

MUSLIM VIEWPOINT(S) ON CURRENT AFFAIRS

impact

international fortnightly

APPROACHES TO ISLAMIC UNITY

Libya-Egypt Union ■ Subcontinental De-
tente ■ Sudan Revolt ■ Suharto System ■
World Churches ■ Tourist Waldheim ■
Chinese Communist Congress ■ Patani
Stalemate ■ Arab-Bashing in France ■
A Supplication to the Prophet ■ Tea and
Sympathy from Mrs. Gandhi

Books New Spectrum News Brief

LONDON, 14 — 27 SEPTEMBER 1973

Vol 3: 8

THE JOYS OF HUNGER

M. H. Faruqi

Dignity of the human person stands on its own and neither increases with riches nor gets devalued in suffering and deprivation. What is central is the depth and quality of man's relationship with his Creator. This in turn determines the quality of relationship between man and man

He was an "immigrant" and had arrived there barely a year and a half ago. The task he faced was complex and gigantic: to reconstruct an entire social order. The resources at his command were meagre. The economy was "under-developed", and strained by a continual arrival of refugees. He faced both external threats and internal intrigues. In fact there was a price on his head.

In a situation like this one needs more support and more popularity. At least one does not take a decision which may be potentially unpopular. It is not politic to ask the "haves", the influential and the well-fed to forsake food and pleasure. The "haves" like to add, to preserve and to perpetuate the compound of their acquisitions. When you have, and you possess, you do not easily see the logic of a voluntary deprivation. However, one may coerce or cajole the "haves" to make a "sacrifice", but you do not tell the already-hungry to abstain from food and pleasure. The "have-nots" or the hungry would like to acquire what they do not have, perhaps even revolt and wrest. So theirs is no case for imposing a voluntary hunger—even though only for one month in a year. Yet this was it!

Precisely 1391 years ago Muhammad (peace be upon him) informed his

followers, both rich and poor, that from then on God wanted them to go without food, drink and sex between dawn and sunset each year during the month of Ramadan. The too young, the too old and the insane were exempt. The travellers and the sick were permitted to defer. Pregnant women and feeding mothers were allowed not to fast, and those in period asked to fast later.

One thing is very clear. None except the one who is true and genuine in his claim to Divine messengership could dare take or announce a directive which carried the risk of being unpopular. Leaders of men, if and when they take a difficult decision also want to take credit for a certain originality or modernity in their initiative. But the Prophet was no originator or innovator; he was a communicator. He recited the *Wahy* revealed to him: "Fasting is prescribed . . . as it was . . . for those before you."¹ In Ramadan because it "is the month in which was sent down the Quran as a guide to mankind, a clear criterion (between right and wrong). So every one of you who finds this month should fast (therein)".²

But why fast at all?

There is enough medical literature to support the view that fasting does a great deal of good to human physiology. But neither the Quran nor

the Prophet advance this as a reason. If "health" was to be the reason then perhaps the same benefits could be derived through less painful means. On the other hand the Prophet said God does not want a person to fast and forsake food and drink if he does not give up lying and falsehood.³ He described fasting as a shield. Therefore, "one must neither do anything bad nor behave insensibly (whether through crass ignorance or vicious obscurantism). If a person quarrels or abuses then tell him: "I am fasting."⁴

The reason given by the Qur'an is very simple. "So that you may (acquire) *taqwa*."⁵ In English *taqwa* is insufficiently translated as piety, as fear of God or as self-restraint. I think it may be better understood as a self-correcting faculty within the human person. It is there to warn you even before you have actually gone off the course and help you come back if you happened to have strayed. Of course, only if you so want. *Taqwa* is auxiliary and facultative. That is why the Qur'an says: "So that you may . . ." In Islam's scheme of human autonomy and answerability there is nothing automatic: neither good nor evil; neither reward nor condemnation. *Rahmah*—grace and mercy—is there but one also has to strive and then desire.

... The Joys of Hunger ...

In its very nature a Divine Commandment is also an act of grace. What He asks us to do or not to do is meant not to inconvenience but to help, to protect or to facilitate. Fasting too is grace-full.

"Although there is a wage for every act of man, fasting is especially for Me. I will reward him (especially)." Worship in Islam is an act of both personal fulfilment and social obligation and is designed to prepare man for both. Formally, there is *Salat*: praying five times a day; *Zakat* is an obligation to contribute annually about 2½% of one's savings for the needy and in the way of God; Hajj is pilgrimage to Mecca for those who have the means; and *Sawm* is fasting during the month of Ramadan. So what is especial about fasting?

Salat helps one keep a check on his bearings and right his orientation during the course of the day's hectic routine. It is an experience in which the fulfillment is more easily received or perceived. There is social discipline and a formal equality when big and small, black and white, and rich and poor, all bow their heads in obedience and in unison before the same One Master. By paying *Zakat* one seeks purification of his wealth, but in mundane terms he is also participating in a system designed to ensure social justice to all, including himself. There can, however, be no equality in *Zakat*: neither in paying nor in receiving. Hajj is travelling, togetherness, and a potent manifestation of human brotherhood and the oneness of mankind. Yet it may not be in everybody's situation to experience Hajj. Besides, all these acts of worship—*Salat*, *Zakat* and Hajj—concern areas relatively more familiar to man's metaphysical behaviour. Even otherwise people reflect about their relationship with their Creator or their place in the environment, they travel and they spend on what they regard as a worthy cause. However, very few, if any, go hungry except on medical or agitational grounds.

Being hungry and abstaining from pleasure is no pleasure in itself save when it is for the sake of God. *Sawm*, the Qur'anic word for fasting means to refrain and no one refrains from things which are normal, natural and permissible otherwise. *Sawm* in this sense is exclusively for God and especially rewardable.

There is another aspect wherein *Sawm* differs from other forms of worship. One may pretend praying but not really pray. He may pay *Zakat* and travel to Mecca just for the honour of being regarded as a philanthropist and/or a haji. But how can you suffer hunger as a show off? On the contrary what might show is an emaciated and

unflattering look. The commitment to fast pre-supposes (and strengthens) a true belief in God as a real Being; not someone just "out there" or "in here". Fasting helps to crystallise and heighten one's closeness to one's Creator, Provider and Sustainer. But this closeness has no likening to the ascetic experience. The denial here is not an end in itself. The same food and the same pleasure become permissible and desirable as soon as the sun goes below the horizon. It involves a precision and acuteness of control, and it enables every one, whether man or woman, black or white, young or old, not only to experience closeness to God but to apply it to his or her own good and the good of mankind. This nearness is neither mystical nor transcendental; neither is it a matter of vision or imagination. It is real and can be felt.

One also learns and trains to discern and to discriminate. All the problems that we face arise from an improper usage and misapplication of things and faculties. The environment, the poverty the oppression, and the social disequilibrium we talk of, all arise from such a mis-application. You need to go on developing technology but you don't want to pollute. You want to grow food and kill pests but not to poison land or water resources. You need to provide growth incentives for both individuals and society but you do not want them to become over-acquisitive, smother economic growth in other areas and produce permanent under-development. You also don't feel happy to let a group of people socialise all the means and factors of production and power; act as a coercive and monopolistic managing agency; and give you not what you need and deserve but what they think you need and deserve. You want a political system in which you share and participate; which ensures both freedom and security; and which suppresses and watches only the anti-socials and spies but does not coerce you, or cheat you, or peep and pry into your bedroom. You want social democracy and not Watergate; you want proletarian socialism and not social totalitarianism in the name of the proletariat. You want freedom for people to enjoy their love life but you don't want to pay ever increasing social and economic costs on curbing criminal abortion, on facilitating legalised abortion and birth control, on venereal diseases, on divorces and divorce litigations, on providing welfare for unmarried mothers and deserted fathers, on broken homes, on delinquency, on children abandoned by parents, on parents abandoned by children, and on irresponsible poli-

ticians who flirt with un-security-cleared call girls . . .

Obviously it is possible neither to ban technology, nor agriculture nor the use of environment. You cannot abolish either growth incentives or the state powers to implement and protect. Sex too cannot be outlawed. What you are left with is the capability to use and apply and not misuse or misapply. The dividing line between use and misuse is finer than hair and it makes all the difference. The discipline in fasting is designed to give to man not only that fine and critical control but also the practise and confidence to use it.

Sawm is also different from an imposed and involuntary hunger. An involuntary hunger tends to produce anger rather than any noble concern about other fellow humans in a similar situation. Unlike the other three forms of worship, in *Sawm* there is a singular equality of experience. Whatever may be one's situation the experience of voluntary hunger and intensive disciplining produces a unique homogenisation of feelings and attitudes, and demolishes all barriers of ego and inequality. Hunger and suffering thus cease to be a necessary derogative of man's dignity. Derogation and indignity apply to the system and not the individual who is either made to suffer or has chosen to suffer. Dignity of the human person stands on its own and neither increases with riches nor gets devalued in suffering and deprivation. What is central is the depth and quality of man's relationship with his Creator. This in turn determines the quality of relationship between man and man. Fasting is meant to enable man to be close to his Master and prepare him to take the challenges and responsibilities that face him beyond the cocoon of his ego.

