

MUSLIM VIEWPOINT(S) ON CURRENT AFFAIRS

# impact

international fortnightly

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The hijacking to Lydda last week of the Middle East Airlines Boeing flying from Benghazi to Beirut by "Muhammad El Tuni" or "Zaitouni", a "whisky drinking and poor Arabic speaking" Libyan has been the funniest of them all, so far. Tuni said he "wanted to prove that not all Arabs are Israel's enemies." Reported to be 37, that is born around 1936, Tuni also said that from the age of nine, he was "impressed by the persecution of Jews in Libya". That must have been in 1945 when Israel had not come into being and Libya was under British occupation!

Although elaborate, this one seems to have been over-done. By contrast, the Iraqi Caravelle affair was far more sophisticated, though no less interesting.

On 10 August, Israeli fighters intercepted an Iraqi airliner flying from Beirut to Baghdad and forced it to land at an Israeli military base. The plane was released after a two-hour "passenger check". Moshe Dayan admitted this was "against normal law" but explained that it was with a view to pre-empt terror: they wanted to capture George Habash, "a master murderer".

Counter-terror presupposes a reasonable state of terror which is to be countered. Early last April, Israeli commandos had

this alarm too was as selective as the one said to have been given before the Khartoum killings. Thus although one "Air France plane had its lubricating oil filtered", the actual hijackers who were carrying guns and grenades were searched neither in Paris nor in Amsterdam. Amsterdam's Schiphol airport authorities say that due to holiday rush they were searching the "non-suspect" flights only at random, by drawing lots.

Unlike the previous "fidayeen" operations, the PLO and also the ultra-revolutionary Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) disowned and denounced this hijacking. Libya said she was going to try the hijackers as common criminals "under Islamic law". "The incident showed the apparent isolation of the Arab terrorists . . . Only one have remained to them, Gaddafi's Libya. But even here there was no hero's welcome." (*Jewish Chronicle*, 27 July). "Curiously", the magazine went on to complain, "the incident . . . did not arouse that interest in Britain which the circumstances certainly warranted." Equally curiously, there was no reaction in the Israeli circles too. It seems something, somewhere had mis-fired.

Two weeks later, two Arabs make their appearance in the Athens airport and start

Khartoum shows that except for the two-way execution killings in the various European capitals, there really was no serious terror to be countered, much less risking the unanimous stricture of the United Nations Security Council. Moshe Dayan's statement that the interception aimed at capturing George Habash sounded implausible. Even if Habash could be "credited" with the JAL hijacking, Athens killings and other terrorist activities "does Israel's defence minister really believe that the removal of a few leaders is going to put an end to Palestinian terrorism?" "That is surely the way . . . to act as a recruiting agent for her more extreme opponents." (*The Times*, 13 August). However, even if they really wanted to capture George Habash, Salah Salah, Wadi Haddad or any other ultras, they could have been easily, quietly and bodily lifted from Beirut or any other place. But that does not appear to have been the objective.

Curiously, no sooner had General Dayan announced in Jerusalem that they had been looking for George Habash, a PFLP spokesman in Beirut confirmed that yes indeed some Front leaders were planning to travel by that flight. This was against the common sense rule of never letting one's enemy be sure of his methods or information. The

## MIDDLE EAST TERROR & COUNTER TERROR

BY OUR MIDDLE EAST CORRESPONDENT

raided Beirut and assassinated three prominent PLO leaders. But that too was a counter-terror strike. The first notable terrorist event after Khartoum was the hijacking of the Japanese Air Lines Jumbo and its eventual blowing up in Benghazi.

The Jumbo affairs is, however, a mystery. First, the identity of the five hijackers (four Arab and one Japanese) remains unknown. They have been described variously as members of "Sekigun", the Japanese Liberation Army; "The sons of the occupied territory"; and "The martyrs of Mount Carmel". It was expected that they would demand the release of Kojo Okamoto (now serving life sentence in Israel for the Lydda killings), but nothing is known of what demands they made, if any. The person and the death of the woman hijacker through accidental grenade explosion is equally mysterious. Instead of letting her have a heroine's funeral in Libya, her body was blown up along with the aircraft. One report said she was blonde and carried an Ecuadorean passport. According to another, she was none else but Leila Khaled.

The Norwegian newspaper "Aftenposten" has suggested that apparently the Israelis had a prior knowledge about the hijack. One day prior to the JAL hijack Tel Aviv had put out a general alarm. Perhaps

attacking transit passengers killing three and wounding 55. The attackers confessed being members of the Black September, but explained they actually wanted to attack the TWA passengers going to Tel Aviv and not New York. Later a clandestine group, "The Seventh Suicide Squad" issued a statement in Beirut to claim responsibility and say that they wanted to teach the American people a lesson. PLO and Al Fatah, on the other hand denounced the Athens killings and stated categorically that no such group existed. According to PLO the incident further confirmed "what we had already said at the time of the hijacking of the Japanese Jumbo jet that there are suspicious forces at work with the aim of undermining the Palestinian struggle." The Syrian "Al Baath" saw the hands of the Israeli intelligence. The counter comment to this was that these denials reflected a fear of Israeli reprisal rather than any real dissociation from terrorism. It was also said that "as a result of the Athens killings special precautions are being taken in Beirut and Damascus to guard Palestinian leaders known to be on the Israeli black list." This proved to be prescient, for three days later, on 10 August, came the Israeli interception of the Iraqi Airways flight to Bagdad.

This resume of "Arab terrorism" since

reasons given for not travelling are more than one. The first explanation is that the four-hour delay in the plane's arrival had "made them smell something fishy." Another "theory" claimed that George Habash actually missed the substitute plane because it left earlier than scheduled. One "unimpeachable source in Tel Aviv" said George Habash cancelled the trip when he discovered that the flight captain was a Jordanian, George Matta. He fears "the Jordanians more than the Israelis". The most interesting of all is the disclosure made by the Lebanese Prime Minister, Mr. Solh. The Prime Minister claimed that it was he who had tipped off George Habash. He tipped off George Habash but obviously not his air force. That sums up the ridiculousness of the situation.

Obviously on the Israeli side too there are more than one interests. In Israel "there is too often the feeling that the military leadership is the tail which wag(s) the dog". Besides its domestic Israeli implications, and the effect on the U.S.—Arab relations, the chief merit of the present "Pro-terrorism" may lie in bolstering the George Habash image, promoting further dissension and disillusionment within the Palestinian Liberation ranks, and provoking violence and counter-productive retaliation.



## Survey

● JERUSALEM ● WEST AFRICA ● IRAN & USSR

### Jerusalem—the depressing paraphernalia

Although recent decisions on high-rise buildings in Jerusalem would go some way to meet world-wide criticisms of Israeli action in Jerusalem, other developments are taking place to confirm designs to make the city as Jewish as possible and to make political and economic considerations override any religious or aesthetic ones—thus doing violence to the uniqueness of the city, and acting in defiance of the will and wishes of the world community.

The Israeli council for the city has decided to restrict high-rise buildings. A twelve-storey limit for development in the city centre and a three-storey limit for new buildings in the direct vicinity of the Old City has been laid down. There is also a four-storey limit for residential areas, but under certain conditions buildings may reach as high as eight storeys. However there is to be no ban on several high-rise schemes, including a 120-foot high hotel to be built by El Alon on the "Omariya" site just opposite the old city. These with the jungle of apartment and office blocks will cause further irreparable damage to the Jerusalem skyline and to the character of life in the city. But this does not seem to be the preoccupation of the Israeli planners.

Perhaps what is more important than the character of the buildings being put up with the almost indispensable labour of the Arabs is the purpose of these buildings which is essentially a political one. Writing about "The New Jerusalem", *Newsweek* (30 July 1973) stated: "... the Israeli government is determined to keep Jerusalem an overwhelmingly Jewish city, despite the fact that the birthrate among East Jerusalem's Arabs is double that of West Jerusalem's Jews. To hold the line against a feared Arab population explosion, Israel has been moving in immigrants. And what better place to build a high-profile, high-density, all-Jewish apartment complex than in predominantly Arab East Jerusalem? Even in the event of Arab-Israeli negotiations, it is reasoned, the new Jewish foothold in East Jerusalem would be a considerable political factor in any settlement."

This purpose would have been clear long ago. It was clear when the Israelis expropriated the dwellings of several Arabs in the old city and bulldozed them to the ground. It was emphasised by a proposal of the Israeli mayor to extend the boundaries of the city in such a way as to increase its area by one third for the provision of a "green belt". Richard Crossman, a British MP and a former Labour minister, while in Jerusalem concurred by urging the creation of "garden city suburbs" between the city centre and new housing schemes on Jerusalem's

perimeter. These proposals would further the policy of expropriating and building on Arab lands, peopling them with Jews and thus altering the population balance within the whole city of Jerusalem. As *The Guardian* noted in an editorial on 6 July 1973: "The whole of Jerusalem—west and east—is being turned into the capital city of Israel—with all the depressing paraphernalia that capital city life brings".

"Depressing paraphernalia" can include all those things which go to detract from the aesthetic and spiritual values for which Jerusalem has been associated and which Israel—of all the controllers of the city—has done more and in a shorter space of time to destroy. The practical surrendering of the city to property developers and to the new gods of foreign investment and tourism, the opening of night clubs and discotheques and now the call for the creation of parks and open places in the city where "the public can sleep in the sun, listen to bands, walk, run, flirt, make love" are not only depressing but deeply shocking indicators of the ruin which has already taken place.

It is said that Jerusalem for reasons which have often been stated remain the main stumbling block to a peace settlement between the Israelis and the Arabs. But so far the Israelis have managed to alter the city to its own purposes in complete disregard of the many resolutions of the United Nations Security Council condemning its actions in this regard, and regarding any changes as "inadmissible". The issue however does not seem to have really occupied the attention and concern of the Arab states which have not been able to advance any initiative in this regard. In the complex problems of the Middle East if ever there is an issue on which it might be possible to enlist world action on a wide and intense scale, then the saving of Jerusalem from the control and from the excesses of the Israelis is such an issue.

### Hoveyda's Moscow journey

The outcome of the official visit of the Iranian Premier Amir Abbas Hoveyda to the Soviet Union from 6-12 August could be seen largely in the context of a growing Soviet influence all around and in the context of common American-Soviet purposes in the area. The visit itself may be seen in the light of recent Soviet-Iranian exchange visits at the highest level, of the Shah's visit to Washington, that of the Indian Foreign Minister to Tehran and of the Indian Defence Minister to Moscow and also in the light of the change in regime in Afghanistan. All these visits and exchanges are merely pointers to the rapid changes which are taking place in the regions of Central and

South Asia and touching on the Middle East too.

The Russians have been seeking the convening of an Asian security conference the real aims of which are as yet undetermined. Outwardly it has expressed its belief in the easing of tension in all continents and countries and specifically that problems in the Gulf area should be solved by the countries in the area without foreign interference. This is taken by observers to indicate Soviet uneasiness at the Iranian arms build-up largely with American support. There is however reason to doubt that the Soviet Union is really uneasy about Iranian arms. The semi-official Iranian paper, *Kayhan International*, observed after Abbas Hoveyda's visit to the Soviet Union that Moscow did not share any apprehensions on the question of arms delivery to Iran by the USA and Britain. This view can be substantiated by the agreements reached in Moscow making for the settlement of all border problems. On his return to Tehran, Hoveyda has said that Iran and the Soviet Union have "common views on many issues" relating to the security of Asia.

Other aspects of the agreement concern economic and technical questions. On the economic side, provisions have been made for continuing meetings of the economic ministerial council of the two countries to further the 15 year economic agreement which was recently signed. On the scientific and technical side, provisions have been made for the convening of a mixed Soviet-Iranian commission to further the 5 year technical agreement which has been signed.

All in all, there is little reason to doubt Hoveyda's assessment that relations between Iran and the Soviet Union are now "extremely good" and that the talks he had with the Soviet leaders would further strengthen these relations. As a result, Hoveyda may well feel more satisfied and relaxed at home.

### West African Economic Community

A Nigerian-Togo delegation has been visiting Senegal and Mauritania in order to bring closer to realization the aim of a West African Economic Community. Last year Togo and Nigeria formed the nucleus of the proposed community and since then there have been continued efforts on their part to get other countries interested. One of the main difficulties in the attainment of this aim is the bridging of the gap, indeed the gulf, between French-speaking and English-speaking African states which are still tied very closely to their respective former colonial masters. The new impetus towards the community came with the desire of many French-speaking countries, of which Mauritania is in the van, to reconsider their "co-operation" agreements with France. It is also evident in the demonstrable political will to make the grouping a reality on the part of west African leaders.

It has always been a matter of shame and indignation for Africanists to note and experience the many restrictions that exist between neighbouring African countries in regard to such things as visas, tariffs and communications. It is often pointed out for example that telephone communication link between one African country and another has

# Survey

to be connected through the European metropolitan country.

It is hoped that the Community would bring about economic integration either in the form of a common market or in providing common services and at least in abolishing the vexatious restrictions that exist. Relaxation of visa restrictions will encourage free movement of traders, businessmen and labour. The elimination of custom barriers would encourage the movement of goods and discourage smuggling. These would help to get rid of the artificial barriers which were erected by the colonialists in carving up Africa and which in fact have caused a great deal of suffering to individuals and harm (by a process of fragmentation) to the life-styles of various ethnic groups not only in West Africa but in the continent as a whole.

