of PLO Political Department and Taqiy ad-Din Sulh, the Lebanese PM in "atmosphere of mutual confidence". Recent regrettable incidents have, God willing, ended once and for all, according to policy statement by Sulh in Lebanese Chamber. ● PLO office to be opened in East Berlin following Yasir Arafat's visit to the GDR. ● PLO has declared an organisation collecting money in Europe for the Palestinian cause, the Palestine People's Fighting Fund (PPFF), to be phoney. **PHILIPPINES.** Foreign Ministers from Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Guinea and Libya to meet Marcos and discuss the problem of the Muslims in the Philippines.

SOVIET UNION. 1,300 Soviet Jews granted visas to Israel more than a year ago have not left, according to a Soviet spokesman. More than 300 Soviet Jews who emigrated to Israel have applied for permission to return.

TANZANIA. The USSR has provided Tanzania with 150,000 text books in Swahili; Soviet teachers working in Dar-es-Salam and other parts of the country.

TUNISIA. According to a report of the UN economic commission on the developing countries of Africa, Tunisia's growth rate—between 15 and 20 per cent—was the highest.

TURKEY. David Assee, the Chief Rabbi of Turkey, met Pres. Fahri Koruturk for "very cordial" talks and to pledge the Jewish community's loyalty to the country. National Assembly approved a Govt's proposal for the extension of martial law for 2-month period in Ankara and Istanbul and for one month in Diyarbakr.

UGANDA. Pres. Amin has promised compensation to Israel for assets seized.

UNITED KINGDOM. The Anglican Church has reaffirmed support for the World Council of Churches grants to liberation movements, providing they are not used for military purposes.

U.S.A. A \$44,000m anti trust suit in the name of consumers was filed in U.S. District Court against five major oil and gasoline corporations—Gulf Oil, Exxon, Texaco, Shell Oil and Mobil Oil—The companies are charged with restricting refinery capacity, freeing independent marketers out of business by price wars, and restricting imports of gasoline to produce an artificial scarcity.

U.S.S.R. Moscow inaugurated new daily programme for Egypt. ● Moscow has denied reports that the U.S.S.R. would export 100,000 tons of cement to Israel to build houses for new Jewish immigrants from the Soviet Union. It said this was an Israeli propagandist exercise intended to cast doubt on Soviet Arab relations. ● Tashkent radio reported that "thousands of mothers in Uzbekistan are unable to go to work since they have to look after their children" because there are not enough institutions in collective farms to keep pace with population growth.