Hardly a fortnight after the Revelation whereby they were asked to fast, an ill-equipped and emaciated force of 317 was able to defeat an army three-times larger. The invading Meccans who had hoped to liquidate the tiny and nascent state of Medina instead met discomfiture. This was at Badr, on 17 Ramadan, in the second year of Hijra.

Badr was a turning point in human history, but, there is no greater joy and no greater conquest than in being able to discover and conquer one's own self. Other joys and other victories only follow.

1 & 5 The Quran, Baqarah, 2:183

2 *Ibid* 2:185

3, 4 & 6 Sahih Bakhari, Abu Hurayrah

Survey • LIBYA & EGYPT • SUBCONTINENTAL DETENTE

Libya & Egypt: Unity not merger

President Qaddafi of Libya has shown some flexibility in his approach to the Libya-Egypt merger by agreeing to a gradual, phased-out unity instead of the immediate and comprehensive act of union which he wanted to have established on 1 September by a referendum in both States.

Since the decision to merge was made in principle about a year ago, there has always been serious doubts about whether it would in fact take place. There have been constant reports of coolness on both the Libyan and Egyptian sides for different reasons. The desire for unity however was constantly mouthed and was expressed in dramatic terms, as for example with the Libyan march on Cairo with a petition written in blood to Sadat. This was considered more or less as a Libyan ultimatum. A few days before the deadline of 1 September, Qaddafi characteristically turned up unannounced in Cairo only to discover later that Sadat was paying visits to Faisal of Saudi Arabia and Asad of Syria (two of those whom he has repeatedly denounced).

However, doubts that a merger of any form would take place at all were squashed on 29 August when a statement by the "unified Egyptian-Libyan political command" proclaimed the emergence "under difficult and complicated circumstances" of a new unitary state. It saw the new state as "a living expression of the solidity of the Arab nation", "as an extremely important step on the way to economic integration" of the Arab nation, and an "important strategic depth of the line of confrontation with the Zionist enemy".

According to the statement, the unified political command consisting of the President of Egypt and the Chairman of the Revolution Command Council in Libya would be responsible for the establishment of the State and would exercise jurisdiction until the building of the state is completed. A Constituent Assembly is to be formed with fifty members each from Egypt and Libya. The function of the Assembly is to draft a constitution and to nominate a "President of the Republic" subject to approval by referendum. After this the Assembly would dissolve. No date has been set for the referendum. All this would seem to underline how little substantial progress has been made.

Other measures which were to have come into effect on 1 September include the creation of an economic free zone on either side of the border, the creation of a new currency—the dinar, and the exchange of resident ministers between Cairo and Tripoli.

The statement was certainly right in saying that the new state (if such it can be called at this stage) stood "in need of the efforts of all those who believe in unity in the Arab homeland to buttress it... and to guarantee its success... on the road to comprehensive unity". If this is eventually brought about the new creation would be Africa's biggest State by area and would certainly have immense potential.

Subcontinental Detente

The representatives of India and Pakistan meeting in New Delhi from 18-28 August

announced agreement on a simultaneous repatriation of all Pakistani prisoners of war and civilian internees, all Bengalis in Pakistan and all Pakistanis in Bangladesh. "On the question of the non-Bengalis who are stated to have 'opted for repatriation to Pakistan'... Pakistan guided by considerations of humanity" agreed "initially to receive a substantial number of such non-Bengalees from Bangladesh." The onus to draw up a time schedule for the completion of the repatriations is on India. Which she will work out "in consultation with Bangladesh and Pakistan as the case may be." The logistic arrangements within the respective territories will be made by the governments concerned.

Two problems remain unsolved: The Biharis and the War Trials. The number of Biharis Mr. Bhutto has agreed to take is between 80,000 and 160,000. The exact figures are not disclosed for the fear of parochial reaction these may arouse in his home province of Sind.

However, "it was further agreed that the Prime Ministers of Bangladesh and Pakistan or their designated representatives will... meet to decide what additional number of persons who may wish to migrate to Pakistan may be permitted to do so." But "Bangladesh has made it clear that it will participate in such a meeting only on the basis of sovereign equality" which meant a prior recognition. The import of the stipulation here is funny. Pakistan could refuse to recognise as well as to take any more Biharis. The recognition lever lies, however, in the clause relating to 195 PoW's whose repatriation is to remain in abeyance "without prejudice to the respective position of the parties concerned... Bangladesh (has agreed) that no trials of the 195 prisoners of war shall take place during the entire period of repatriation and that pending the settlement... these prisoners shall remain in India. On completion of repatriation(s)... Bangladesh, India and Pakistan will discuss and settle the question of 195 prisoners of war." Bangladesh again "made it clear that it can participate in such a meeting only on the basis of sovereign equality."

As far as Mr. Bhutto is concerned he is no falterer on recognition; he in fact is a great sympathiser of her creation. He also has a mandate from his National Assembly to recognise Bangladesh. As always the question has been when and how. The present agreement settles the question neither of Bangladesh recognition nor the war trials. Also closely interlinked and equally vexatious is the question of assets and liabilities and claims and counter claims between the two. Under the terms of the agreement the normalisation lever remains in the hands of India. There can be no trial without recognition and it is not easy for Mr. Bhutto to recognise without having the 195 prisoners back. Mr Bhutto can report progress when he visits President Nixon on 17 September but Russia has already started to pressure Pakistan about her intentions at the coming U.N. General Assembly session.

The agreement in any case is welcome for the simple humanitarian reason. More than half a million victims of this brutal, senseless and diabolical politics will be able to return to their homes and join their families. One thing is rather inexplicable. The agreement is

impact international fortnightly

Muslim viewpoints on current affairs

Ordinary Post/U.K. & Overseas £3.75 \$10.50
 Airmail: Far East £6.00 \$17.00
 Other Countries £5.25 \$15.00

Six months rate £2.00
 Single Copy (By Post)
 Ordinary Post: UK and abroad 16p
 Airmail: Zone 1, 25p; Zone 2, 22p
 Please enter my subscription for

1 year Six months (Students and new subscribers only)
 New Subscription Renewal

Name.....
 Address..... (block capitals)

 (Post Code)
 Field of work/study.....
 Commencing..... (Issue No./Date)

Cheque/Draft/P.O./M.O. for £stg..... enclosed.
Please make remittance in net amount and payable to
News & Media Ltd.,
33 Stroud Green Rd, London N4 3EF
Phone: 01-263 1417
Grams: Newsmedia, London N4

Impact North American Office

Dr. A. S. Patel is now acting as Honorary Representative for Impact in the North American region. American Dollar account subscribers may now make remittance at the address given below. All payments, as usually, crossed in favour of *News & Media Ltd.* New subscribers wishing to get their first copy immediately as well as those renewing after the expiry of their existing subscription and fearing discontinuation, may advise the London office simultaneously. Change of address advice would continue to be received by the London office.

Dr. A. S. Patel
833 W. Buena 2202
Chicago, Ill. 606 3
U.S.A.

INLAND AND ORDINARY POST RATES

Due to increase in postal rates, *Impact* annual subscription for U.K., Europe and ordinary post overseas is now £3.75 (previously £3.50) and £2 for half-year. This involves no charge in the basic rate as well as air-mail rates. All existing subscriptions will be adjusted to expire one or two issues earlier than previously due.

Subscription Manager

Survey

• SUDAN • INDONESIA • WORLD CHURCHES

virtually on the same lines as that contained in the Indo-Bangladesh proposals of 17 April. The only change since has been in Pakistan's decision not to try 203 Bengalis and a further killing of Pakistani PoWs in Indian camps.

Numayri—Now the revolt of the young

While Numayri was out touring the West and North Africa, exchanging cordialities and denouncing Communism as an out-moded last century theory, back home the powerful Students Union at the University of Khartoum was getting restive at the serious curtailment of the meagre fundamental rights conceded in the country's first constitution in 18 years. Numayri promulgated a State Security Law to "protect the revolution" when he discovered that despite a refurbishing of his cabinet designed to bring about a "real administrative revolution" the bid to soothe the political opposition through release from detention of Sadiq el-Mahdi of the Ummah and Hasan Torabi of the Islamic Charter Front, and an aid-seeking tour of Britain, and Romania, he has been able to make no headway either with public opinion or the country's economy. On the contrary the assembly of women, workers, youths and all the "popular revolutionary forces" towards the latter half of May told him point blank that the country was not in a position to bear the price rises announced by him; that the "reactionary and anti-revolutionary forces were prowling in the streets to devour them; and that they were in no position to face them. Numayri resigned but agreed to "amend" his decision at the request of "popular organisations." The problem remained.

Last month's open debate at the Students Union came up with the view that the Security Law was unconstitutional; one speaker even said the Constitution itself was illegal. The government tried to ignore the issue and declined the student invitation to send Abul Gassim Ebrahim (a former R.C. member and now Politburo member of Sudanese Socialist Union) to present their viewpoint at the open forum. Instead they asked the V.C. to ban the debate, which he refused.