The proposed West African Economic Community is the type of initiative which one should expect more and more from the leadership of developing countries.

## Libya's crude Nationalisation

The recent Libyan "nationalisation" of Occidental and Oasis oil companies was a predictable affair. On 11 August Libya's Revolution Command Council "ordered" the nationalisation of 51% of the assets of Occidental oil company. This "surprise weekend move" was described by a Libyan Official as "a reply to America's all out support for Israel". But the surprise move had come at least three days after the company's chairman had revealed that a nationalisation "agreement" had already been reached. American Occidental's Jewish chairman, Dr. Armand Hammer said the new agreement gave the company long term assurances of oil supplies. The timing, however, of the nationalisation might have been dictated by the needs of the domestic Libyan situation, but the real reason for the "acquiescence" was more probably to be found in the involved complexities of the contemporary energy-monetary "crisis".

Under the nationalisation law "fifty-one percent of all funds, rights, assets, shares, refineries and utilities in whatever form owned by the Occidental Petroleum Corporation (Libya) which are governed by oil concession contracts Nos. 102 and 103 will be transferred to the ownership of the state". Libya will not be responsible for the "debts, commitments and claims" that may be due to or entered into by Occidental. A new managing committee of three (two from the Libyan "National Oil Establishment" and one from Occidental) will run and administer the Corporation. "During a period not exceeding one year . . . The Occidental Petroleum Corporation (Libya) will operate and administer operations in the nationalised area on behalf of the two parties".

The term "nationalisation" would thus appear to be inappropriate. The law does not create or envisage one single company with 51% Libyan control and ownership. A single company would have meant a 51% share in the net profit of the company. But in this case, American Occidental and the Libyan "National Oil Establishment" would be functioning as two "partner" but separate companies. Production and operation would be jointly controlled by the managing committee.

## LIBYA • TUNISIA

The Libyans would obviously have a 66% say in supervising and even regulating production, but instead of sharing 51% in the net profit, they would receive 51% of the crude oil produced. What Occidental does and how much does it profit through selling its 49% share of crude (as also the 51% bought back from the Libyans) it would be no business of the Libyans.

For the first six months, Occidental will buy 40-degree gravity crude oil (low in sulphur content and exceptionally high in quality) at the fixed price of \$4.90 per barrel. The current posted price of the Libyan crude varied between \$4.15—\$4.50 per barrel. Considering the fact that the Libyan "National Oil Establishment" would also be footing 51% of the maintenance, operation and development costs and paying "all fees, duties, rents, income tax, additional and complementary taxes due as from the date of the enforcement of the nationalisation law, and that a large proportion of the present cost of crude was made up in tax payments to the producer governments, the true gain to the Libyans would have to be more critically worked out.

While these lines are being written, details of the Oasis "nationalisation" are not available but in sum the gains to the oil companies seem more manifest and tangible. Libya will not only have a higher initial stake in crude production but will also ease the oil company's capital investment burden in regard to the existing and new production facilities. The funds so released would be available for investment in other and newer energy products. The Libyans, on the other hand, not possessing technical expertise, refining and tanker facilities would have to foot an ever increasing foreign exchange bill on all these items.

It is incomprehensible as to why the Libyans could not or would not obtain a straight 51% share in American Occidental. Apparently it was a very crude nationalisation indeed.

*Post-script:* Participation agreement with Oasis Oil Group (except Shell which seems recalcitrant) is on the same lines as with Occidental.

## Bourguiba—On decadence

The other day President Bourguiba gave the Tunisian Women Association a piece of his own mind about what he thought of the state of "moral decadence" in the country.

Bourguiba pointed out that there were "dens of corruption" in the country and there existed "immorality and corruption in certain cultural and theatrical circles". "It is unfortunate", he said "that immorality is not confined to the simple sections of the people. It also affects them in high places, those who hold responsibility (and who) should be an example for the people to follow." The Tunisian President "denounced the excessive scantiness of women's wear which aroused sexual desires. Tunisia, to some individuals in neighbouring countries, is a market to spend one's time in enjoyment and debauchery".

He told the Tunisian ladies that "history confirmed that corruption was the cause of the disintegration of the states which once flourished on this Maghrib soil. It was corruption which disunited the ranks of its men and helped the foreigner to dominate". Therefore, "the state should be cleansed and we should stop our lust for pleasures and accumulation

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# Muslim viewpoints

## on current affairs

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## Survey

● CULTURE ● FLOODS ● IMMIGRATION

of wealth". We "need to adhere to the teachings of the illustrious Islamic faith".

Lest someone took him for a conservative or a fanatic, Bourguiba reminded his audience about what he had personally done to free the Tunisian woman and restore her dignity and respectability. Bourguiba's speech may, in a way, be taken as reflecting on the limitations and inadequacies of the Tunisian president's social policies which he initiated and implemented during an unbroken rule of over 17 years. It may be so, but it is doubtful if many others in similar or near-similar situation would reflect on their experience with equal frankness. The important thing, however, is to learn the lesson. The "dens of corruption" and "corruption in high places" are not an exclusive Tunisian phenomenon.

## Culture and cleanliness

A recent survey examining the management and cleanliness of public swimming pools in Britain concludes that most of them are well below any generally accepted standards of cleanliness. The analyst's findings on several pools were contained in such descriptions as: "Poor quality water—potentially dangerous. Samples revealed presence of faecal organisms sewage borne bacteria. Water of poor bacteriological quality".

A government publication, 'The Purification of the Water in Swimming Baths' refers to the things bathers can take with them into the water: "mucus from the nose, saliva from the mouth, sweat and dead epithelium even from the cleanest persons, hair oil and lotions, the creams used by sun-bathers, dried secretions and accumulated dirt from the less clean, micturition or urinations (which is said to occur involuntarily when some persons enter the water) and even spitting . . ."

One pool manager said that faecal bacteria get into swimming pool water not from urine but from what he called "the dirty bottom syndrome"—and this says a lot about the health and cleanliness standards of a nation or culture. One cannot see for example the vastness of difference between the effects of this syndrome while taking a bath in a tub (which is the common practice) or going into a swimming pool without having washed before.

Among the health hazards from bathing in such pools—some of which are used by 1,500 persons a day—are stomach illnesses from swallowing the water, skin rashes and partial blindness from excessive amounts of chlorine used to kill off bacteria.

One can say that the root of the problem lies not so much in the precautions taken by pool managers and local councils but in the very concepts of personal hygiene which are tolerated. Much can be learnt from the Muslim concept of what is *najis* (unclean) and *tahara* (pure). Even so there are other questions relating to public bathing which have to be considered before this leisure time activity or necessary exercise could be regarded as safe and proper from the Islamic point of view.

## Pakistan Floods

Pakistan's worst-known flood has already caused a great havoc in the country. With hundreds dead, millions uprooted, thousands

of villages washed away and several million acres of crops destroyed, the real toll can be anything but horrible. There has been a welcome response to President Bhutto's appeal for rehabilitation support and there would be more as the fuller impact of the disaster is received by the world community. However, the greatest and the real efforts are to be put in by the Pakistanis themselves.

Unfortunately the official agencies do not enjoy any good reputation either with regard to efficiency or integrity. It is, therefore, necessary that the relief and reconstruction operations are put on a national and all party footing. It is shameful enough to read reports about "high officials and the wealthy rushing to the flood-affected areas to buy refrigerators, television sets and furniture at throw away prices", but it is much more serious to find the country's bureaucracy having become so devoid of normal administrative reflexes. Should not the meteorological department warn about the rains in the upper reaches of the Himalayas and Karakoram range and the respective agencies planned some precautionary measures. Inefficient administration has also meant that the canals have not been dredged and the various earthen bunds not properly maintained—although charged every year to the exchequer. Similarly the flood waters in Punjab were bound to reach Sind and the local bureaucracy could have prepared for the approaching flood emergency.

## Illegal immigration

In the wake of the Channel drama which ended with the arrest of the captain attempting to smuggle Asians into Britain, urgent thought must be given by the governments concerned and by immigrant organisations in Britain to the complex human problems which intending illegal immigrants expose themselves to.

Certainly the phenomenon of immigration, whether legal or otherwise, into Western Europe and the United States and Canada is a symptom of inequality in the world, of the wide disparity between the rich and the poor, between, if you like, the exploiters and the exploited. This observation is made merely to understand and not to condone the phenomenon. However, when any person attempts to smuggle himself into a country he exposes himself to all sorts of exploitation and blackmail—all because of the lure of developed countries. Often this lure is a false one. Many persons enjoying a comfortable life in their native countries abandon the family hearth to come and join the doleful assembly lines of various factories. Perhaps it is in the nature of man to attempt to pursue new horizons and ideally there should be no restrictions on this. This sadly is not possible with the existence of the nation-states of today.

In the circumstances governments and agencies should clearly warn and educate people who are intending to emigrate of the difficulties and the uncertainties ahead. They should be conscious of the ridicule which rebound on them whenever the headlines blare out on the catching of illegal immigrants who are their citizens. Individuals also can play a great part in educating their compatriots who have never set foot outside the warmth and security of their hovel by telling them that there is not a silver lining at the end of every cloud.

## PEOPLE

Chaudhury Fazli Elahi elected new Pakistan President, Mr. Bhutto becomes PM. Sahibzada Farooq Ali, new Pakistan NA speaker, Prof. I. H. Qureshi, Pakistan educationist, joined Istiqlal Party. Habibullah and M. Tahir elected Chairman and Dy. Chairman of Pakistan Senate. Pakistan Parliamentary Opposition: Wali Khan elected leader, Shah Ahmad Noorani, Secretary. Sudan promotions: Pres. Numeiry as General and Maj.-Gen. Khalafallah as Lt.-Gen. Four years prison and sh. 5,000 fine on former Somali Minister Ismail Dualeh Warsama for misappropriation. Bourguiba celebrated 70th birthday on 3 Aug, conferred "Bourguiba Medal" on Premier Hadi Nuwayrah. Dr. Abmul Vakil, 34, appointed Provincial Sec. of Planning and Finance in Mozambique, the first time a cabinet post has gone to a non-white. Greeting from Podgorny to Maldives President Amir Ibrahim Nasir.

### DIPLOMATS

Abdullah Salih al-Main, first ambassador of Qatar to Venezuela. Mumtaz Alvie, new Pakistan ambassador to China presented credentials. Abdu Ali Sinada and Rahman Gul, new Afghan and Pakistani ambassadors to Tripoli. Waheed Abdullah, Afghan Councillor in London appointed Dy. Minister in Foreign Ministry. Sir Michael Walter, new U.K. High Commissioner in India. Li Tingchuan, new Chinese ambassador in Romania. Dr. Zdravko Prear, new Yugoslav ambassador in Ghana. H. K. Singh, new Indian High Commissioners to Uganda.

### VISITS

Turkish FM, Bayulken, to Tunisia; also to Malaysia, Indonesia and India. Iranian PM, Hoveyda, to USSR. Mrs. Ghandi to Iran. Abdus Salam Gen. Sec. Bangladesh Communist Party to USSR. UAA PM, Sh. Al Maktum to Pakistan. Egyptian FM, Dr. Zayyat to Damascus. Ruler of Ras al Khayma to Saudi Arabia. Algerian Min. of Religious Affairs, Mawlud Qasim, to Sudan. GDR Dy Foreign Trade Min to Damascus. Vice-Pres. of Eritrean Liberation Front to Finland. Dr. Sa'dun Hammadi, Iraqi Oil and Minerals Min, to Bulgaria. Muhammad Salih Muti, South Yemen FM, to GDR. Abd al Fattah, Gen. Sec. of Central Committee of the National Front of S. Yement, to Moscow. N. Yemen CGS, to Saudi Arabia. Iraqi FM, Abdul Baqi, to Lebanon. Amir of Kuwait to Sudan. Sayyid Maudoodi invited to visit Jordan. Mauritanian FM Mouknas to Sudan. Romanian Trade Secy. to Baghdad. Dr. Ahmad as Sattar Iraqi Educ. Min. to Kabul, Andrei Barcak, Czech Trade Min. to Baghdad. M. Ali Sherif, Mauritanian President's adviser to N. Korea. President Ould Daddah to Zaire. Saudi FM Saqqaf to Paris and Cairo; also to several African states in October. South Korean FM to Tunisia. Adrien Senghor Senegalese Rural Development Min. to Peking. Herbert Chitepo, Chief of ZANU, to Australia, New Zealand and India. Japan PM, Tanaka to USSR in October. Kissinger to China, postponed. Romanian Mufti, Mehmet Iakub, to Cairo.

### DELEGATIONS

Egyptian Trade and Agricultural to Hungary; Parliamentary to Bulgaria. Egypt-China Friendship Assoc. deleg. led by Ibrahim al-Tahawi to China. Soviet Culture to Cairo. Egyptian Defence to Syria. Yugoslav Communist Youth League to Egypt. PLO student and youth to Yugoslavia. Muslim World League to Lebanon, Syria & Jordan. 20 member Pakistan deleg. led by FM Aziz Ahmad, to New Delhi. Mexican Government to Israel. US Progressive Black Community to Soviet Union—visited Abkhazia and met Soviet citizens of African descent.