However, rather than try to understand the situation, the regime sought first to browbeat and then crush the students. Police violence and propaganda against the students in the official press only produced an escalation in which first the secondary school students and later the political masses, trade unions (particularly the very strong railway union, lawyers, teachers and other intellectuals have come out with a demand to the regime to make way for a civilian, democratic (backed by an Islamic outlook), and an all party national government so as to help restore the nation's social, economic and political health.

Vice-President Maj.-Gen. Baqir's statement declaring emergency and describing the situation as a conspiracy having a "large dimension" and wide-spread in nature; and accusing the Muslim Brothers, the Ansars and other political and Communist remnants (which is virtually the whole of the Sudan) reflected on true dimension of the revolt. Numayri's hurried return from Algiers confirms it. Despite repeated calls the regime has so far failed to rally support of its own "popular revolutionary forces".

Whether Numayri is able to contain the present upsurge depends now on the mood and morale of the army. For the present Khartoum is held by the South Sudanese former Anyanya men

although the Southerners are no more unwavering in their support to Numayri. Whether the Sudanese will be able to stage another "democratic revolution" is one question and whether they would be "allowed" to, is another. Or perhaps the same question?

Suharto—preparing for the system

It is clear from his report to the recent session of the Indonesian Parliament—a body which does not meet frequently and which only has consultative powers—that Suharto is placing great emphasis on the last year of his first-five year development programme, the *Repelita*.

There are obviously fears for the success of the programme. The food crisis and the unsettled monetary situation were the most important features of the economic situation. Shortage of rice, the Indonesian staple food, and the soaring price of the commodity have even caused Indonesia to order 50,000 tons of rice from China, leading some observers to talk of rice diplomacy being used by China in order to bring about its recognition by Indonesia.

Suharto has staked a lot on achieving economic and also political stability (which he has practically done by neutralizing political parties and promoting the Golkar or the Functional Group). Possibly because things have not been going right in this regard, the Nixon administration in June had the Agency for International Development give priority to Indonesia in its programme for "Indochina Postwar Reconstruction". The largest beneficiary of American Aid in Asia is now Indonesia where development loans and grants exceeding \$100m. a year have been dispensed in the past two years. These are to continue.

In his concern for development, Suharto is aiming at bringing about fundamental changes in several aspects of Indonesian life. He said: "It is really harmful to our nation-building and the coming generation if we cannot achieve our goals just because we cannot change our habits and taste." He was speaking in particular of the need to eat less rice and diversify diet "to improve our protein intake". But his call for change applies to other sectors as well.

A tremendous amount of emphasis, for example, has been placed on population control and family planning. In this campaign there have been reports of coercive measures being adopted to secure the desired ends. It is reported for example that many villagers are pressurized into accepting intrauterine devices (IUD's). An Indonesian was reported to have said about the procedure adopted: "Trucks with loudspeakers called everyone to the village centre to hear a lecture. With military personnel heavily in attendance, the women were led by midwives into a mobile hospital room where IUD's were inserted without prior examination".

Suharto in his report has claimed that the government has broken down the religious and other objections of the people to accepting the necessity of family planning. He said: While a few years ago the people refused to accept family planning because of their traditional way of life, religious faith or other reasons, now their thinking has been converted in favour of the success of the realization of this very important programme. . . . If we do not control the population explosion, it will cancel out the achievements of our development which we have attained with much difficulty."

Suharto also stressed the need for basic and

radical changes in the educational system. Again these changes are to be made with the economic development objectives in mind. We need a system, he said, which can prepare Indonesians to carry out development. It is easy to see how much we lack the know-how, expertise and attitude required for the current development period.

World Churches — towards the biblical sense of wholeness

The World Council of Churches celebrated its twenty five years of existence with the meeting of the central committee in Geneva at the end of last month. The Council represents 266 autonomous units and this in itself underlines both the strength and weakness of the body. From the beginning there were signs of growing tensions between churches of different denominations and different regions of the world: between the older churches of the West and those of the Third World; between what may be called revolutionary trends of some Council policies and the conservative attitude of the Orthodox churches; and particularly in relations with the Roman Catholic Church which has recently reasserted that it is the "one true Church of Christ".

The World Council of Churches, particularly under the direction of its West Indian Secretary-General, Dr. Philip Potter, has emphasized that outwardly at least it is no longer "white, wealthy and western". It has steered away from some of the centuries' old questions relating to the formulation of doctrine and have attempted to take up the challenge of racism and oppression, of poverty and violence. This is reflected in the very controversial decision to aid liberation movements in Africa which some churchmen are violently opposed to on the grounds that the Church by so doing is having "dealings with diabolos", and allowing its policies to be dictated by the mood of the world. These policies have allegedly created a white "conservative" backlash which is serving to perpetuate the cleavages not only in the Church but in the world.

Indeed at the beginning of the conference, Dr. Potter pointed to a division developing between churches and countries of the north and those of the south which reflected a division of mankind far more profound than the postwar one between East and West. (One may note that similar views were being voiced at the meeting of nonaligned heads of states in Algiers). Dr. Potter said: "The relations between the north and the south over the past nearly 500 years has been one of economic exploitation, political dominance, racial discrimination and cultural imposition on the part of the north, thanks to superior technology and weaponry".

Perhaps one of the most significant statements to come out of the conference was again one of Dr. Potter's when he said that "the heresy of Christian theology and living over the centuries had been that it had lost the biblical sense of wholeness". For those who blame the unfortunate rise and influence of secular thought and living on the dichotomy created by the Church between religious and the secular, between that which is God's and that which is Caesar's, Dr. Potter's assertion of the wholeness of life and of the essential unity between socio-political and religious affairs would be most welcome.

The proceedings and decisions of this session of the WCC deserve to be carefully noted.

PEOPLE

Abdulahim Aby Farah of Somalia appointed Asst. Sec.-Gen. at UN. **Dr. Ali Ahmad Atiqah** of Libya elected OAU Sec.-Gen. **President Tito**, also Nixon among 47 nominees for *Nobel Peace Prize*. **Sayyid Daud** new Governor of Farah and **Sardar Zabih Pazhwak** Governor-Gen. of

Helmand and Arghandale Valley of Afghanistan. **Admono Suryo** new Chairman Indonesian Export Promotion Institute. **William Rogers** former US Sec. of State rejoined "Gannet Newspapers", the largest group in the US. **Dr. Orville G. Bentley**, an Biochemist & Dean, Illinois College of Agriculture, appointed Chairman,

American University of Beirut. **Miss Benazir Bhutto**, daughter of P.M. Bhutto, a fresh US graduate appointed Director of Research in Pakistan Foreign Office. **King Hasan** confined to bed on 4 September due to acute fever. **Zahir Shah** formally abdicated (12 Aug.) from Kingship of Afghanistan. **Makarios** not to seek re-election

in 1978. **DIED** **Shirali Muslimov**, 168, Caucasian peasant and world's oldest person. **Mrs. Elise Otlesen-Jensen**, 87, founder and former president International Planned Parenthood Federation, daughter of a clergyman and last but one of 18 children.

Survey

Tourist Doctor Waldheim

During his tour of the Middle East, Dr. Kurt Waldheim, the United Nations' Secretary General, was given a reception in occupied Jerusalem by the Israeli Foreign Minister, Abba Eban. Dr. Waldheim returned Eban's toast by saying: "It is a great pleasure to be here in your capital."

The Israelis of course were delighted. Waldheim was quick to explain away this recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel which contradicts all UN resolutions on the status of Jerusalem—as a slip of the tongue. Like the Zionists attempts to change the status and character of Jerusalem, such slips coming from the Secretary General of the United Nations are certainly "inadmissible". Moreover, it was outrageous and inexcusable. It has seriously compromised the neutrality of the United Nations Secretary-General. Strangely enough it has not elicited any strong protest from the Arab governments, so far as is known. And indeed we find Waldheim at the end of his visit to Egypt saying: "My visit has given me the impression that the Governments concerned are fully aware of the dangers involved if no solution is found. The wish for peace has been expressed to me in firm tones."

Nothing could be more indicative of the Arab situation. A petition handed to Dr. Waldheim in Jordan by the 'Save Jerusalem Committee' might just as well have been given to the Israelis themselves!

● WALDHEIM IN M.E. ● CHINESE COMMUNIST CONGRESS

Chinese Communist Congress—"great nation" moult

From the very scanty information available, it is difficult to say in detailed form how significant was the Tenth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party held in great secrecy and suddenness from 25-29 August 1973. The only information available is the official Chinese press releases. On the whole these show that the Congress affirmed certain trends in Chinese internal and external policy (restating them with a certain chilling vigour at times). But they also point to new trends and developments.

On the home front the congress affirmed the continuing struggle between "the two lines" and the determination not to tolerate any dissent. To this end people of all nationalities in the country are to act in accordance with the political line defined by the Congress. Lin Piao the powerful army chief who was named in the Ninth Congress as the comrade-in-arms and successor of Mao was formally denounced as a "bourgeois careerist, conspirator, counter-revolutionary double dealer, renegade and traitor". This shows the range of political misdeeds extended in the denunciation of Chen Po-ta (who had main responsibility for the Cultural Revolution) as an "anti-communist Kuomintang element, Troskyite renegade, enemy agent and revisionist".

What is new on the home front was contained in the new constitution presented by Wang Hung-wen, the 36-year old commissar who has been named as third man in the leadership after Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai. There is more emphasis on the need to bring on more successors to the present leadership, particularly from among the workers, peasants, youth, women and racial

minorities. Indeed in the list of members of the presidium of the Communist Party elected and the members and alternate members of the Central Committee of the Party, there are a large number of women and some representatives from racial minorities of which there are 54 in all. Saifudin, for example, the Secretary General of the Uighur Communist Party in Sinkiang has been elected to the Presidium. The constitution does bring in a more broadly based leadership with several vice-presidents instead of the one previously. This could be seen as making for collective leadership in the event of the passing away of Mao, now more than 80.

An "objective law" has been formulated which expects rebellious and counter-revolutionary "monsters" to arise every seven or eight years. China could thus see regular new upheavals within this new concept of the inevitability—even the desirability of disorder. There is some contradiction between this and the statement of Wang encouraging people to take political initiatives even when it meant "daring to go against the tide". Indeed he criticised certain leading cadres who did not "tolerate differing views from the masses inside and outside the Party" and who resorted to "suppression if unable to persuade, and arrest if unable to suppress"—a frank admission that police methods of political control exist in China.

On the international front, the continuing anti-Soviet stand is emphasized. The Congress condemned the hegemony of the two super Powers, the US and the USSR. Its view of the present international situation is that it is "characterised by great disorder on the Earth". "Such great disorder" it said "is good a thing and not a bad thing". The Marxist dialectic is here starkly stated and again emphasises the desirability of disorder which goes to make up "the excellent situation both at home and abroad" for "furthering "Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought".

**The specialists
on
Pilgrimage**

**Flights
throughout
the year**



**Haj
TOURS
LIMITED**

- ★ Umra
- ★ Ramadhan
- ★ Haj

HAJ TOURS LTD

**75 TOTTENHAM COURT RD
LONDON W1P 95A
Tel: 01-323-4933 (4 lines)**

An unknown factor in international relations today is whether the people and governments of the Muslim world are likely to effectively come together in our era or not. At times, the trend seems to be towards disintegration and confrontations between Muslim states in their newly-found nationalisms. Yet, at other times, there are signs of integration and conciliation between states.

There are, of course, non-Muslim states and influences which have been working, secretly and openly, by all means within their power, to bring about further disintegration. Obviously, it is easier for them to control, dominate and if necessary, destroy smaller Muslim units. But these outside elements could never have achieved even limited success, if the sense of unity and common purpose had been strong enough within the Muslim world. Yet unity continues to elude Muslims, in spite of the fact that they are aware of the dangers in their present position.

They are a multiplicity of states with all the formal but often empty trappings of independence; so weak individually that they have little or no freedom of action when it comes to the hard language of international finance and industrial and technical know-how. Their very ability to defend themselves depends on a continuing flow of imported military equipment and spare parts which are usually obsolete before they have learnt to handle them and which are rarely obtained by a normal trading transaction. The price that has to be paid includes much more than convertible currency.

Even attempts at limited unity have not been particularly successful—whether in the Maghreb or the central Arab area or the RCD region. This is partly due to the fact that their foreign policy compulsions appear, at times, to be in mutual contradiction, particularly vis-a-vis the major powers. To some it is necessary to be pro-USA and anti-USSR, while to others, the reverse has been true and these different stances have been dictated, in turn by the necessities of their particular regional threat — of Zionism or the expansionist ambitions of India or a direct threat from one of the super-powers.

Matters are not helped by the fact that during the last two centuries, many Muslim regions came under the direct or indirect control of a colonial power who severed internal Muslim land communications, broke their inter-Muslim patterns of trade and diverted the cultural moorings of Muslim educated classes so that there is now a sense of intellectual and physical isolation between even neighbouring Muslim regions.

When we turn to consider the main outlines of this history, four main periods (with regard to the question of unity) are discernible which may be described as the early, classical, post-classical and modern periods. The first (early) period begins with the establishment of the Islamic city-state in Madina in 622 and continues up to about 750. By the time of the death of the Prophet in 632, virtually the whole of the Arabian peninsula was Muslim. By the end of the orthodox caliphate in 661, the Islamic state extended to what is now Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Jordan, Egypt, the greater part of Iran and sections of the Caucasus. By 711 after having absorbed modern Libya, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco, it had reached the southern tip of Spain in the west and by the next year its eastward expansion had reached the Indus delta (i.e.

Early and Pre-modern Approaches to Muslim Unity

Kemal A Faruki

within ninety years of the *hijra* to Medina). By 750 the Islamic state extended throughout virtually the whole of the Iberian peninsula of modern Spain and Portugal, the remainder of Iran, Afghanistan and Transoxania (i.e. the land beyond the Amu Darya) in central Asia and had worked northwards along the Indus valley to embrace the whole of Sind and southern Punjab.

There were signs of a disturbance in the political equilibrium of the state in the latter part of the orthodox caliphate, although the centre of gravity remained an unchallenged Madina until in 661 it was replaced politically by Damascus with rival centres emerging in Madina and Kufa. Nevertheless, the dominant characteristic of the period up to 750 was an expanding unity. The sense of unity, brotherhood and tolerance of the original Muslims was so strong that it exposed the weaknesses, bickerings and intolerance of the empires it came in contact with and, indeed, led the overwhelming majorities of the peoples in the newly-conquered regions to become Muslims themselves. The ancient world was coming to its end in the absorption of the old civilizations by the new Islamic world—Himyar, Nabatea, Palmyra, Phoenicia, the ancient Egyptian civilization, Carthage, the Sasanians, the Berbers, the Visigoths, the western parts of the Hindu world and large sections of the Roman and Byzantine empires were fused culturally into the new Muslim society and state. Along with political unity, a new moral and social ethic derived from the *shari'a* of Islam became the basis of the beliefs and lives of the peoples in this vast area in the centre of the world. A new building on a new foundation was built, even if materials from the demolished structures were sometimes utilized.

In the second (classical) period from about 750 until 1258, a contraction began to take place in the area actually under the political and physical control of the 'Abbasid caliphate based on Baghdad. In 756, Spain became a separate Umayyad Muslim state. During the next thirty years, Algeria and Morocco, followed by Tunisia in 800 had become autonomous provinces. Between 820 and 892, Iran followed suit in stages. Egypt became autonomous in 868, Sind and southern Punjab in 879 and Yaman about twenty years later.

It is important to remember, however, that allegiance was paid to the Baghdad caliph by most of these refractory governors of autonomous provinces. In any case, these were now disputes and revolts within the new Muslim community and not reversions to the pre-Islamic divisions of totally separate civilizations. This was because the whole fabric was now held together (inspite of these political and military conflicts between central and regional authorities) by a universal adherence to the *shari'a* (i.e. law) of Islam with all the essential unity in social and cultural practices that this implied besides, of course, a common intellectual tradition and a common ideological commitment. The movements of ideas and peoples across this vast area was unaffected by any changes taking place at the political, administrative or military levels.

From about 900 CE onwards, however, matters took a graver turn. A rival (Fatimid) caliphate had arisen in Cairo which was extending its power in western Asia, drawing ever-nearer to Baghdad itself and it was by no means remote and innocuous like the Spanish (Umayyad) caliphate. No sooner was this threat from Cairo removed, than from the other direction (of Iran) military elements of the Shi'i Buwayhids entered Baghdad in 945 and reduced the 'Abbasid caliph to a puppet under their absolute control for the next one hundred and ten years. The Buwayhids were replaced in 1055 by the Turkish Sunni Seljuq commanders who kept the caliph in exactly the same state of captivity for the next century and a half. In 1194 the Baghdad 'Abbasid caliph regained his independence, only to lose it forever sixty-six years later when the Mongols under Hulaku sacked Baghdad, killing one million six hundred thousand of its two million inhabitants, destroying the centuries of learning in its libraries and colleges and eliminating all trace of the 'Abbasids except for a handful of fugitives who made their way to Cairo, which under its new Mamluk rulers was able to decisively stop the Mongol holocaust in 1261 at 'Ayn Jalut in modern Palestine.

Yet even during the long, twilight centuries of the 'Abbasid caliphate from 900 to 1258, allegiance was still formally paid to it. Not only was the *khutba* at Makka recited in the caliph's name; not only did regional monarchs like *sultan* Mahmud of Ghazna tender allegiance even at the height of their powers; but even the Buwayhid and Seljuq military rulers of Baghdad paid formal allegiance to the hapless and helpless caliph. As often happens, times of great adversity produce profound thought and the last two and a half centuries of the 'Abbasid caliphate saw the flowering of classical Muslim political thought on the nature of the Islamic state. Four thinkers, in particular, deserve attention: al-Baqillani (d.1013), al-Baghdadi (d.1037), al-Mawardi (d.1058) and al-Ghazali (d.1111).

We have now reached a point of crucial importance in understanding the classical Muslim approach to unity—an approach which continues to exert its influence up to today. These classical thinkers were, obviously greatly aware of the events taking place around them, their effects on the condition of the community and of general opinion. Their thought was influenced by these factors and, at the same time, their thought influenced events and opinions.