### DIED

Fulgencio Batista, 72, Cuban dictator on 5 Aug. Arthur Chesterton, in 70's, founder League of Empire Loyalists and founder Chairman National Front (of Britain). Eva Marchioness of Reading, former Pres. of the British section of the World Jewish Congress. Prof. Walter Rudolf Hess, 82, Nobel Prize winner for medicine in 1949.



## The Commonwealth Is there a viable role?

A. W. Hamid

Twenty years ago, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru spoke of the Commonwealth in the Lok Sabha and said that it was "the best form of relationship in the sense that there is no obligation on us or on the other party, except the obligation of occasional friendly approach and friendly talk". This perhaps could form the basis of the assessment of the Commonwealth as it stands after the Ottawa Conference held on 2-12 August 1973. For, the Commonwealth stands as a very amorphous body which has no treaties binding it to a common foreign policy and is not a military, trading or diplomatic bloc. Its individual members pursue highly individual goals. It has been described as a "loose club", a "family of nations" and a mere "hang-over of Empire", the British content of which steadily diminishing from 1949 when the word "British" was dropped from the description—"The British Commonwealth of Nations".

Now it is argued that Britain has little if any need of the Commonwealth which it is treating with benign neglect. Britain is no longer the leader as such of the Commonwealth. Its Prime Minister among other Commonwealth leaders is not even *primus inter pares* but just *unus inter pares*. The communique at the end of the Ottawa conference seemed to emphasize this officially when it described the Commonwealth as "an informal worldwide association, which included no super power".

Could one then go on to say that the British Empire has been finally dissolved? Formally perhaps one can say that it has been. In practice, however, what has happened is that Britain has abandoned many of the trappings of Empire (except some, such as the Queen) but has preserved much of its substance and its reality. It has been able to do this because of its maturity and the ocean of experience from which it can draw upon to compete for markets, influence and prestige. This is why this small island, compared with the vastness of India, Canada or Australia can still play a leading role in world affairs and in the councils of nations. This is why the lot of reviewing the changes in the world situation fell to the British Prime Minister at the Ottawa conference and why there was none who could do it better—that is, with more authority—than he did. On a wider plane, this is also why Britain can appear to be a slick operator compared with the crudeness of the Russians for example.

It has been argued that Britain can derive the same benefits from its relations with the countries in the Commonwealth even if the Commonwealth as a body were to be abolished and that the same is true of other countries. To illustrate this in a negative way, Pakistan does not seem to have lost much through dropping out of the party and moreover like South Africa may continue to use some of the services provided by Commonwealth organisations at a low level relating to education and technical matters. Also, Britain's new immigration laws have tended to show how little she regards the multi-racial ties of the Commonwealth. But above all, the argument is perhaps best illustrated by Britain's entry into the EEC, a sort of larger Empire, and

turning its back on the Commonwealth. Britain however, far from weakening its hold on the poorer countries of the Commonwealth, continues to condition the terms of reference, policies and economic goals of these countries. Of course this can also be taken as proving the benefits of the Commonwealth for Britain in the sense that Britain has a ready-made hunting ground (as France has with the Yaounde countries for example) which can secure for it special privileges in the Common Market.

It is difficult to believe that Britain's position has been weakened to any considerable extent. It is true that she cannot count on the loyalty and uncritical support of the old white dominions—Australia, New Zealand and even Canada. Australia, in particular under the leadership of the Labour government of Gough Whitlam, voiced the most scathing criticism of Mr. Heath personally and of the British government's economic policies symbolised by its multinational conglomerates which perpetuate "economic imperialism". Whitlam as well as Kirk of New Zealand came out in full support at Ottawa of the African and Caribbean stand against British attitudes and policies towards South Africa and Rhodesia. The communique at the end showed just how far Britain has had to change its positions as a result of these criticisms. For example, there is the remarkable unanimous recognition of the "legitimacy of the struggle to win full human rights and self-determination in southern Africa" in the denial of which Britain itself as an imperial power has played the most significant and ignoble role. There was also unanimous agreement on "the need to give every possible assistance to all those engaged in the territories of southern Africa to achieve self-determination and independence". No less remarkable was the agreement that Commonwealth members in a position to do so should seek to use their influence to 'persuade Portugal to grant a negotiated independence for its African colonies'.

Britain's flexibility on these questions tended to regain for it some semblance of moral authority although one may justifiably doubt whether this would have any appreciable effect on actual policies. One cannot envisage the Commonwealth proving really effective in changing the position and character of the Smith regime in Rhodesia or of Portugal in Africa. It is rather in the bread and butter issues where the moral obligations of Britain and the rich nations of the Commonwealth can be tested and it is here—in spite of the talk of "positive and constructive work" in the communique—that the poorer countries have cause to feel grave anxiety.

No doubt, Britain would like to adopt a Jawaharlalian view of the Commonwealth in which it has "no obligations" to the others, especially the poorer states. At the Conference Heath made it perfectly clear that Britain did not aspire to play the mother country any longer. At one stage Heath defiantly said that he was not prepared to be told how Britain should carry out its responsibilities which suggested a certain disdain and aloofness. Regarding Whitlam's call for curbs

on multinational corporations—because they sought to dominate Commonwealth countries and to replace the old domination of Sterling, imperial preferences and military and administrative arrangements, Heath replied that Britain, like any investor, wanted "as free a hand as possible" to develop her investment in Commonwealth countries. (Not so long ago, Heath was making loud noises about the "unpleasant and unacceptable face of capitalism").

With this attitude on the part of Britain and even on the part of Australia which wanted to be considered as a "developing country", the majority of the Commonwealth countries may well wonder at the worth of some of the declaration of the Ottawa conference—"to accelerate the pace of social and economic development among the less affluent members, to reduce "the disadvantages of tied aid and the onerous debt burdens of developing countries, or of the "urgent need for deliberate measures to be taken by the international community to secure equitable and remunerative returns" for the exports of countries dependent on primary agricultural products.

Some leaders of the developing Commonwealth countries—for example, Nyerere of Tanzania and Gowon of Nigeria managed to get the Conference to recognise the gravity of these and other problems and they did so in a manner which earned them respect, although in essence they may be mere bystanders in a game which is played above their heads, for example, in the important field of world monetary reform. Perhaps the question of earning and commanding respect is ultimately the most important one and transcends other questions which need to be asked of the Commonwealth, for example—would there ever be an equitable interflow of resources between the rich and the poor? Or, a more abstract and complicated one: is there a viable role for the Commonwealth?



Mr. Arnold Smith, Commonwealth, Secretary-General. His report to the Ottawa conference speaks of a trans-regional association with "ability to persuade without power".



## Toward the American Dictatorship

S. S. Mnfassir

Having depleted their stock of new peoples to conquer, the exploiters have no choice but to exploit one another. America was warned many years ago that if she allowed the continued oppression of her minorities, it would not be long before her majority would feel the flagellations of fascism. But few cared about it, so long as it was the blacks, Puerto Ricans, Indians, poor whites and student activists who bore the burden of repression. So long as the Army and the CIA joined forces with the FBI to spy on minority civilians, in flagrant disregard for their rights, no popular cry was raised. Meanwhile, repression dug deeper into American life, until now repression and intrigue have become an indispensable feature.

Anything is possible in the political sphere, but it is far-fetched to suppose that the Watergate affair is a political or Zionist attempt to depose president Nixon. The furor arising from the attempted electronic surveillance of Democratic party headquarters, then located in the Watergate office complex, by the Republicans, is one of genuine concern for the integrity of the American political system. Americans still take pride in the two-party system, a certain openness and fairness in electoral contests, and a society free from police-state tactics. Watergate is a measure of how far the political rot has proceeded—for it is not an isolated incident, merely the most celebrated one—and how far the American political process has degenerated down the path to the petty dictatorship of oft-disparaged banana republics.

This is not to infer that American democracy was intact before Watergate. By no means. The system has exposed itself willingly to manipulation and the corruption of undemocratic forces from the beginning, through the choice of capitalism as its economic ideology. How could capitalism and democracy peacefully coexist? It was inevitable that capitalism, and the greedy, exploitative methods it signifies, would in time subvert the humanistic goals of a government based on law and rule by consent of the people. The USA has survived for nearly 200 years simply because capitalism took control from the start and offered material benefits which obscured its attack on morality. With material progress acting as the opiate of the American masses, dulling them to the effects of their steady loss of democracy, the erosion proceeded almost painlessly.

The very authors of American democracy and the pioneers of her independence from British rule were true capitalist-colonialists who were at that same time expelling the native Indians from the lands of their heritage and kidnapping Africans from their native lands for slavery. All the while proclaiming that "all men are created equal." Of course, in the eyes of the early American capitalist-colonialists, Indians and Africans were not "men", but sub-humans fit only for abuse in the overriding interests of civilization. (Similarly, the rights of the American people are now being overridden in the interests of "national security".) From its origin, the American Dream has been the Nightmare of non-European people.



"Nixon's the One?"

But Watergate falls squarely on Richard Nixon. It is the result of his lifelong ambition, arrogance and contempt for the same "law and order" he espoused, ostensibly, during his presidential campaign. To be sure, the days when any American could rise from log-cabin poverty to become president, through a purely honest campaign, are long past. Seeking higher political office now requires the expenditure of millions of dollars, which must be sought from politicians, businessmen and entrepreneurs who have their own interests to sell. Today, it is the "holy trinity" of the (oil) barons, big businessmen and bigots who put the president in office.

The 1972 Republican presidential campaign used, among others, the slogan "Nixon's the One." This is true with respect to the Watergate affair. While symptomatic of the decay which has festered almost imperceptibly in American politics, Watergate is Nixon's affair. Winning has been so vital to the Nixon psyche, and failure so consistently a part of his past, that the ends have justified the use of any means. It was not for nothing that he was nicknamed, years ago, "Tricky Dick."

No, I don't accept the explanation that an innocent president is being ruined by self-serving political opponents, or by the wily Zionist-controlled press, or by stupid subordinates. "Nixon's the One," and he has been the one, all along, regardless of how much others may benefit by his exposure and discomfiture. In the US, the office of president is so prestigious and protected a position that no subordinate would dare involve the president in political intrigue without his consent. Such a game would be all risk, with no reward, the sort of game neither politicians nor businessmen play. This subversion of

the American political process, already seriously compromised, was a conscious attempt to win the presidency at all costs.

Having depleted their stock of new peoples to conquer, the exploiters have no choice but to exploit one another. America was warned many years ago that if she allowed the continued oppression of her minorities, it would not be long before her majority would feel the flagellations of fascism. But few cared about it, so long as it was the blacks, Puerto Ricans, Indians, poor whites and student activists who bore the burden of repression. So long as the Army and the CIA joined forces with the FBI to spy on minority civilians, in flagrant disregard for their rights, no popular cry was raised. Meanwhile, repression dug deeper into American life, until now repression and intrigue have become an indispensable feature. Bugging and covert surveillance of political enemies, regardless of their harmlessness, are necessary to the system. Watergate may be a sign of an American Waterloo, but it is a new phenomenon only insofar as it represents a crime against the majority, and it is for this reason that Watergate is receiving national exposure.

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# India's Naga War

Matiur Rahman

The continued Indian ban on the entry of all foreign as well as non-official Indian visitors to most parts of the eastern Indian states including the whole of Nagaland, Manipur and Mizoram has rendered it extremely difficult to obtain detailed and authentic reports of the recent clashes between the Indian armed forces on the one hand and the Naga and Mizo freedom fighters on the other. The censored news either 'leaked' deliberately or circulated officially by the Indian government sources, however, largely confirm the allegations by the Naga and Mizo nationalist leaders that following the Indian victory in East Pakistan the Indian army did indeed launch a determined offensive to annihilate the Naga and Mizo freedom fighters. This latest Indian offensive against the separatist forces appears to be meeting with no better success than the previous operations.

Recent Indian reports show an increased number of Indian casualties in what the media call "skirmishes" with and "ambushes" by the "underground" Naga soldiers. The casualties on the Naga side are generally not given. But if the official Indian versions of the very small number—only a few hundred—Naga "rebels" are to be believed then the recent Indian reverses in the Naga territories becomes difficult to comprehend. Last July the official death toll on the Indian side exceeded 30, besides several wounded. The latest casualties include one senior army officer, a colonel.

The Indian sources say that as a result of several years' concerted military action, the Nagas are no longer able to organise themselves in "brigade" or "battalion" strength, but they can mount attacks or counter-attacks in small groups or companies. These sources also say that the "rebel" Nagas have intensified their activities by "forcible recruitment of volunteers, collection of rations and intimidations" in large areas of Naga districts. Nagas are reported to have extended their activities beyond the state of Nagaland and into neighbouring Manipur and Assam states. The chiefs secretary of Manipur government, S.M. Krishnarty, recently told some Indian reporters that the "hostiles were moving in a concerted manner to terrorize" villages in Manipur. They have also put heavy pressure in Tamenglong, Mao, and Ukhrul areas of Manipur. A few weeks ago, several villages on the Assam-Nagaland border were

raided by the separatist Nagas. The Assam government is reported to have submitted a detailed report to the central government at Delhi over the "hostile" Naga activities in the Golaghat subdivision of Assam.