They were concerned with preserving the unity of the Muslims and the stability of Muslim institutions and practices which

stemmed from *shari'a*, on the one hand, and with ensuring that the state itself was not threatened or plunged into chaos through a destruction of the *khilafa*, on the other hand. They seem to have come to the conclusion that the main threat was to the *khilafa*, even as a purely symbolic point of unity and order. Hence they stressed virtually unquestioning obedience on the part of the community to the caliph and yet they were, at the same time, prepared to regularize revolts by governors of provinces or military commanders so long as they paid homage to the caliph as the focus of unity. They saw this as the most feasible way to prevent a general breakdown in law and order which, past experience had shown, would prevent Muslims from even carrying out personal religious duties and obstruct judges in their task of enforcing Muslim personal law. It can be seen, therefore, that there was an anxiety to protect *shari'a*. But in their efforts to do so, they gave greater and greater emphasis to the caliph and the institution of caliphate. They regularized, in their theory, all the caliphs of Ummayyad and 'Abbasid times, regardless of the manner of their installation, utilizing the doctrine of *ijma'* for the purpose (i.e. that the community when united, would not err). But by these intensive efforts to constantly strengthen the majesty and prestige of the caliphate, as compensation for its increasing loss of actual power, they upset the original balance between *shari'a* and *khilafa* (in which *shari'a* had been clearly preeminent) until the caliph had become the guardian of the community and the supreme vicegerent of God on earth for even *shari'a* purposes.

Although the classical caliphate ended in 1258, it continued to remain the ideal for conservative thought during the post-classical period. However, a reassertion of the primacy of the *shari'a* and a downgrading of the relevance or even legitimacy of the caliphate after the *Rashidun* period found expression in the writings of Ibn Taymiya (d.1328) who identified Muslim unity with general adherence to *shari'a* and, while conceding that there was a need for group organization (*ijtima'*) with an executive (*ra's*), did not consider that this required a *khalifa* of Ummayyad or 'Abbasid type. Others, like al-Shahrastani (d.1153), considered that the caliphate was the greatest cause of bloodshed amongst Muslims; in other words a cause of disunity and not unity.

Ultimately by about 1500, the matter was resolved by a theory—put forward notably by al-Dawwani (d.1502)—that even if the ideal Islamic state of a *khilafa* was no longer feasible, an acceptable Islamic state was still possible under a mere monarch (*sultan* or *amir*), provided the monarch was guided in *shari'a* matters by the '*ulama'*'. On this basis, in the second half of the post-classical period we find the Ottoman and even the Mughal empires constructed. The Ottomans after occupying Cario and Damascus in 1517 had become the dominant power in the central and western areas of the Muslim world and the Mughals after 1526 had assumed a similar position in the sub-continent. This post-classical period ends about 1700. In 1699, the Ottomans began their long retreat in Europe and in 1707 the death of Awarangzib marks the beginning of the Mughal decline. The post-classical period was slowly being replaced by the prelude to the modern age.

Next issue: Pan-Islamism & Islamic Universalism.

NLFP Communique Patani Stalemate

From a Correspondent

The annual meeting of the National Liberation Front of Patani was held at Bukit Budo (Budo Mountain) from 11-22 August 1973. One of the main topics discussed on the first day concerned Islam and Education and several proposals were agreed upon requiring action by the Thai government. Among these were:

1. That Islamic Studies must be introduced in the Thai national schools, colleges and university in the four provinces of Patani which has a 90% Muslim population.
2. That since the vast majority of Patanis are Malays and since the Malay language is still used as the medium of communication in daily life, the Malay language must be introduced as a subject in the Thai national schools, colleges and university in the four provinces of Patani.
3. That the Government should be required to make provisions in its annual budget for the payment of salaries for teachers of Islamic schools in Patani since revenues are collected from the Muslims.
4. That the Government should reconsider its decision (which has been implemented) to change the public holidays to Saturday and Sunday from Thursday and Friday (Friday being a 'religious' day for the Muslims).

These recommendations are included in a circular sent by the Commander in Chief of the NLFP, Baba Idris, to the Thai

higher authorities, educational institutions and foreign missions. The NLFP has threatened that if the Thai government is reluctant or refuses to take action on the proposals, it will be forced to close down or burn down the Thai national schools.

Indeed an NLFP statement giving a blow by blow account of events in Patani from April to August 1973 lists the burning down by a group of Muslim guerillas led by Haji Nordin of the Thai National School in Narathiswas area in retaliation for the 'bad treatment on the part of Thai authorities towards Islamic schools'. This was on 18 April. Another Thai national school in the same province was burnt on 5 May.

The statement also gives details of several clashes between Thai security forces (including policemen and vigilante corps) and Muslim guerillas. In a total of nineteen engagements many of which were ambushes led by the guerillas, the casualties on the guerillas side were five dead and three wounded. On the Thai security forces side, the figures given were thirty dead and seven wounded. These losses of the security forces the guerillas consider 'severe'.

The killing or the abduction of villagers by the Thai security forces, mentioned in the statement, indicates that the guerillas have a large number of supporters among the villagers. The situation remains potentially very explosive.

DAWN TRAVELS

dawn of a new
travel era
in comfort and in
economy

Special fares for USA, Middle East,
Indo-Pak subcontinent & South East
Asia

Dawn Travels Ltd

3 Panton St., Haymarket, London S.W.1

Phone: 01-930 9971 (Three Lines)

Israel and the Prophecies of the Holy Qur'an by ALI AKBAR

a discussion of the world
situation in the light of the
Qur'anic prophecies — a must
for students of Middle Eastern
affairs.

Paperback 55p, Postage 10p
Hardcover £1.25, Postage 15p

SIRAJ PUBLICATIONS

17 Broadstairs Rd., Leckwith, Cardiff CF1 8DE,
Wales, U.K.

VOICE

Independent newspaper of Arab World
EVERY FORTNIGHT

Annual: £3 (Europe) £5 (Other countries)

MORRIS INTERNATIONAL LTD.

4 Vincent Square, London SW1

Arab-bashing in France

A. W. Hamid

An Algerian immigrant who had been treated for mental illness in France murdered a bus conductor and stabbed several passengers in the Mediterranean town of Marseilles. This was the spark that ignited what can now be described as the hot tinder of anti-Algerian anti-North African feeling in many parts of France, simmering for some months now.

A day after the murder a French vigilante group—The Committee for the Defence of the People of Marseilles — was set up and posted signs throughout the city saying "Stop the Arab aggressors". They planned a demonstration to protest against "wild immigration which constitutes for our country and our city an ever-increasing menace". The strength of local feeling was expressed by the editor of a Marseilles daily when he wrote in a leading article on 26 August: "We have had enough of Algerian trouble makers, syphilitics and pimps, madmen, thieves and killers, who take advantage of uncontrolled emigration."

There were appeals for calm from authorities in Paris and Marseilles and other parts of France. The Archbishop of Marseilles appealed for calm and reason saying that "unless we take care, we will be faced with a terrible blaze of racialism". The appeals were not heeded by all. They were disregarded by sections of the population which should have shown some more discipline. On the night of August 27, about 50 French soldiers belonging to a parachute regiment went on an "Arab-bashing" expedition and attacked North African workers in the streets of Toulouse. The following day, the Mayor of Montargis, 70 miles from Paris, called for the expulsion of immigrant workers who, he said, were responsible for a series of violent incidents after Saturday night dances.

As the week after the murder wore on, several 'incidents' against Algerians were reported. An Algerian youth of 16 was shot in his back in Marseilles and died in hospital. Another Algerian was shot and killed outside an Algerian hostel in the city. Also in Marseilles, an Algerian was found unconscious on a railway after he had been axed on the head. Near Paris, an Algerian was killed and several wounded when a gunman sprayed shots into a cafe frequented by Algerians. Altogether in the week following the murder of the bus driver, seven Algerians have been killed and many more injured, some seriously. A petrol bomb has been thrown into an Algerian house. And a *bidonville* (shanty town) inhabited by Algerians was machine-gunned.

Tension has kept on growing. Thousands of North Africans have been on strike bring-

ing certain building and light engineering work to a standstill. Most of them remain behind doors and are "cowering", according to the Marseilles police who are known to be anti-North Africans.

The French Minister of Labour was among the first to try to dampen the atmosphere by defending the labour permit system and the government immigration policy. He said that to cut off the flow of foreign labour would mean a "real catastrophe" for the country's economy and added that more must be done to ensure that the foreign workers needed by France had a "materially and morally decent level of life". No doubt this was a reference to the appalling conditions under which Algerians and North Africans are forced to live "like animals" in many parts of France. They have always been "third class citizens" and have been exposed to various types of exploitation—economic, social and political. This has been especially so in Paris and Marseilles which have the biggest Arab ghettos in France. Although the Labour Minister's statement shows that the French Government is acutely aware of the importance of the 3m. foreign workers in France—almost 1m. of whom come from North Africa, it has not really done much to improve their living and working conditions. This is presumably why the Mayor of Marseilles has said that the Government must take an "overwhelming share of the blame" for the deterioration of "race relations" in the city.

"Race relations" however is certainly not the right phrase to describe anti-Algerian and anti-North African feeling in France. It is not racist in the sense of white against coloured since the majority of North Africans in France are indistinguishable in skin pigmentation from the French. Insofar as the feeling has been attributed to any depravity in the life-style of the North African population in France and Marseilles in particular, it should be noted that Marseilles especially has never been held up as a paradigm of virtue and clean living.

Perhaps the anti-North African feeling is rooted not in differences of race but in history and culture. It is just over a decade that France was at war with the Algerians and a number of *pieds noirs* (Frenchmen expelled from Algeria) in France still cherish memories of *Algerie Francaise* and the times when they were masters and owners of the Algerian destiny. Among these the so-called Rightists, there is still considerable resentment against an independent Algeria and the Algerians. Two years ago, for example the French Nationalists in Marseilles poured petrol over an Algerian and burnt him alive as "retaliation" for Algerian nationalisation of the French oil companies. This unreasoning barbaric streak has evidently not died away in spite of the new and improved relationship between Algeria and France. The relationship, according to the Algerian Foreign Ministry commenting with incredulity on the "avalanche of hatred" unleashed in France, has been characterized by "remarkable proofs of goodwill". According to the Algerian government, it is precisely because of these new relations that those who are nostalgic for

French Algeria have been "irritated to the point of irrationality". In fact, the Algerian Foreign Minister, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, has suggested that a deliberate attempt to disrupt relations between the two countries lies behind the present tension.

The possibility of intense political instigation behind the present troubles cannot be discounted. It may ultimately lie in a desire to embarrass even to topple the government of Pompidou in much the same way as the likely effects of the Powellite movement in Britain. Pompidou is aware of the possibilities. France, he said, must not allow itself to become caught up in racialism. "The very act of speaking the word can lead to the idea, and the idea sometimes to the reality"

But the word has already been spoken. According to a poll published at the beginning of this month, a majority of Frenchmen are in favour of workers from North Africa being singled out for extra strong entry controls. About half of them thought that immigrants were especially prone to violent crime and racketeering—despite frequent official statistics showing this is not so. Commenting on this situation, the *London Times* has noted the "fact" that "among the mass of Frenchmen there is not, any more than among the mass of Englishmen or Germans, either sympathy for immigrant workers or understanding of their problems, still less any gratitude to them for undertaking the worst-paid and most unpleasant jobs in the French economy and thereby making possible its remarkably rapid growth".

As in France, so in Germany, Austria and other West European countries, the question of immigrant workers (sometimes called guest-workers) has lately been transformed into a highly charged political issue. It is indeed disturbing to see how the human problems of people can be and are easily exploited to serve various political ends. What lies at the root of the trouble is the inability not only of France but of other European countries to formulate a coherent philosophy towards minorities, to accord to them the means for attaining "a materially and morally decent level of life", and to recognize their right to be different.

The North African community in France obviously have not had these chances. Primarily because of their living conditions, they have been drawn into some of the more unsavoury aspects of life in Europe. The North African community ought to be very worried about the image which it projects such as is indicated by the opinion poll mentioned above, whether that poll represents the details of the actual situation or not. While it is the immediate task of the French Government to improve conditions of work for immigrants, housing and other facilities, it remains for the North African governments concerned to strengthen the cultural heritage of their citizens abroad just as much as they are at present concerned with economic imperatives.

And as the problem of violence continues, the law enforcement agencies at least would do well to show a higher regard for impartiality than they have so far shown.

ZAKAT PAYMENT GUIDE

An easy guide to determine and compute zakat liability, a compilation based on all the four juristic schools of thought by Marghoob Qureshi. 20 mimeograph pages, price 50c, 25p. Al-Manar Press, Box 391, Palo Alto, California, USA/Newsmedia Book Service, 33 Stroud Green Road, London N4 3EF

NEWSMEDIA BOOK SERVICE

These lines seem to me to echo in a poetic form an unpopular opinion I expressed five years ago in an article entitled 'Towards Understanding and Overcoming the Catastrophe' published in the *Middle East Forum*, Vol. XLIV, No. 3 (1968), pp. 35-43 and supplement in No. 4, pp. 73-76. Pointing out, *inter alia*, that Arab education, both moral and technical, proved inadequate when tested on the battlefield in 1967 I wrote

(1) page 36 'As I see it, the Arab soldiers, the vast majority of whom are Muslims, would have fought more bravely and effectively under the banner of Islam than they did under that of Arab nationalism. There is no denying the truth that, in the present state of Arab education, the average Arab soldier would understand Islam more than Arab nationalism. Hence it is my firm belief that for a long time to come there can be no comprehensible Arab nationalism among the masses without Islam, and that barring an educational miracle the further Arab nationalism is divorced from Islam the less effective the Arabs are likely

to be against their adversaries. Consider, in this connection, that political Zionism is so much religious in character that sometimes it is difficult to distinguish its national from its religious components.

(2) page 42 'It must be recognised that large sections of Arab society, especially in the cities, are increasingly hankering after the "soft-life" and forgetting the values of their own civilisation as well as the best of those in the western civilisation of which they seek to enjoy the material fruits. Soft-life in peace time is proper to enjoy after hard toil, but is it certain that those now enjoying it, say in Beirut, could immediately adjust themselves to the hardships of war in the desert as did the Germans under Rommel and the English under Montgomery? I cannot pronounce on this question, but it is worthwhile pondering over since soft-life has now crept into the desert.

(3) page 43 'I firmly believe the Arabs need first a and foremost moral regeneration to fortify any political or military strength they may muster.

I firmly believe that Arab nationalism as a creed has been tried for a generation or two against Zionism and was found wanting. It has failed to maintain an Arab moral strength to any high degree that Islam did. I sincerely believe that this catastrophe, like that of the Crusades, is a mark of God's wrath. The Arabs, both Muslims and Christians, pay less and less regard to God's commandments and to the moral law he revealed to them through Muhammad and Jesus. Arab Nationalism has so far proved a poor substitute for Islam. (4) page 74 'The Arabs go shouting to the United Nations and do nothing else; the Israelis hit hard first and then go with louder shouts to the United Nations. Their raids and even wars on the Arab states, and occupation of Arab lands have through a powerful propaganda machine been represented as "defensive". Nothing has undermined the proverbial Arab bravery more than this inaction by the Arab states. It encourages their adversary to mount attacks of increasing ferocity without fear of a reply. A.L.T.

A supplication to the Prophet*

By Hassan Hathut, translated by A. L. Tibawi

I invoked thee on the eve of thy *maulid*¹
While in my heart fire is burning.
I invoked thee, O noblest of prophets,
Best guide to him who seeks guidance—
I invoked thee, while in Jerusalem
The Jews set fire to the Mosque.
I invoked thee for heads humbled to the ground
Ever used to be raised to the stars.
I invoked thee, while the Arab homeland
Is spoilt by the violence of the aggressor.
I invoked thee, the builder of its² foundations,
But for us forsaking thee, firm they would stand.
I invoked thee, while thine people are in discord
The like of which thou never witnessed and would not suspect.
I invoked thee for a nation that failed thee—
O my lord! how ashamed I feel before thee.

Error—in the like of which we never fell
(And he who abandons the straight path finds no guide.)
Abasement—when the lions are humbled
And the jackals assume the role of lions!
Battles we fought—against one another
But when the enemy came, we fought not.
We expect justice from the oppressor,
And pray for succour from the atheist
We go along other than God's path,
And still dream of victory on the morrow.

O my lord! Does it 'please' thee that the raider
Should trample on our honour day and night?
That he should enter our Beirut twice³
And goes out unopposed?
That he stretches the arm of injury towards us,
But we, paralysed, stretch out no arm?
That he kills, but we do not reply
Except with moaning and pleading?

Prophet of God! The trustworthy,⁴ the ideal guide
Thou hast said 'O my people, fight the holy war!'
Not 'O my people, make a verbal display!'
And when the fire of war was lit:
'Be masters alive or martyrs die!'

Notes

*Published in *Al-Arabi* monthly (July, 1973). Five lines were not translated.

1. The Prophet's birthday
2. The Arab homeland
3. This was of course before Friday, 10 August 1973.
4. *Al-Amin*, one of the Prophet's names.



Indian Muslims

Tea and Sympathy from Mrs. Gandhi

Ibn Nizam

A delegation of Indian Muslims waited on Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi on 18 August last. The meeting was "arranged" by Sheikh Abdullah. Ousted from Kashmir, the Sheikh has developed a recent interest in the affairs of the Indian Muslims. Writing in the *Indian Express*—though he had nothing to say about his own experience in Kashmir—Sheikh Abdullah had some sensible and candid advice for the Indian Muslims who remain "divided between a group affiliated to the ruling party and other groups which work on communal lines in search of protection." Twenty-six years after independence "there is the same politics of grievance and bargaining and recrimination."

While grievances and recriminations do characterise the Indian Muslim scene, one is sceptical about their bargaining situation. This recent meeting with Mrs. Gandhi is a case in point. While the deputationists might or might not have felt charmed there was a clear feeling of having been received and obliged. The Muslim weekly *Radiance* while concluding on a note of "cautious optimism" felt it "heartening . . . that Muslim leadership and the ruling party have started talking with each other instead of talking at each other." Somebody also felt unhappy that the Indian press tried to play down the meeting's significance by saying that it lasted 90 minutes although it had "continued for full 110 minutes."