The Naga problem is a British legacy. Prior to British rule the Nagas never belonged to India, either ethnologically, culturally or politically. The Nagas are descendants of those Tibeto-Burman or Sino-Burman tribes who belonged to the South-East Asia mainland rather than the Subcontinent. Following the first Indo-Burmese war of 1824-26 most of the Naga territories were brought under the British Indian administration. But the Nagas like their co-racials in Burma jealously maintained their distinctiveness. The British on their part remained content with the Naga acceptance of their suzerainty and did not seriously attempt integrating them into the British-Indian mainstream.

The Nagas, however, under the influence of western missionaries, converted to Christianity and this gave them a new sense of cultural and national identity. At the birth of the Union of India in 1947, the Nagas found themselves in conflict with the new rulers in Delhi who were determined to control all the territories which the British had earlier annexed to India. In the struggle that ensued, the Nagas, though hopelessly outnumbered and outgunned, gave a good account both of their valour and determination to wrest independence. This made Nehru modify the earlier policy of total repression in favour of a policy of 'divide and rule'. By 1959, the government of India succeeded in persuading a section of the Nagas, headed by Dr. Imkongliba Ao, to cooperate with them in return for a promise to create a new state within the Indian Union, to be called Nagaland. Though opposed strongly by the Naga freedom fighters, Nehru announced on 1 August, 1960, the decision to constitute the state of Nagaland comprising the three districts of Kohima, Mokokchung and Tuensang, covering an area of 6,300 square miles of hilly terrain bordering Burma.

The formal inauguration of Nagaland in 1963 was preceded by bitter fightings between the Indian army and the supporters of the "Naga Federal Government" headed by A. Z. Phizo. The Phizoites sought to resist the constitution of the state which they said would divide the Naga people permanently and cede large sections of Naga territories to Manipur and Assam. Dr. Imkongliba was assassinated by the rebels before Nagaland could be inaugurated. His place as leader of the pro-Indian Nagas was taken by Shilu Ao, a former official of the British Indian administration. In 1964, after an election which was boycotted by the rebels, Shilu Ao was elected first chief minister of Nagaland.

The very creation of the state of Nagaland was a measure of success of the Naga nationalist movement. However, by creating Nagaland, India too succeeded in confining the hard-core nationalists within the boundaries of the new state and depriving them of any free access to the outside world. The first phase of the Naga independence movement ended with a diplomatic victory for the government of India and limited political gains for the former.

Following India's move towards the creation of a truncated Nagaland, A.Z. Phizo, the leader of the struggle for Naga independence, came out of Nagaland and tried to organise support for his 'Federal Naga Government'. The mission did not succeed. Due to American influence the movement received no real support even from Pakistan. At the United Nations too no country was prepared to take up the question of the Nagas' right to self-determination, not even India's flagrant violation of human rights and genocide in Nagaland. Phizo now lives in the United Kingdom from where he maintains a tenuous link with his people.

Meanwhile India has been able to co-ordinate its military operations in the Nagaland-Burma border with the Ne Win regime in Burma and succeeded in practically snapping the nationalist Nagas' only line of contact with their Burmese co-racials. The creation of Bangladesh and the close Indo-Bangladesh liaison against this limits seriously the Naga nationalists' line of communications with the outside world.

Yet, the Naga nationalists seem to have kept their morale high. After the termination of an over five years ceasefire agreement with the Indian army, the nationalists have been able to resume and even gradually step up guerilla activities in the Naga majority areas. In January this year they ambushed and fired at an Indian army column on the Nagaland-Manipur border, killing eight and wounding five. This was followed by an attack on Dimapur railway station which killed three, maimed four and seriously injured 30. In another attack on an army convoy on the Dimapur road several casualties were inflicted.

The recent spurt in the guerilla activities has brought forth a demand for a tougher military action. Responsible Indians, however, realise, that in the fight between the Indian lion and the Naga mouse, the mouse is not without some advantages. The Naga terrain is very suited to guerrilla warfare. It is admitted that the "government's decision to abrogate the cease-fire agreement with the hostiles, ban all organisations in Nagaland that preach secession, impose a curfew along a 16-km belt on the Indian side of the border with Burma, extend amnesty to any rebel who voluntarily surrenders to the security forces, and co-ordinates the anti-guerilla drive with General Nu Win's government" have failed to establish peace in the Naga areas. (*Times of India*, 4 April).

Yet both the deadlock and the clashes continue. The situation is forcing even the pro-Indian Nagas including the leading members of the Nagaland government to ask for more and more "concessions" from India. The present Chief Minister of Nagaland, Hokushe Sema, has now demanded the incorporation of all Naga majority areas into Nagaland. Acceptance of this demand as well as the demand to create a separate Naga High Court could perhaps form the basis of a dialogue between the nationalist and the government of India. But just now New Delhi shows no such inclination and the Naga nationalist leadership comprising Phizo's younger brother Jassei Hurai, and Issa Su seems equally unyielding.

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## Tafheem-al-Qur'an

# A new Urdu Tafseer

Khurshid Ahmad

It would hardly be an exaggeration to suggest that the *Tafseer* literature mirrors Muslim thought at its best. The real genius of the Muslim mind has expressed itself in its efforts to understand and interpret the word of God as enshrined in the Qur'an. *Tafseer* literature has enriched almost every language of the world spoken by the Muslims. The bulk of the treasure, however, lies in Arabic and Urdu words.

Although younger in age, Urdu is much ahead of many of its older competitors in respect of the quantity and quality of Islamic literature it has offered to the world. It has a rich tradition of *Tafseer* literature produced over the last two hundred and fifty years. According to a recent bibliography, there are 280 complete *Tafseers* and over 500 incomplete ones in Urdu<sup>1</sup>. The list is, in no way, complete or exhaustive. There is, however, very little awareness of this literature in the non-Urdu world. In this paper an effort is being made to introduce one of the most important contemporary *Tafseer*—the *Tafheem al-Qur'an* of Sayyid Abul A'la Maudoodi.

Maudoodi is a prolific writer and is exerting an immense intellectual influence on the contemporary Muslim mind. He has written more than two hundred books and pamphlets<sup>2</sup>, many of which have been translated into a number of national and international languages. His first major work—*Al-Jihad fi-al-Islam*—appeared in 1928. In 1932 he launched an academic journal *Tarjuman al-Qur'an*. His *Tafseer*, *Tafheem al-Qur'an* has been serialised in this journal from February 1942 to March 1973. A revised version of this has appeared in six volumes between 1950 and 1973. Parts of *Tafheem-al-Qur'an* have been translated in Arabic, English, Hindi, Bengali, Pushto, Swahili etc. A complete English translation is in progress.

Most of the Urdu *Tafseers*, as also those in Arabic, can be neatly placed in the well-known categories of *Tafseer* from the viewpoint inter alia, of *Aathar*, *Kalam*, *Lughat*, *I'jaz*, *Fiqh*, and *Tasawwuf*. Some *Tafseers* try to cover all or most of these aspects simultaneously. A survey of *Tafseer* literature of Urdu, however, reveals at least three impor-

tant landmarks. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan initiated a new trend by introducing elements of historical criticism and comparative religions in Qur'anic interpretation. He also tried to reconcile the teachings of the Qur'an with some of the intellectual currents of nineteenth century Europe particularly those of Great Britain in the Victorian era. Ever since contemporary thought and issues have reigned more prominently in the Urdu literature on *Tafseer*, flowing unceasingly into the rather parallel streams of modernist and traditionalist thought.

Abul Kalam Azad represents another major departure from the pattern. In him the modernist and the traditionalist strands seek some kind of a convergence, smoothly more often, uneasily at places. He tried to breathe fresh air into *Tafseer* literature, striving to free Qur'anic interpretation from its earlier socio-intellectual infra-structure and re-emphasising the principle of understanding the Qur'an through the Qur'an. He appears to have been successful in identifying the challenge that confronts a modern student of the Qur'an, but Abul Kalam Azad could not go beyond the *Tafseer* of the first surah—*al-Fatihah*—and a number of explanatory notes appended to his translation of the first seventeen chapters.

Maudoodi represents the next major departure from the traditional framework. And he is the only one of the three pace-setters who has completed his *Tafseer*. One is thus in a position to study and examine his approach to the Qur'an, which he significantly calls *Tafheem al-Qur'an: An Understanding of the Qur'an*.

An analysis of *Muqaddimah* and of the contents of the *Tafheem* reveals that Maudoodi's work is based on four assumptions. The validity and usefulness of his approach seem to hinge on these assumptions.

1. The Qur'an is a book of guidance (*hidayah*) and should be approached as such. It does deal with aspects of history, geography, socio-economic relations, natural phenomena etc. but it is not a book of history, geography and social or natural science. It is a masterpiece of literature, but it was not revealed because of its literary form and beauty, or primarily as a piece of higher literature. It was revealed as a Book of Guidance and everything else is ancillary to this role. As such the Qur'an should be approached as the mainspring of guidance and should be assigned to play a decisive role in the reconstruction of thought and action, of institutions and society, as was the case when it was revealed to the blessed Prophet Muhammad. The function of *Tafheem* is not to dwell primarily or mainly on literary beauties and legalistic niceties, but to develop an understanding of the Qur'an as the source of guidance.

2. The Qur'an is a Book of a movement. It presents a message, invites the entire human race to that view of reality and society, organises those who respond to this call as an ideological community and asks this community to strive for the socio-moral reconstruction of human society. Much of the Qur'an can not be properly understood unless it is studied in this framework. The Prophet was not an idealist visionary or a poet-philosopher; he was assigned to play a historical role as the leader of the Islamic movement. The Qur'an was revealed to him in parts during the twenty-three years of his prophetic life, guiding his steps in every situation. This has a particular as well as a general and universal

aspect. In its particular aspect this entire milieu provides an illustration of the movement and change the Qur'an wants to bring about. In its general and universal aspect the Qur'an abstracts from the specific time-space context and presents the model which can and should be applied in different time-space situations. Maudoodi approaches the Qur'an as a guide book for this movement for Islamic reconstruction. As such the internal evidence of the Qur'an revealing different aspects and situations of this Da'wah and movement, the Sunnah of the Prophet and of his companions and the evidence on *asbab-an-Nuzul* assume great significance in his understanding of the Qur'an.

3. The Qur'an presents a complete way of life—a code of conduct and a scheme for the organisation of the total gamut of human life—belief, action and society. It gives its own world view, does not divide life into water-tight compartments of material and spiritual, creates only one supreme loyalty—to Allah—and tries to organise the whole of life in the light of this overriding principle. Maudoodi suggests that the key concepts of the Qur'an are *Ilah*, *Rabb*, *Ibadah* and *al-Deen*. The Qur'an invites man to accept the Creator as *Rabb*, the Sustainer and Sovereign, to harmonise his will with the Will of Allah in all its aspects (*ibadah*) and to establish the Will of Allah over the totality of life (*deen*). This is the path through which man can seek the fulfilment of his real nature.

4. The key to the understanding of the Qur'an is its style and methodology. The Qur'an is not compiled in a form with which we are familiar in different academic disciplines. This is so because it is not a book dealing with any academic discipline as such. Its style and methodology are distinct and unique—suited to its purpose and mission and not fitting into the frameworks developed by human scholarship. Its purpose is *hidayah* (guidance). It addresses itself to man. Its target is to develop a new consciousness of reality and to generate a new cultural movement to establish a new civilization. To achieve this objective it has adopted a direct and straight-forward method of heart-to-heart talk between God and man. It focuses its message on the heart and soul of man and tries to move him from within. Its style is that of brief and precise *Khutabat* addressed by God to man but containing all the elements of a meaningful dialogue between the two. Every verse of the Qur'an serves this purpose, individually and in the context it occurs. Maudoodi develops a new concept of *Nazm*—system and sequence within the Qur'an. Earlier *mufasssereen* have tried to elaborate on the relationship between different *surahs* of the Qur'an. Some have studied *Nazm* within every *surah*. Maudoodi has attempted to study the *Nazm* of the whole of the Qur'an and of each *surah*, and the relationship between different *surahs* and between verses within the *surah* in the light of the overall objectives of the Qur'an and has shown how they are woven into one fabric; the apparent diversity being permeated with a purposive unity. To him, the style and methodology of the Qur'an are not secondary to its purpose but are its essential instruments.

These four propositions go to make up the framework in which Maudoodi has tried to study the Qur'an. In his *Muqaddimah*, he has discussed the principles of interpretation he has followed and presents a treatise on the key concepts of the Qur'an: *Ilah*, *Rabb*, *Ibadah*

\* Paper presented to the XXIX International Congress of the Orientalists held in Paris (16th-22nd July, 1973) on 19th July, 1973.

1. See: "Sayyarah Digest", Lahore, Special Issue on the Qur'an, Vol. II. (1970).

2. M. Aslam, *An Annotated Bibliography of the Works of Maulana Abul A'la Maudoodi*. Dissertation, Dept. of Literary Science, University of Karachi (Mimeo).



and *al-Deen*. Every *surah* has been prefaced by an introduction giving the subject matter of the *surah*, its relevance to the overall scheme of the Qur'an, its historical setting and a summary of the questions and issues discussed in it.