The deputation discussed the question of encroachments on Islamic law, the Aligarh Muslim University, Education, Urdu language and discrimination in employment.

Members of the deputation: Mufti Atiqur Rahman, President, All India Muslim Majlis-e-Mushawarat; Maulana Muhammad Yusuf, Amir, Jamaat-e-Islami Hind; Maulana Minnattullah Rahmani, General Secretary, Muslim Personal Law Board; Maulana Abdus Sattar, Joint Secretary, Muslim Personal Board; Justice Basheer Ahmad Sayeed; Justice Khaleel Ahmad; and Sheikh Abdullah.

Mrs. Indira Gandhi virtually disarmed the Muslim leaders by denying flatly any intention to interfere with the Muslim personal law. On the contrary she expressed displeasure that the Muslims should doubt her bonafides and go on to seek support from the opposition parties. What about the Supreme Court and High Court judges, the Chairman of the Law Commission who are paid from the public exchequer; and the Law Minister who belonged to the ruling party? The deputation pointed out that all these functionaries have been *agitating* about "reforming" the Muslim Personal Law. Mrs. Gandhi replied: Leave it to me, I will deal with it in my own way!

Regarding the Adpotion Bill, Mrs. Gandhi said she did not realise that it interfered with Islamic Law which does not recognise adoption at the cost of the natural heirs. She

said she would have it examined by the Law Ministry—as if the Law Ministry was an authority on Islamic Law. The delegation included some of the very prominent Islamic scholars in India.

An amendment has been proposed to the Indian law on maintenance which would have the effect of making a Muslim husband liable to pay maintenance to a divorced wife for an indefinite period. A widow too is supposed to benefit from his husband's estate although in the eyes of the Islamic law a deceased's estate belonged to his heirs—the widow including. Unlike other laws, a Muslim woman inherits and owns property in her own right. She is entitled to a compulsory payment of *mehr* (which can be a very high sum depending upon the status of both the spouses) and ownership of all objects and properties inherited and acquired (including gifts from the husband) before and after marriage. These she holds irrespective of divorce. A husband's liability to maintain ceases after the expiry of three menstrual periods after divorce. This is to make sure that there is no pregnancy and the lady is free to re-marry. If there is pregnancy the liability continues until the period of feeding.

There is another bill in the *Lok Sabha*, the Public Trust Bill. It exempts the Sikh gurdwaras (temples) but covers the Islamic *auqaf*. The Indian Prime Minister was not aware that this was so and said she will get it examined. The deputation suggested that in order to avoid similar situations a permanent Muslim body could be established to advise the government. Mrs. Gandhi found it difficult to implement unless they had any concrete proposal.

Regarding the Aligarh Muslim University, the Muslim leaders wanted the restoration of the University's minority character and its autonomy. The 1972 Act negates both. Although it had been promised in her election manifesto, Mrs. Gandhi said accepting the minority character was difficult. But then would it not bar the university from receiving the government grant, she posed the question? Not necessarily so, the Muslim leaders told her, because there are many minority institutions in the states which continue to receive government grant. About the Aligarh University students arrested and being penalised under emergency and other regulations, the Prime Minister said she had instructed that their cases be examined sympathetically. Mrs. Gandhi appreciated the Muslim leaders' viewpoint and it appears the matter ended there.

She also had some nice things to say about education and her patronage of the Urdu language. The question of Muslim under-representation in the services, she assured, was receiving her attention. The deputation might well have reminded the Prime Minister of what her former cabinet minister had told

the *Lok Sabha* on 13 July, but they were too polite to do so. Mr. Moinuddin Chaudhry, a Lok Sabha member from Assam had been a close confidante of Mrs. Gandhi and responsible for disbursing secret Indian funds in the bordering East Pakistan for Bangladesh movement. Mr. Chandhry had spoken about a decrease in an already palpably low Muslim representation and said that he had written to Mrs. Gandhi quoting these figures. It was about four months ago and he had no reply.

Muslim representation in the Class I and II service cadres in the Central Ministries

Representation %	Cadre strength	Ministries
Zero	175	Education; Law and Parliamentary Affairs
0.60-0.70	14,300	Health and Family Planning etc.; Personnel Administration; and Defence
1.25-2.33	14,150	Irrigation and Power; Communications; President's Sect.; Shipping and Transport; Supply; Tourism and Civil Aviation; Railways; and Mines and Metals.
2.50-2.75	10,000	External Affairs; and Finance
3-63	550	Information and Broadcasting
5-00	200	Industrial Development; and Company Affairs
1-7%	39,375	

Mrs. Gandhi also assured the Muslim leaders that she did not look to the Muslim's problems from the point of securing their votes in the coming elections. She, however, complained that although the Muslim masses had generally supported her, the leaders have not been equally obliging. The deputationist replied that they have been asking Muslims to vote for a party which can deliver the goods. As such the Muslim votes have gone to the ruling party. There was no wisdom, they said, perhaps unwittingly, in jumping out of the frying pan into the fire. Once the grievances are removed and pledges redeemed there would be no need to shift electoral support. But did not the Indian Prime Minister say earlier that she did not look to the problem from the point of vote-getting. If the head of an elected democracy could afford to disregard over 11% of its voters that was a very serious matter.

Some one commented that when Mrs. Gandhi wanted to contain Dr. Faridi's Muslim Majlis she encouraged the Muslim League to come to the Majlis strongholds in North India. Now that Sulaiman Sait's Muslim League is becoming a force she has brought Sheikh Abdullah from out of the cold. In any case Muslims have a share and a role in the shaping of India but just yet no one seems to be clear about the what and how of that role. In the interim, the Muslim leaders should better do their home task before going in for tea and sympathy.

Books

The Qur'an in Swahili

Qurani Takatifu: The Holy Qur'an (in Swahili), translated by Shaikh Abdullah Saleh Al-Farsy, Chief Qadi of Kenya. *The Islamic Foundation, P.O. Box 30611, Nairobi, 1969. 806 pages.*

Kiswahili (Swahili) is the major language of East Africa. Bantu African in grammatical structure, its vocabulary has a large Arabic content, the result of frequent Arab contact with the East African coast extending back to the first century, A.D. Of the 16.5 million Muslims in Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda, many are Swahili-speakers, and Swahili is in part even responsible for this American reviewer's own acceptance of Islam. Having learned Swahili in 1967, I put it to practical use by corresponding with a Tanzanian, Bahati Shabani Jumbe, for two more years. The fascinating Swahili letters I received exerted a great influence on me to examine Islam in detail.

Africa has been too long the neglected, taken-for-granted continent of the Muslims. There are many more translations of the Qur'an in Asian or European languages than there are in African tongues. Consequently, the Christian missionaries have been able to satisfy the desire of Africans wanting to read by giving them Bibles and tracts designed to make them Christians. This excellent Swahili translation of Qur'an by Shaikh Al-Farsy provides hope that the abject condition of East African Muslims can be rectified.

Qurani Takatifu is the evident product of several decades of painstaking research, dedication and sound Islamic scholarship. The clear, vigorous translation provides an accurate rendition of the Arabic, even

more so than many of the English translations I have read. The book features a preface by the outstanding Islamic scholar Sayyid Abul A'la Maudoodi and introductions to the surahs which are based on his *Tafhimul-Qur'an*, translated into Swahili. The copious, erudite marginal notes and references prepared by Shaikh Al-Farsy are an additional great benefit to the reader. (Appearing in parts since January, 1950, this translation predates the Qadiani version of February, 1953). The Islamic Foundation has made this Qur'an available in a fine, well-bound volume which is eye-appealing as well as instructive, and the Foundation deserves the highest commendation for this remarkable effort.

Though it is impossible to praise this translation too highly, I would offer the following critical observations:

(1) Though there are good reasons for translating *Allah* as "Mwenyezi Mungu" (Almighty God), there is also good reason for introducing "Allah" into the text, at least occasionally. Swahili differs from English in that it has been influenced directly by Arabic for more than a thousand years and half or more of its vocabulary is Arabic in origin. One may note that the Union Swahili Bible regularly uses "Bwana" (The Lord) and occasionally Yehovah ("Jehovah", the distinctive Hebrew name for God) in addition to Mungu. If "Allah" is not to be lost completely as a Swahili word, Muslims must use it more in their productions.

(2) Some thoughts could be rendered more succinctly. For example, the ponderous translation given for *Bismillah Ar-Rahman Ar-Rahim* is: "Kwa jina la Mwenyezi Mungu, Mwenye kuneemesha neema kubwa kubwa na Mwenye kuneemesha neema ndogo ndogo". (Literally, "In the name of Almighty God Who is Responsible for each and every blessing, large and small.") This has been aptly reduced in another Islamic Foundation publication to: "Kwa jina la Mwenyezi Mungu, Mwingi wa Rehema, Mwenye Kurehemu." ("In the Name of Almighty God, the Abundantly Merciful, the Compassionate.")