He has offered a contemporary translation of the Qur'an which is neither literal nor liberal. It is an interpretative translation in direct, forceful and modern Urdu which seeks to provide an ordinary reader with an almost direct access to the Qur'an.

Another distinctive aspect of this translation is the use of paragraphs. In the text of the Qur'an there are no paragraphs. The division of the Qur'an into *Manzil*, *Juzi* and *Ruku* is only for the convenience of recitation. Introduction of paragraphing in translation is a major innovation in Urdu, perhaps in any language of the world by a Muslim scholar.

The translation is followed by explanatory notes elaborating the meaning of the Qur'an, giving historical and other information wherever necessary, pin-pointing the relevance of a verse to the message and spirit of the Qur'an and the demands of the Islamic movement, explaining the *hikmah* (rationale) behind different injunctions and their import for our own times. Through these notes Maudoodi has tried to develop a new '*Ilm-al-Kalam*' based upon the Qur'an and utilizing the developments of modern knowledge, principles of historical criticism, comparative religion and ideologies.

While dealing with the *ahkam* (laws) he has avoided sectarian controversies. Although he generally follows the Hanafi school, in his explanatory notes he has usually stated the viewpoint of all major schools of Islamic thought, including that of the *Shiah*. This helps a reader to appreciate how a certain verse has been explained or approached by different schools. This also identifies the area of flexibility within the domain of law.

Another distinct feature of the *Tafheem al-Qur'an* is its index. Running into over four hundred pages it is, perhaps, the most elaborate and exhaustive concordance of the Qur'an. It deals with the concepts, themes, personalities and events in the Qur'an and is an extremely useful aid to any researcher on the Qur'an.

*Tafheem al-Qur'an* is a major contribution to Tafseer literature. It is difficult to measure it with the yardsticks of modernism or traditionalism. It may, more correctly, be described as contemporary and universal. Its emphasis is on movement, activism and dynamism, without taking liberty with the Word of God or equating the concepts of the Qur'an with the thought content of the ideologies of the day. It is permeated with reasonable respect for the tradition in thought and practice without completely identifying the Qur'an with the thought-patterns or instituted structures produced by Muslims during the course of history. It is a plea for purposive change and tries to develop the faculty to discriminate between the essential and the incidental; between the Divine and as such permanent, and the human and as such changeable.

*Tafheem al-Qur'an* is, itself, a human effort and is subject to all the prospects and weaknesses of human efforts to understand and explain the Divine. It has its own contemporary flavour and this constitutes its merit as well as its limitation. No human effort is or can be final, but there are some efforts that may have more lasting relevance. *Tafheem al-Qur'an* seems to be such a work.

## Nota Bene

'SCRIBE'

One important hurdle in the way of normalisation of relations in the Subcontinent is that of the 93,000 Pakistani military and civilian prisoners of war held by India in deference to the Bangladesh desire to hold war trials of about 200 PoWs. The Geneva Conventions obligate the parties in a war to release the prisoners immediately after the cessation of hostilities. India, a signatory to the Conventions says she has no desire to hold the PoWs but her hands are tied. The PoWs, she claims, had surrendered to a joint Indo-Bangladesh command and she has no option but to honour her solemn agreement with Bangladesh. A joint command is a joint command and Geneva Conventions cannot derogate her moral obligations to Bangladesh.

A less known residual issue of the joint command business is that of the military equipment captured by the "joint command" in East Pakistan and transported soon after to India. At the time of surrender, East Pakistan had four divisions and the military hardware left behind included a considerable amount of small arms, field guns, tanks, communication and transport equipment. It took the Bangladesh government eleven months after independence to realise that it too had a share in the booty. A delegation was sent to New Delhi in November 1972 only to be lectured about the virtues of an integrated defence with India. Bangladesh was also told how much it had cost India to liberate her and if they really needed some arms, was it not fair to pay for them?

Mrs. Gandhi's Kissinger, P. N. Haskar, was there to save the talks from an open breakdown. While the talks remain postponed *sine die*, Bangladesh has been given some arms and ware to equip one brigade. No more does one hear the familiar argument that this military hardware was, in fact, paid for from out of the foreign exchange earned from East Pakistan tea and jute. Sheikh Mujib wants to turn Bangladesh into an Asian Switzerland and as for the tea and jute earnings, these now fetch more Indian rupees than foreign exchange. The joint command remains a reality no less.

After the failure of the last June's attempted coup by the Iraqi intelligence chief, Col. Kazzar, Iraq's kind of Baath regime has decided to forge unity with the Kurd, the Arab Nationalists and the Communists. When there is a crisis nothing is more eminently desirable than unity—more so when it is more a sharing of responsibility than power. The gains and concessions made by the Iraqi Communist Party in this alliance of popular and revolutionary forces, make an interesting balance-sheet.

The party founded in 1934 has now achieved legality for the first time. In 1963, the Baathists had killed about 3,000 Communist Party members. During the past five years too they killed at least 35 prominent Communists in Iraq; not to mention the hundreds of others tortured and imprisoned. Although nobody in Iraq could guarantee that an anti-communist pogrom would not be repeated, yet the price paid to gain legal respectability should not be considered too high. A less tangible gain was to get the ruling Baath party to climb down from its claim of a "leading" to a "distinguished" role in the polity. In return the

Communist Party agreed that it would be treasonable for any party other than the Baath to work in the police and the armed forces.

There appear, however, two very notable gains for which the Communists, their fans and their promoters can pat themselves on their backs. The Baath, curiously though, wanted to promise a return to a fully democratic order after a fixed period of two years, but the Communist Party made them modify it to "as soon as possible". Which of the two is less a \$64,000 Question. Gain No. 2: To moderate the National Front Charter so as to eliminate references to the liquidation of Israel as a state.

Israeli injustice to Arabs and her denial to them of equal rights—according to her own laws—is something which can be appreciated easily. But both justice and injustice are indivisible. Before one is unjust to "others" he is unjust to himself and to his own society. The recent trouble surrounding the Russian Jewish immigrants well illustrates the point.

Following a bitter debate about the pains and inequities in their absorption into the Israeli society, the national conference of the Soviet Immigrants Association broke in pandemonium. This was despite Mrs. Golda Meir's pleadings not to "speak of them and us". Such a division, she said, would "only delight Brezhnev". And what would the Jews in the Soviet Union think when they came to hear of this?

Israeli officials say the problem lay in the Russians' inability to adjust to western labour techniques. Besides, they don't always have qualified persons to fill the jobs they aspire for. Mrs. Meir pleaded with the immigrants to go to the new developed towns and make "this blessed aliyah" also a valuable contribution like the Jews who come from the Muslim countries; "but for them Beer-sheba could not be what it is today, and there could be no Dimona either". The Russian Jews, however, know that the 'Jews from Muslim countries' are Israeli underdogs and they do not want to join this sub-class. Before the conference broke up, it also heard the news of the death of one of the delegates, Alexander Droos. He was director of a puppet theatre in the Soviet Union and he had been unable to set-up the show in Israel. Puppetry in Israel is a state industry.

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## Media Trends

## From mass to individual conditioning

Zia Sardar

Talking of defending the freedom of the press from the assault of the Nixon administration, Prof. Morris Forkosch, of the Brooklyn Law School, once said that the issue will be decided by "the information media, by how it fights back".

It?

Not just the common folk, but also the educated and the learned, talk of the media in this singular fashion: "the media is to blame", "the media carries only bad news", and occasionally "the freedom of the media is to be jealously guarded". "Media", of course, is plural of "Medium"; hence the media *are*. This may seem a bit pedantic, even ostentatious but how people speak suggests a great deal about how they think and feel. Language shapes philosophy, culture and destiny.

The singularization of the word "media" arises from the fear of the press, television, radio and various other segments which go to make the "media". The media is looked upon as a "necessary evil"; something which is standardizing the mankind, producing one "mass culture". Despite Marshall McLuhan's all-out effort to diversify and to differentiate between the various "media" (catchphrase: "The medium is the message"), print and electronic journalism have evolved a single identity in the minds of the masses and the intellectuals alike. Television, in particular, is criticized for standardising speech, habits and tastes. A similar charge is leveled against magazines and motion pictures.

While there may be some truth in these allegations, the counter trends bring into focus a somewhat different picture: in almost all segments of the media one can detect a decreasing reliance on large audience; everywhere the "market segmentation" process has come into operation.

Television, with its high cost of production and a limited number of channels, is still very much dependent upon "mass audience". But experiments have commenced on "community television" and it does not seem improbable that local television stations will mushroom in the next decade or so. Radio shows even more stronger signs of diversification: some American waves carry nothing but news or pop music or classical music or rock music. Rock stations are fast subdividing into much finer categories: some aim their radio waves at the under-eighteen market, others at middle-aged hippies, still others solely at negroes. Attempts have also started to establish radio stations purely for the professionals: doctors, lawyers, engineers, for example. One can easily predict that soon their will be market segmentation not only along occupational lines but also along socio-economic and psycho-social lines as well.

In the motion picture scene, "the day of the 4000-seater Trocadero . . . are over. The old-style mass cinema audience of regular-once-a-weekers has gone for good". Now small audience turn up for their own particular kind of film. The mainstream films are supplemented with foreign movies, art films, and a whole genre of specialised motion pictures for motorcyclists, surfers, drug addicts and the like. All this is compounded by a new low-cost 16 mm projection system developed for the mini-movie market. These require no projectionist and only one projector instead of the traditional two. United Artists will soon be marketing these "cineautomats" on a franchise basis. Meanwhile handy cameras and new videotape equipment are revolutionizing the fundamentals of cinema. The camera and the film has reached the hands of the amateur and the student and the underground movie—gaudy, fanciful, perverse, individual and localized—has begun to flourish.

In print journalism, this market segmentation is very strong. Some mass market publications survived the onslaught of the Television by printing slightly different editions for different regions—some publishers offering as many as hundred variations of one issue of their magazine. The men of medical profession who receive *Time* magazine each week get a somewhat different magazine than that received by the teachers which in turn differs from that sent to the students—Individual readers are addressed in their individual terminology. These so-called "demographic editions" are growing increasingly refined and specialized. In brief, mass magazines are increasingly being destandardized and diversified.

Furthermore, advances in offset printing and xerography have radically lowered the cost of publishing to the point when, as McLuhan puts it, every man can now be his own publisher.

One can say that the day is not far when newspapers and magazines will be offered to the consumer on design-it-yourself basis. Someone has already suggested a system which will store consumer's interest profile in a computer and then match this profile against the material which presents itself by scanning various periodicals, newspapers and magazines and instantaneously notify him when something appears of his interests. The Japanese recently demonstrated a low cost "Tele-news" system for printing newspapers in the home. This type of mass communication, "demassifies" the media—no two view-readers of a newspaper get the same contents. After a peak in mass conditioning we now move toward individual heterogeneity.

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## A letter from inside Dacca prison

"Respected Prime Minister.

The under-trial prisoners and convicts confined in the Dacca Central Jail beg to represent hereunder some of their basic grievances and legitimate demands for your kind consideration and prompt action:

1. The age-old practice of sending under-trial prisoners and convicts (to outside hospitals) for the treatment of complicated ailments for which no facilities existed in the prison hospital, has recently been discontinued under a purported Government order.
2. Recreation facilities, even indoor games and morning and evening strolls have been completely stopped. The rigours of solitary confinement are thus further aggravated.
3. Weekly visits for Division prisoners have been abruptly stopped. The prisoners' interviews with their lawyers and even special interviews previously permitted by the Home Ministry have since been discontinued. The family visits are too brief to serve any purpose.
4. The food is insufficient in quantity, poor in quality and in general unfit for human consumption. The malnutrition is producing diseases like chronic dysentery, jaundice, and various other serious ailments. It is urged that (at least) on human grounds, consistent with civilised practice and for the maintenance of health, the quantity and quality of the food should at least be as stated recently by the Home Minister in the J. S.
5. The prison hospital not only lacks essential medical facilities and qualified doctors, in fact it does not stock many of the medicines prescribed. The rules of sanitation and medical care are honoured more in breach than in observance. The hospital should have qualified doctors, modern equipment and sufficient stocks of drugs and medicines.
6. The under-trial prisoners should be provided with clothing, running water, sanitation and washing and recreation facilities.
7. Prisoners should be allowed to subscribe to the daily newspapers and periodicals of their choice.
8. The premature death of late Mr. Fazlul Quader Chowdhury in a solitary cell, without any medical attendance in a state of abject helplessness has caused deep anxiety and alarm. Adequate compensation should be paid to the family of the late Fazlul Quader Chowdhury and others who have died in captivity. Subsistence allowance should be given to such prisoners who have no source of income. All the black laws including Collaborators Order (Presidents' Orders No. 8, 9, & 50) and Press & Publications Ordinance should be repealed forthwith and all persons detained under the said laws should be released.

It is therefore, requested that you will be pleased to fulfil the above legitimate demands within 15 days hereof\* failing which the prisoners will have no option but to go on hunger strike for an indefinite period and the Government will be responsible for the consequences thereof." (Impact Report)

\* Later modified to 15 days after the return of Sheikh Mujib, from the Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference in Ottawa.

The Bihari story has ceased to be a sensation . . . no longer suitable material for the world press. The Bihari problem is however, very much alive and festering. This report by 'Operation Omega' volunteers in Rangpur and Bogra brings to light some features of life in Bihari camps.

## Life with the Biharis

In June, the best news at Bogra was the setting up of Prithee Primary School. The opening of the school was delayed a little from its projected starting date of 2 July as a gentleman claiming to represent the Bangladesh Red Cross looked up the premises, and claimed that the building belonged to them. The staff and volunteers, however, re-occupied the school without incident on their own initiative.

Six families were evicted by the police; their house was allocated to a retired inspector of police, and one evening the families were asked to quit by five o'clock. However, thumping the Deputy Commissioner's desk got an extension of two months.

A plastic building was blown down in just one of those storms and rains that are part of the lead-up to the monsoon. Omega has started re-building, or rather replacing the plastic houses, all of which are as vulnerable as the one that came down; they will take three months to replace. Bamboo mat reinforced with pitch will replace the plastic.

Land was negotiated for an agricultural project. The landlord agreed to take 10% of produce on the land (apparently it is normal in Bangladesh for landlords to take up to 50%, so this was encouraging) but unfortunately not on paper. When the time came for a meeting with Omega and the landlords, only 15 out of 54 land-lords turned up. There was doubt whether people would work on allotments on a voluntary basis. This sort of discouraging response suggests how far our concepts of self-help and encouragement of initiatives from the people based on volunteering, have really advanced in a year. This project is in abeyance and may well be dropped unless real enthusiasm comes from people who it would seem fairly obvious would benefit by it.

Preparations for Family Planning and Adult Education went ahead.

Two co-operatives were planned: a hair-oil factory, and one to make *Zardah* which is an ingredient for 'pan'—betel-nuts plus tobacco-incense and gum wrapped in leaves which Bengalis are fond of chewing. Another, a fisheries project, suffered from unavailability of fish.

Smallpox finished at the end of May. Our record here was good, as only 25 out of 109 cases were fatal. The average mortality is about a third, so we were well below average. The success has been attributed to fast vaccination, so that the third wave of pox was far less severe than the preceding.

The Feeding Centre was closed in the last week of June because of growing corruption, need for repairs, lack of checking the children at the gate, and because of severe flooding. We hope to reopen when the floods are over and the system reorganised.

□ □ □  
With the onset of the floods, sanitation and

housing have been the major preoccupation in Rangpur. Twentyfour latrines were constructed on an emergency basis with assistance from our excellent Bengalis volunteers from Khulna. Unfortunately, these latrines collapsed in the flooding.

There was a large drain-clearing programme including a programme to organise a system of main drains. These drains were not dug despite our repeated warnings, and when the rains came their tents and dwellings were flooded and the people came and demanded that we dig drains for them. The one encouraging exception to this was the Muslimpara sector, which shows some of the spirit that one despairs of in other areas.

We repaired tubewells, and issued water-sterilising tablets. Cement, essential for securing the bases of the tubewells so that the used water doesn't run back down the pipe and contaminate the springs below, was unavailable, and we were unable to get the 20 bags we needed. This failure was reflected in a sharp increase in cases of diarrhoea and vomiting. We had three or four patients a night on saline.

There are now about forty babies on the Intensive Care Unit programme, and the room is getting overcrowded. Mangoes and pineapple have been added to the previous diet of eggs and bananas and babyfood. There was a near-riot when we experimented with some new high-protein food which the mothers were convinced was pork-based, but the matter was satisfactorily clarified.

The Scabies Centre is bringing in about 75 a day. The figure is down from what it was because we ceased to hand out soap after we discovered it was passing straight to the market.

There are now three schools running, one of them (Dalda) in the open air. ICRC is going to build a structure for the school. Dalda has about 250 pupils of whom 50 are Bengali. Most of the teachers are Bengali; their only remuneration is wheat from BDR. It is proposed to build a better structure for the Ispahani School as well. Here there are 240 children, and these and their teachers are all Bihari. Muslimpara school runs two shifts, morning and afternoon. Teachers and children are all Bihari.

For two months now we have planned to build a lot of houses to rehouse those in tents which are highly inadequate in monsoon conditions. Unfortunately, although we have the funding for this programme, it is being held up by continued lack of response from the authorities, who must first allocate the land for this purpose.

Land has been found for a school for Alamnagar provided it can operate as a madarsa (religious school) in the mornings. ICRC will pay for the building of this.



## Books

### Empire and Administration

**The Administration of the Mughul Empire** by I. H. Qureshi *University of Karachi*, 340 pages, £2.25

This book could be seen as a companion volume to the author's earlier work "The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi". The highly complex organisation of the Mughul Empire—including central, provincial and local government administration, has been skilfully synthesized and systematized, and interpreted in the light of modern theories of management.

Most of the material for the book has been drawn directly from original sources and these are mostly Persian, the highly technical jargon of which being avoided. This makes the work more lucid and adds to its merit not only as a work of history but also of the science of management and public administration. While reviewing the literature on the subject, the author has rightly pointed out that the voluminous descriptions left by a number of European travellers are of little use as source material, "even though their importance has been exaggerated by European writers". Some of the reasons given for not setting too much store by these travellers' tales are: "In the first place, most of them shared the common human weakness of magnifying the dangers which they faced while travelling in strange lands. Then they had poor access to records or news. They relied mainly upon bazaar gossip which might or might not contain some little core of hard truth. They were complete strangers to the great spirit of religious tolerance that they found in the Mughul Empire, because in their own lands at that time it was unthinkable that a true believer could also be tolerant to other faiths."

Professor Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi, Minister of Education in Pakistan's early years and later Vice-Chancellor, University of Karachi has shown here that a hierarchical bureaucratic structure of administration, is in no way a modern development, as this existed and operated even in the Mughal period. This is at odds with the views of Max Weber who talks of bureaucracy in our age as being characterized by precision, continuity, discipline, strictness and reliability and as being an essentially modern development on which the social order has become overwhelmingly dependent. Weber has neglected to examine the inefficiencies of modern administration.

The Mughul emperors have been known to understand the abuses of bureaucracy.

They developed, as the author explains, a system of checks and balances to overcome such abuses. For example, in the field of fiscal administration, the position of *Ishraf-i-divan* was held by a *wazir* who was assisted by three officers responsible for land revenues, disbursement of salaries and general audit respectively. Although the activities of these officers were co-ordinated by the *wazir*, the officers were directly responsible to the Emperor. Likewise, in the general administration, the *wakil* occupied the highest rank and was very close to the Emperor. But although for example the *wazir* dealing with fiscal matters would report to the *wakil*, yet the former had a direct responsibility to the Emperor. Similarly, in the time of Akbar, when officers failed to maintain the numerical strength of their contingents and drew the salaries allotted to a prescribed number of troops, the Emperor became conscious of the malpractices and took steps to eradicate them.

A central and important aspect of Mughul rule which is underlined in this book is the positive impact of continuity in bureaucracy which contributed to a rather stable social order in the sub-continent even at the advent of changes in the dynasties. This is well put by the author when he says: "The frequent changes in dynasties were mere ripples on the surface under which the stream of life flowed steadily. Even when the sultanate was overwhelmed by centrifugal forces and broke into fragments, the administrative institution were not changed, only the quality of administration was affected."

The continuity has been maintained not only in institutions of British but also of present day India and Pakistan. The usefulness of many of these institutions are interpreted in such a way as to make them immediately relevant to modern Muslim states where the absence of a strong and positive administrative structure adversely affects the social order.

In this respect, Prof. Qureshi's study has a great practical utility for it shows, albeit only in the nature of guide lines, how the social order and societal integrity can be protected from the upheavals of political changes which unfortunately occur quite frequently in Muslim countries. If it has this effect, it would have shown how the Muslim past could be linked with its future in all its effectiveness and efficiency, and in all its modesty and modernity compared with the so-called 'modern' developments in public administration.

Ajmal Ahmad

### Jihad Study

**Landmarks of Jihad** by Lt. Col. M. M. Qureshi, *Ashraf*, Lahore, xvi + 368 pages, Rs03

This is an interesting study of some

twenty battles which the Muslims had to fight, from the time of the blessed Prophet (Uhud) to that of Muhammad the Conqueror (Constantinople, 1453). Written by a military man, there is much new light and new interpretation of facts from a strategic and tactical point of view. The book furthers the much neglected history of Muslim military science.

There is a bibliography, but no references are given to various statements, and this detracts somewhat from the prestige of the work. For instance, it is reported that once the blessed Prophet threw a handful of earth and many enemies were hurt in their eyes; but to affirm that "a sand storm started blowing" (p. 3) requires documentary evidence: deduction would be wishful. The other defect is that practically everything is based on reading and not on any personal study of the battle sites. There are maps, but apparently borrowed from others, not prepared by the author.

There are several books that have recently appeared on the battles of the Prophet, by a Pakistan general as well as by an Iraqi general; alas these are ridiculous, since the authors have never cared to visit the sites and never took the pain of applying what they have read to the factual evidence which the various sites provide. I refer to the battle of Uhud, which has been studied by the above-mentioned generals as well as by the author of the book under review. On Manzikert (Malazgird) there is much recent material. In fact the Turkish government celebrated its 900th anniversary on a grand scale, and many Turkish military men have made an on the spot study of the subject. Of course the literature referred to is in Turkish. The battle of Balat ash-Shuhada of Poitiers-Tours has also many studies in French, but this still remains an enigma. Muslim classical historians have given no more than two to three lines to the "incident". Significantly, the French Minister of Culture (under De Gaulle), said this battle saved Europe from falling into the hands of the "barbarian people with their barbarian religion".

Qualified persons intending to write on Muslim battles should preferably make an intensive and not extensive study taking for instance one single battle, tackling all its problems and exhausting all the material that exists. (Incidentally, the author refers to Dr. Hamidullah's book in Urdu on the battlefields of the Prophet, but he seems not to have noted its English edition published over a decade ago in Woking. The revised 2nd edition of the book has recently been published in India).

Nevertheless, Col. Qureshi's book is a precious addition to the meagre literature that exists on Muslim military science. We hope the author continues his useful activity.

A. M. Nuruddin

## Briefing

**The Sociology of the Future: Theory, Cases and Annotated Bibliography**, edited by Wendell Bell and James Meu, *Russell Sage Foundation*, New York. \$12.50.

Wendall Bell and James Meu have attempted to produce a collection of essays which has something for everyone: an alleged scientific theory and research strategy for the study of the images of the future; a 'Paradigm for the Analysis of Time Perspective and Images of the Future'; amalgams of nuance and rhetoric directed towards straw man; some ideas on futuristic thinking; and a manifesto for the 'sociologist of the future.'

Bell and Meu have built a whole complex structure on one assumption which seems to be the belief that "it is the good that is absolute and the truth that is relative". With this assumption and the realization that histories are multiple, the authors proceed to argue that images of the future are necessarily involved in social action, and that sociologists should lend their efforts to investigating, articulating and even making up these images. After elucidating this theory, Bell and Meu, as well as others in this volume, proceed to put forward a theory of social change as a cybernetic and decision-making process in which images and values linked to the past, present and the future are realized. And although all of these beliefs and images are modified by the influence of the many dimensions of socio-cultural process the emphasis is placed on the content of the images. The more pleasant and numerous the alternative futures that can be thought up, goes the theory, the greater the chance that a happy and desired future will ensue.

As soon as Bell and Meu suggest practical application of their theory they run into difficulties. Their "Directive for the Scientific Study of the Future" reveals not only the shallowness of their enterprise but also the complete unscientific nature of the whole game. As an example, their "directive of value relevance" suggests that "to increase study's relevance for the future the study should be orientated towards some basic values within society." As "good is absolute" whose good are we to opt for? Nixon's, Brezhnev's, Mao's, Qaddafi's, Sadat's, the 'silent majority's', the 'vocal minority's', yours or mine? There is an additional flaw in Bell's and Meu's outlook of the future. What if these images of the future, these simple "expectations about things to come at some future time" are but wishful thinking and quests for utopian city in which all social arrangements are imagined to be harmonious, devoid of treachery and deception and with no division between mine and thine? Furthermore, if sociologists are to paint a picture of this future who is to say that they are expressions of highminded mystics or the pronouncement of omniscient great men? If "It is the good that is absolute and truth that is relative" no one can say whether the images are truth or falsehood. Considering the flimsy but fatal weaknesses inherent in the Bell's and Meu's theory of futurology, one can only hope that sociologist of the future will find a conceptually more sound basis for studying the future.

**Hussein**, by Peter Snow, *Barrie and Jenkins*. £3.50.

As biography of a ruler in a tumultuous land, the book unfolds the intricacies of the past fifty years of the Middle East and the survival of Hussein, since he became King at the age of 16 in 1952. What has carried him along through all these years? It is not simply his courage. He is endowed with a flair of statesmanship; enjoys unshakable loyalty of the East Bank tribesmen; he knows his land and people perhaps far better than anyone else. He is constantly on the move meeting people, townsmen, bedouins and armed forces. But neither of these factors explain all about a country which never has had a geographical entity. The outside support—Britain, US, USSR—has always played an important part in its

history. The author has also given a vivid description of the Palestinian guerrilla Movement in Jordan and its head-on clash with Hussein's Government in September 1970, resulting in its virtual inactivation. The Black September movement took its name from this month. Hussein regards Israel as a subsisting power that has to be dealt with without bringing any disaster to himself or his country. The only departure from this policy was 1967 and this proved disastrous. Peter Snow sums up the whole situation in these words: "If Hussein's courage is universally admired, his politics are not." That needed a separate study.

**The Best and the Brightest**, by David Halberstam, *Barrie & Jenkins*. £4.50.

Halberstam, who won the Pulitzer Prize for his reports on Viet Nam from 1962 to 1964, sets out to describe how the Viet Nam war started and escalated. His scope is extraordinarily wide and details unusually graphic. First he sorts out the chronology and then proceeds to place the terrible decisions in their proper order and expose the main characters and the part they played. The best and the brightest of the title are the men President Kennedy brought into the US government with expectations that they will bring new directions to the government. Their celebrated virtues, however, led not to new horizons in administration but to the Viet Nam catastrophe.

**The Hero's Children**, by Paul Neuburg. *Constable*. £5.00 (Paper: £2.00).

"The Hero is the Communist Party and its children are the new generation, born and bred under Communist rule, freely moulded, shaped and indoctrinated. What sort of people are they?"

● **Al-Sahih**, collection of *ahadith* by Imam Ismail Bukhari, with a preface by the Soviet Mufti Ziyutdin Ishan Babakhavov, to be published next year by the Soviet Board of Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan to mark the 1200th anniversary of Imam Bukhari's birth.

**Some Aspects of the Unique Personality of Prophet Mohammed** by S. M. Jamil, translated into Japanese by Osamu Ikeda; **What is Islam?** (in Korean) by Abu Bakr Johngsoon Kim; **Islamic Concept of Life** by M. Hamidullah, translated into Korean by Mu Chang Kim, published by the *Holy Qur'an Society of Pakistan, Karachi*.

**Pakistan—Peace and War** by S. A. Khaliq. *Regency Press*. £3.00.)

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## Letters

**The Day Numeiry Resigned**

Re. "The Day Numeiry Resigned" (*Impact* 13-26 July 1973), the following corrections need to be made. The last sentence attributed to the first speaker, "The Communists and the leftists are ready and they are awaiting for a chance and are very crafty and intelligent", should read "The Rightists and the Reactionaries are ready and they are waiting for a chance and are very crafty and intelligent." He also continued, "Anybody could lead the men in the street and the May Revolution will disappear overnight". Also not printed is what Mrs. Bakhita Amin (Feminist Movement) said: "The Regime has lost the sympathy of the housewives. Every man in the street is against the May Revolution today".

I feel this should be recorded since this led to recent legislation to protect the Revolution, for example (a) Policemen can now get into houses, and search people without warrant. (b) The State can imprison anybody suspected of anti-revolutionary movement, or any anti-revolutionary activity.

London, N.

"ONE WHO KNOWS"

**Mu'ammarr!**

With reference to Dr. A. L. Tibawi's letter (*Impact* 3:5), T. B. Irving is a university professor of Arabic and would know the difference between 'mu'ammir' (builder) and 'mu'ammarr' (built) just as well as the rest of us. Presumably, Prof. Irving took the latter as a popular mispronunciation of the word 'mu'ammir'.

However, the first name of President Qaddafi, 'mu'ammarr' cannot mean 'built' but only 'one blessed with old age'. The latter meaning is found in the Qur'an too (Surah Baqarah, verse 96), though the implication there is that the Jews' lust for life is directed toward base ends.

Albuquerque,  
N. Mexico.

IFTIKHAR ALI ABBASI

**Libyan Islamic Congress**

I did enjoy the issue of *Impact* with the assessment of the International Islamic Youth Conference held in Tripoli. I only hope that all the young people who met there can keep together somewhat in the future and accomplish something as a group now that they know one another.

Tennesse, U.S.A.

T. B. IRVING

**Muslim by Birth?**

During a conference organised recently by the Young Women's Muslim Organisation of Liverpool, there was a discussion between two sisters—one who was an English convert and the other a Muslim by birth—on whether one who is born in a Muslim family should necessarily be a Muslim, in much the same way as a Brahmin born in a Brahmin family is automatically a Brahmin. I tried to explain that Islam is a complete code of life and is not something which can be inherited. While this leaves the door open to a non-Muslim to become a Muslim, it also makes it possible for a person, although born in a Muslim family but not having faith in Islam and not ready to follow its principles, to become a non muslim.

It is, I think, very essential then that one understands Islamic principles and have faith in them whether one is born a Muslim or not.

Liverpool 17, U.K. (Miss) SHAHEENA USMAN

**The Mosque as a symbol of Unity**

Naaserudin Kaiser

Monumentation may be regarded as a weakness of mankind. We reproduce because we wish to leave our traces behind us, to tell the next generation that we flourished here before them. If Islam is regarded as parent, the mosque can be considered as its reproduction embodying its ideology.

Here the question arises whether it is necessary to use traditional domes and minarets. Perhaps it is not. From a mystic viewpoint, however, it has been said that the minaret represents the letter Alif which stands for One and symbolises unity. The combination of minaret and dome depicts Alif and Meem, the first letters of the words Allah and Muhammad respectively. Taken further, the minaret could be said to represent the index finger testifying to the Oneness of God.

In practice, the main function of the minaret has been to serve as a platform from which the believers are called to prayers, an automatic time switch reminding them of their duties on earth—five times a day. As for the dome, it is part of the essential acoustics of the mosque, serving as a source of reverberation and magnification of the voice. It also helps in the circulation of air. The mihrab has provided a focal point for the direction of the Qiblah and also acts as a proscenium to reflect the voice of the Imam. The mimbar was to some extent established to remind the devotees that although everyone is equal in the eyes of Allah, the Imam is there to give assistance if needed. More obviously it provides an elevated platform from which the Imam can be seen and heard.

One may ask: is it worth spending so much on domes and minarets just to emphasise the fact that a building is a mosque? After all, basilicas, churches, and deserted temples have often served as mosques. A mosque, however, designed close to its original form, can give devotees a sense of pride or possession and identification. A mosque built in familiar style acts as a nucleus and is a source of inspiration. From a financial point of view, the difference in cost is insignificant and, in my own experience, the community tends to donate more willingly to a mosque built specifically for the purpose.

In Britain, the mosque has a crucial role in the growing Muslim community but there are some difficulties. As against a living building, a mosque here tends to become a place of convenience. We will find very few people attending the prayers everyday. However, on occasion there are many who will criticise the handling of the mosque. Criticism is often constructive but the destructive part are allegations that there has been mishandling of the mosque.

Although we tend to deny it, the fact is that we have a system which resembles very closely that of the Aryans. We have developed a 'priest-class' which is beyond criticism. There are administrators who have no time to consult the community because they are doing the work as a favour and are therefore not answerable to anyone. Once the community elects a President, he stays on whether people want him or not. Once the 'priest' is employed he forgets that his prime function is to guide the devotees, advocate Islam to non-Muslims and generally keep away from any activity which could divide the congregation.

I feel that there is an acute sense of insecurity among some so-called guardians of Islam. They are even scared to have a dialogue with people who in fact may be talking about the same thing but are on a different wave-length, so to speak. Unfortunately, I find these happenings too often and in too many places. There is a case in the

Midlands where a mosque will not function until a wall is altered according to the whims and fancies of one individual. There was another case also in the Midlands where the planning authorities had given an ultimatum to bulldoze the work stopped three years ago. This was because the trustees would not sit at the same table. There is another sad case where the devotees do not wish to offer their prayers with some individual. As I see it the primary function of a mosque in a Muslim community is to unite people and act as a place of worship five times a day, function as a cultural centre for promoting Islamic interests and cater for the needs of the young and upcoming generation.

The cost of building these days is in the region of £20 per square foot. We therefore cannot afford to lose or misuse our limited resources. The Birmingham mosque, which I have now completely revised, in its original form catered for a 50 foot high and a 50 foot diameter dome. This represented a five storey block of offices approximately 50 feet square remaining vacant till eternity. Furthermore, it required large boilers, proper illuminations and so on which are extremely expensive to maintain.

In my view, the mosque should be designed in such a way as to cater for all the facilities mentioned above and should be run in a streamlined and professional manner. I would very strongly advocate that a central body be established of experts who would give their technical expertise to the community. Fund-raising and building projects should be based on rigorous research into the needs of the community so as to avoid a situation such as obtains in one city where there are 16 mosques and perhaps fewer regular mosquegoers.

Ideally, the mosque has the most important role to play religiously, socially, culturally and morally. With few exceptions, this is hardly being done today. There are people with good intentions who are trying to do their best individually. However, the proper functioning of the mosque must be regarded as a responsibility of the community as a whole.

Naaserudin Kaiser designed the recently opened Manchester Mosque, School and Cultural Centre.

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Pakistan PoWs and Us

“Time new to pause and reflect on our performance”

from Zafar Bangash

The plight of the 93,000 Pakistani Pow's held in illegal detention by India is matched only by the stony silence of a mute and dub world community. Its mouthpiece, the 'liberal' press refuses to take up the case of these 93,000 human souls tormented by the callousness and cupidity of power-hungry statemen. Over 1500 children born behind barbed wires, 50 soldiers and 120 civilians killed in cold-blood or by disease and starvation, and 19 months of forced separation from their families with no immediate prospects of release—none of these attract more than a few lines in the world press. Nor has the British House of Commons found an hour's time to debate the issue. A motion calling for the release of the Pakistani Pows could attract a mere 66 signatures—about a tenth of the total membership of the House!

Now is the time to pause and reflect on our own performance regarding this issue. There has been a lot of self-congratulatory talk about a 'fantastic' campaign in Britain and elsewhere and we have allowed ourselves the illusion that now we have an edge over India. But if we review the situation critically we find that: a number of demonstrations and protest marches have been organised in the past eighteen months but they were sporadic and have not been followed with any consistency; a vigorous campaign was launched to write to all members of Parliament but in our popular folly letters were sent to only a few MPs; various bodies have held numerous meetings to discuss this issue but these meetings were attended by the same people, so we have been preaching to the converted; no serious or determined effort has been made either by our government or community to explain our point of view to the British press; and a number of organisations have been set up to work towards the same end but no degree of cooperation has been achieved between them.

One does not have to explain how important demonstrations are in projecting one's point of view. A case in point is the campaign mounted by Jews in this country (and elsewhere) against the Soviet Russia.

Indian musicians and dancers regularly perform in Britain; we should hold peaceful demonstrations against them wherever they go. We must also protest regularly outside the Indian High Commission and expose their government's hypocrisy. There are enough of us to mount an effective campaign for any cause, however small or great: the illegal detention of the POWS is close to our hearts yet we have not made any impression on the public opinion. What little success we achieved has been undermined by India who has sent a representative to Britain to give 'facts' to the MPs who supported the motion mentioned above.

Furthermore, Pakistan government has consistently weakened our own position by publicly stating that they cannot get the POWS back without recognising Bangladesh — (self) a blackmail unheard of in world history and specifically forbidden by International Law.

A common complaint among the Pakistani community members is that the British Press does not publish their points of view. While there is weight in this statement, by not writing to the press regularly they also do a gross injustice to their cause. They should all write to them consistently and should the press continue the blackout, the community leaders could seek interviews with editors and discuss their complaint with them. If need be the community could consider even boycotting a particularly biased newspaper, but this presupposes unity and cooperation within the community.

However, it seems there are as many organisations as there are individuals concerned about the detention of the POWS. One cannot doubt anybody's sincerity but what wisdom is there in isolated action? Even if it is not acceptable to have all organisations under one umbrella, there could be a central body to coordinate and disseminate information to and within the various groups. It would save duplication of work and encourage emergence of new ideas.

Finally, the Embassy in London and the government in Islamabad need also be informed that the community will not tolerate anymore pussyfooting in this issue. The inability (or unwillingness) of the Pakistan government to present and advocate the case before the world opinion clearly and consistently is deplorable and we should not hesitate to say so.

Mr. Zafar Bangash is Secretary of "Students' Committee for Pakistan POWS".

Two-fold increase in Immigrants seeking UK Citizenship

Impact Report

According to the Home Office, the number of Commonwealth immigrants applying for British citizenship last year doubled to a total of 40,801. This year the figure is expected to be even greater as thousands of Pakistanis—who will become aliens with the enactment of the Pakistan Bill—are also expected to apply for British citizenship. This increase in applications is thought to be the consequence of 1971 Immigration Act which reduced the new Commonwealth immigrants to the legal status of aliens. In some cases applicants have to wait as long as four months before their applications can be processed.

A Commonwealth citizen is eligible to apply for citizenship after he has resided in Britain for five years. He requires the support of two existing citizens and has to advertise his attention in the local papers. An alien is also required to make a pledge of allegiance in court.

The Community Relations Council has published a booklet intended to help immigrants find their way through the complexities of the citizenship legislation. Rev. Alfred Jowett, joint deputy chairman of the Council and Dean of Manchester, said that the booklet is a result of the countless queries community relation officers have received all over the country since the Pakistan Bill was introduced. (*Citizenship of the United Kingdom and Colonies: What Registration Means To You, Community Relations Commission, 15/16 Bedford Street, London WC2. Price 50p*). Pakistan embassy in London and various local Pakistani groups also offer advice on the new bill.

Overseas Doctors may have to sit exams

If the proposals made by the British Medical Council are adopted, foreign doctors would not be allowed to practice in Britain unless they pass an examination. The written and clinical examination will also test their command of English as well as their power of communication. Under the present arrangement doctors from Canada, Australia, India and other Commonwealth countries have the right to go on the British Medical Register. The proposals would mean that they will lose this privilege. (*Impact news*).

Rally and Demonstration for PoWs and "collaborators"

Pakistan Solidarity Front in collaboration with Students Committee for the Pakistan POWS and POW'S Voice, organised a rally and demonstration on Sunday 12 August, to protest against the continued illegal detention of Pakistani POW's by India. (*Impact news*).

“Campaign of Terror” against Arabs in France

Arab students and community in France are being subjected to a 'campaign of terror' and provocation' according to "Voice of Palestine", Algeria. Arab communities are often searched and more arab workers threatened with deportation. "These actions by the French authorities against arab citizens reflect a blatant spirit of hostility towards the Arabs masses and indicate that the authorities are carrying out a Zionist plan against Arab citizens and those who support the Palestinians' cause". (*Impact news*).

Turkish Worker's Children in Europe

After returning from a tour to study the problems of Turkish workers abroad, Ali Naili Erdem, Turkish Minister of Labour, said that the problem of about 100,000 children of these workers constitutes "an unspeakable painful issue". These children do not have the means and facilities for education. The great majority are not attending schools. "It is therefore necessary for our government to find urgent remedies for the situation". (*Impact news*).

Annual Conferences

U.K. Islamic Mission Tenth Annual Conference will be held at Stamford Hall, Stoughton Drive South, Oadby, Leicester on 25-27 August. "Problem and Prospects of Islamic Dawah" is the theme of the Conference further details of which can be obtained from UKIM, 148 Liverpool Road, London N1 1LA (01-607 7971).

Union of Muslim Organisation Third Annual Conference will be held at the Islamic Cultural Centre, 146 Park Road, London NW8 on 1-2 Septebmer. "Relevance of Islam in Britain Today" is the theme of the Conference further details of which can be obtained from the General Secretary, 30 Baker Street, London W1M 2DS. (01-229 0538).

In the News

Asif Jilani, new editor Jang International London. G. M. Khan, elected Gen. Secretary Pakistan Welfare Association, Balham. Haji M. Majib and M. Ashraf new President and Secretary, respectively, of Pakistan Muslim Welfare Association, Walsall. Sufi Jan Mohammed elected president of Muslim Conference Jammu and Kashmir, Bradford. Dr. M. S. Khan and M. Khwaja elected President and Secretary, respectively, of Pakistan Muslim Association, Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Liberation League UK: President, Syed Sabir Husain Shah; Gen. Secretary, Raja M. Elyas.

PAKISTAN FLOOD RELIEF FUND

A Pakistan Flood Relief Fund has been opened and donations by cheque, postal order, cash or bank draft may be made at any of the branches of the following Banks in the United Kingdom: **Habib Bank Ltd., Muslim Commercial Bank, National Bank of Pakistan, Standard Bank Ltd., United Bank Ltd.** All cheques, etc., should be made payable to "Pakistan Flood Relief Fund".



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

**AFGHANISTAN.** All sergeants promoted by one rank and all military officers (except generals) awarded one year's seniority in service. ● In order to avoid heavy expenditure, Afghanistan independence day celebrations are to be marked by a public holiday only.

**ALGERIA.** Restrictions on the transfer of funds by the French citizens lifted up to 90% of their bank deposit.

**ARAB AFFAIRS.** Arab finance and economy experts met in Cairo to discuss the world monetary situation and ways of protecting Arab interests. ● UAA President, Shaykh Nahyan, said his country would support if a decision was taken to use oil as a political weapon.

**AUSTRALIA.** Singapore Home Affairs Minister accused Australia of having racist migration policy by allowing plane loads of European working class people but Asians only with professional or semi-professional skills—the people developing Asian countries so badly need. ● An Australian Army Cadets Officers group attending Indonesian Armed Forces Academy to be given a deeper understanding of Indonesia.

**BANGLADESH.** Ghana daily, *The Pioneer*, urged Nigeria to recognise Bangladesh. ● 2,450,000 tons of food-grains to be acquired to meet shortage in the current year. ● Hungary to supply bridge components and third-class railway carriages worth £1,264,000.

**EGYPT.** The memoirs of Gen. Muhammad Nequib, first President after the overthrow of King Farouk, and now freed after armed detention after 17 years, began appearing in the Beirut weekly, *Al Hawadith*. ● At the opening of the central pumping station of the Aswan High Dam, The Deputy Chairman of the Soviet Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, have criticised Egyptian deficiencies in the operation of the dam saying the work was not "fast enough" and that "new equipment was being operated by persons who do not have sufficient expertise and knowledge".

**INDIA.** On the Indian Soviet Friendship Treaty anniversary, the "Indian Express" said normalization of relations between India and China is a course India must pursue diligently "irrespective of Moscow's reaction". ● Lok Sabha told that since very senior diplomats already head the missions in Delhi and Peking, it was not necessary to send an ambassador to China. ● Defence Minister said the development of IBM'S in China is likely to threaten the security environment of Asian countries and that China might fire a missile over the sub-continent into the Indian Ocean. ● The Defence Minister admitted shooting in the case of three mass insubordinations and fifteen escape attempts by Pakistani PoWs. ● USSR to put a geo-stationary meteorological satellite in orbit to help weather predictions.

**IRAQ.** Russia's CPSU Central Committee congratulated Aziz Muham-

mad and all members of the Iraqi Communist Party and the Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party for establishing the national front. It commended the friendship between the CPSU and the Iraqi Communist Party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. ● The British School of Archaeology, operating since 1932, to be closed by Iraqis.

**ISLAMIC SECRETARIAT.** The Permanent Finance Committee will meet on 27 August to consider the Secretariat's budget for 1974-75. ● Finance Ministers of the Islamic States to meet in Jeddah in October to discuss launching of a \$1,000m. Islamic Development Bank.

**ISRAEL.** Plans being prepared to populate Golan Heights with about 50,000 people. ● Israeli ambassadors in Africa to meet in Jerusalem at the end of August or early September. ● Retiring Israeli defence attache in London disclosed Israel spending large sums of money to buy arms from Britain.

**KENYA.** The Provincial Commission in Nyanza province criticised "those Churches who refuse to plant tobacco as a cash crop".

**LIBYA.** The first conference of Libyans who study abroad, "supervised" by Maj. Bashir Hawadi, resolved, inter alia, that the Third International Theory is a living example which must be copied by all people. ● President Qaddafi denounced Communists and Muslim Brotherhood and said he would pay for people "to go deep into Africa to preach about God: not to Christians but to pagans". He said parties may be allowed after 100 years but not now. "We now see people coming from abroad—Pakistan, India and America to teach us Islam and Muslim Brotherhood... I also want you to influence a few Beatles". He asked them to follow the example of Gandhi who "turned from a fun-loving to an earnest youth". And, "You have in the Prophet of God, a good example". ● *Al-Balagh* opposed resumption of relations between Egypt and Jordan because this might provide excuses to King Hussein to liquidate the Palestinian resistance. ● Over 2,000 Popular Committees formed in Libya. ● Thompson organisation awarded £8m. contract to set up a short-wave transmitter in Tripoli.

**MALAYSIA.** Major reshuffling of Cabinet following death of deputy PM, Tun Dr. Ismail, who is succeeded by Dato Hussein Onn former Min. of Education. A full-fledged Defence Minister appointed for the first time. The Ministry of Home Affairs and Information went to Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie who was widely tipped for the post of deputy PM. Tan Siew Sin, one of the most senior men in the Cabinet, remains Minister of Finance. ● More units of Peoples Volunteer Corps in border areas (Perak, Perlis, Kedah and Kelantan) being supplied with firearms for combating subversion, terrorism, crime and smuggling. ● "Voice of Malayan Revolution"

serialized 'Communist Manifesto' from 10 July to 9 August. ● Television to be introduced in Sarawak by the end of 1974.

**MOROCCO.** Holiday villas owned by Britons to be taken over by the Government in speeded-up Moroccanization programme.

**NIGERIA.** A meeting of Muslim organisations in Nigeria held in Kaduna decided to establish a central organisation known as the Nigerian Supreme Council of Islamic Affairs with Sir Abu Bakar, Sultan of Sokoto as President-General.

**PAKISTAN.** Leader of the Opposition, Wali Khan, said that Bhutto as the new PM was the only person who could restore democratic traditions and establish the rule of law. ● Mrs. Gandhi congratulating Mr. Bhutto hoped for vigorous and responsible parliamentary systems of government functioning in the sub-continent. ● J.I. Secy-Gen. Rahmat Elahi said the Jamaat was not working towards gaining political power without a simultaneous improvement in the social structure. JI has been able to reach the educated members of the society and he hoped they would now carry its message to the masses. ● State of emergency proclaimed in December 1971 extended indefinitely thus partially curtailing Fundamental rights under the new constitution which came into force on August 15.

**SAUDI ARABIA** Gold, silver-copper and zinc ores reported discovered in Al-Nuqrah region of Nejd. ● An Arab Bibliographical Congress to be held in Riyadh in November. ● Saudi riyal upvalued by 5.078%: from 0.197482 to 0.307510 gm of gold.

**SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS.** Chai Shu-fan, leader of Chinese trade delegation to USSR and Deputy Minister of Trade, signed a trade agreement with the USSR. ● The Soviet Communist Party leader, Mr. Brezhnev, said that Soviet Union had not made any progress towards normalization of its relations with China because of China's persistent anti-Soviet position and because Maoism was alien to Leninism. ● Tashkent radio broadcasts in Uighur for Sinkiang has denounced the domestic policy of the Peking leadership for their rule through terror, "the tortures inflicted on the peoples of Eastern Turkestan and the explosion of the nuclear bomb in the Takia Makan desert".

**SOMALIA.** Under a new law, manufacturing of Alcoholic drinks except by Johar Sugar factory banned. Johar will only export and/or sell to tourist department. Any government servant who drinks so much that it affects his work will be dismissed.

**SOUTH AFRICA.** President Fouché said the time had come for adjustments such as had been made between the Afrikaan and English-speaking, to be made in relation to whites and non-whites. ● Johannesburg radio welcomed Mr. Heath's strong and consistent stand at the Commonwealth conference against

those who sought isolation of S. Africa. The major powers, it said, regard S. Africa as an important partner and link in world security.

**SUDAN.** Pres. Numeiry referring to the criticism that the armed forces consume and do not produce said they were not supposed to produce. They "consume" the life of our individuals, and sacrifice, protect and attack. He said it was a mischievous communist campaign. ● Supreme military court sentenced Brig. Abdur Rahman Shannan to three years imprisonment for "conspiring to terrorise the government". ● A Sudan-Rumanian oil company to be set up to prospect oil in the Red Sea.

**TURKEY.** Gen. Muhsin Batur, last of four generals who staged March 1971 coup, to be retired as part of 363 retirements, appointments and promotions allegedly designed to "purge the armed forces of senior officers with interventionist tendencies" in the political process. Gen. Emil Alpkaya is to replace Batur as Chief of the Air Force. ● The government Anatolia Agency carried statements of Ahmet Karac on the occasion of Captive Nations' Week at Kars which called on Turks to save without delay the Turks of the Crimea, the Urals, Northern Caucasus, Turkmenistan and Azerbaijan for the oppression of communist imperialism. Moscow radio has dismissed the statements of Karac, the Gen. Sec. of the Azerbaijan Cultural Society in Turkey, as an attempt "to make his co-religionists believe that he is an eminent pan-Turkist".

**UNITED KINGDOM.** The total number of foreigners granted citizenship of the UK in 1972 was 6,278 who came from more than 80 countries. The number from the Commonwealth and colonies granted citizenship totalled 33,667 with the most being Pakistanis (10,616), Indians (6,292) and Jamaicans (3,184). Other statistics show that more people left the UK than arrived in 1972. ● One Englishman, Mohan Hartung Singh, who became a Sikh fined for wearing a turban instead of a crash helmet while riding motor cycle. Another Sikh, Minder Singh, also fined for not wearing a crash helmet but he was not wearing a turban.

**UGANDA.** Gen. Amin wrote to Col. Qaddafi, "clarifying the truth" about the cable he sent to Dayan and said he had no intention of restoring diplomatic relations with Israel. ● The Muslim Supreme Council to conduct a survey of all "sheikhs" in Uganda with a view to sending them to those parts where there are none.

**VATICAN.** New rules to be issued to allow church burials for divorced people "who have maintained an attachment for the church and have given some signs of repentance." The existing code denies Catholic burial for divorced and remarried people who were considered "public and manifest sinners".

**YEMEN, SOUTH.** Death sentence passed on seven persons for belonging to a secret "national unity organisation".