(3) The Arabic heritage of Swahili can be illustrated more forcefully by employing those Swahili words which correspond to the Qur'an's Arabic text. Thus, in verse one of *Surah Al-Fatihah*, instead of Al-Farsy's translation

Shukrani zoke anastahiki Mwenyezi Mungu, Mola wa walimwengu wote, one could render:

Hamdu zote anastahiki Allah, Rabi wa walimwengu wote.

Or, in verse four, instead of

Mfalme wa siku ya malipo

one could render:

Maliki wa siku ya malipo.

Granted, some of these Swahili Arabic words are not in general use, and there is a nationalistic, Christian movement abroad to de-Arabicize Swahili, but Muslims

should resist this. It is for the benefit of the preservation of the Islamic heritage in East Africa to return these unused words to the popular vocabulary, and we cannot expect the Christians to do this for us. Where an "Arabic" term needs explanation for the general readership, the translator can put the more well-known word in parenthesis or in the marginal notes.

(4) The transliteration of some names, such as those of the Hebrew prophets, could be closer to those given in the Swahili Bible, which uses the natural, soft endings common to Swahili and other African languages, e.g., Ibrahimu instead of Ibrahim, Adamu instead of Adam, etc.

The book contains a few errors which are being corrected already for the second edition, and they do not detract from the great accomplishment which *Qurani Takatifu* represents. Islam was spread by the word, not by the sword, and lack of the Book of Allah in the languages of the people has been a great boon only to the colonizers and Christian missionaries. Muslims anywhere will be always generally deficient in Islamic knowledge, practice and activity so long as the Qur'an remains hidden in a language they cannot comprehend. It does not lessen the importance of the teaching of Arabic to assert that the masses of people need the Qur'an *also* in their indigenous languages.

S. S. Mufassir

Studies in Early Hadith Literature

by M. M. Azmi

... pioneer work of highest value ... most exciting and original ... removes prevalent misunderstandings about Hadith literature ... discusses the weakness of Schacht's *Origin of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*
506 pages Price: £5.50 forwarding 30p

Index of the words of the Quran

An easy aid to Quranic reference ... the one word you can remember leads you to the *Ayats* where it occurs.

782 pages Price: £3.50, forwarding 45p

NEWSMEDIA BOOK SERVICE

33 Stroud Green Road, London N4 3EF
Phone 01-263 1417 Grams: Newsmedia London N4

Who owns Palestine?

The Palestine problem is not merely a political issue. It is a problem which concerns the most fundamental human rights. Can a people lose its right to its own land? Can a third party give that land to another people?

Henry Cattán is an international jurist who has made a special study of the legal issues of the Palestine Question. He has presented the Arab case before the UN.

On 3 September 1973 his new book **Palestine and International Law** was published, with the sub-title "*The Legal Aspects of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*". In it Mr Cattán examines the full background to the problem: he denies any legal validity to the Balfour Declaration, to the UN Partition Resolution, and hence to Israel itself. He condemns Israel's frequent violations of international law, including those in 1973, and calls for a solution compatible with international law and justice.

ISBN 0 582 78038 1

Cased £4.00 net



Longman

Briefing

Democratic Freedoms in Israel by Sabri Jiryis, translated by Meric Dobson. *The Institute for Palestine Studies, Beirut/University of Libya*, Benghazi, LL7.00

Sabri Jiryis starts his book by discussing the Israeli political system and goes on to the question of democratic freedoms in Israel. He says that in the land of Zion there is freedom for the ordinary citizen but only as long as he does not question the fundamental character of the regime and accepts the axioms of Zionist thinking. After making this point clear he proceeds to focus on various aspects of religious liberty, personal freedoms and freedom of the press and association. He also dissects the judicial system of Israel. As for the Arabs, particularly the sensitive and independent-minded, they remain under severe and even repressive constraints. Jiryis provides some documented evidence in support of his findings.

Power Play by Leonard Mosley. *Weidenfeld & Nicolson*. £3.75

After a brief, racy history of the Middle East oil, Leonard Mosley presents the Israeli case against the use of oil as a political weapon. He contravenes the two basic arguments: that only anti-Israeli policies will save the oil companies from being nationalised by the Arab Governments and that Arabs can force the US to stop supplying arms to the Israelis by cutting off their oil supplies. "Oil tycoons", says Mr. Mosley, "are almost certainly fooling themselves if they believe that a blindly pro-Arab (and its concomitant, an anti-Israeli) policy will save them for anything more than a temporary period". As regards the second argument, says Mr. Mosley: "No oil State would dare to initiate an oil boycott against any consumer nation with the money to buy. In all the Middle East there are not enough storage tanks to hold the oil that would immediately become surplus if such a boycott was attempted. The deserts would start to run with crude... A well closed down too long may not only be impossible to reactivate, but it may also play havoc with the rest of the field."

Through Persia in Disguise by Sarah Hobson, *John Murray*, £2.95

Miss Hobson, 23, disguised as a boy, sets out to explore the remote interior of Iran. A remarkable journey on motor-bike takes her to the city of Qum in the southern province of Fars. This is the land of once powerful tribe of Qashquis who received Miss Hobson with open arms and she was able to live with them for some time in their tents and study their values and habits with some admiration. The Qashquis tribe is a mixture of Turkish and Persian stock and have nomadic outlook. They make Firuzabad their winter homeland but migrate some three hundred miles each spring to the mountains to find grazing for their cattle. Away from the political and economic flares of Iran, the Qashquis live a peaceful life. But these, as yet alien ideas to the Qashquis, are slowly penetrating their life-style. The young talked about cars, and television, and of nationalism.

The Wind of Change is blowing over the Gulf Region (in Russian) by Leonid Medvidko. The Soviet orientalist deals with the "operation now taking place in the Gulf", the policies of the imperialist countries and Arab national liberation struggle in the region.

Soviet Russia and the Hindustan Subcontinent by Vijay Sen Budhraj, *Somaiya Publications*, Bombay, Rs.40

It is a serious study of Russian attitudes towards South Asia. According to the author this attitude was both dynamic and pragmatic. The original

ideological view which regarded India and Pakistan as imperialist creations stands modified in the light of Russian national interests. Contrary to what is held popularly, Budhraj says, Russia did not desire the break-up of Pakistan. It rather felt thwarted by not only Pakistan's immoderate handling of the East Pakistan situation but also by both the U.S. and China who were in a position to counsel and even pressurise Pakistan yet they chose not to do so. Russia's national interests now demand dealing with three independent entities in the subcontinent. The author feels Russia would now like to improve relations with Pakistan. Budhraj treads on many sensitivities when he claims that it was Indian armed intervention rather than the strength of the Bengali separatists forces that led to the creation of Bangladesh.

The Retreat of American Power by Henry Brandon, *Bodley Head*, £3.75

Henry Brandon has a very individualistic approach to journalism: never criticise those who are in your confidence. Both President Nixon and Henry Kissinger had Mr. Brandon in their confidence. As such, Mr. Brandon's exclusive account of Nixon-Kissinger relationship and how the minds of the two men work is devoid of serious criticism. It is, however, an inside account and provides a fascinating insight into the minds of the two men. Brandon sees the retreat from the domination of the world by America as a necessarily painful experience but one which is kept under full control by the President and his chief adviser. It is an exponential decline yet the pilots steer the retreat in a manner which maintains a consensus of public opinion and which avoids direct confrontation from those at the right and at the left. Brandon believes in absolute powers for the president and condemns the Congress for too much interference and forcing the President's hands. The real strength of the book lies in its attention to important topics which have remained overshadowed by Vietnam. The chapters on the Jordan crisis of 1970 and on the 'tilt' in the favour of Pakistan during the 1971 war are revealing.

Theses and Project Work by C. J. Parsons, *Allen & Unwin*, £0.95

Project reports—thesis, dissertation, research papers—have become an integral part of all diploma and degree courses. These involve systematic research and submitting the results in a prescribed form. Dr. Parson's book outlines the techniques of systematic research, note-taking, processing data and the final presentation of the result as a report. Particular emphasis is paid on writing the report—the composition, style, accuracy, quotations, punctuation of references etc.—and on the technical aspect of presentation of the report—typing, binding, titles, layout, form and arrangement and so on. On the whole the book is very comprehensive and very thorough although it does show a bias towards social science research.

God of Islam by Sayed S. Akhtar Rizvi; **Search for Truth** by S. Ghaffari; **Glimpses of the Prophet's Life** by Talip Alp; **The Living Miracle** by Yusuf Fadhl; **Imam Husain's Revolution** by Yusuf Fadhl; **A Part of Invocations from Saheefa-e-Kamelah** (The Book of Perfection) by Ali Ibn-el-Husain; **Islamic Doctrine** by Abdul Husain Muhammad; **Islam—An Exposition of Shia (Ithna-Ashari) Faith** by Sayed Saeed Akhtar Rizvi. Published by *A Group of Muslim Brothers*, P.O. Box 2245, Tehran, Iran.

A collection of small, well produced pamphlets—some previously published by the Muslim Youth Society of Great Britain—on various aspects of Islam.

Islamic Book Centre

Fresh arrivals

Purdah and the Status of Women in Islam by Syed Abul A'la Maudoodi
£1.50 plus Forwarding 15p

Western Civilisation Condemned by Itself by Maryam Jameelah
2 Vols. £2.30 plus Forwarding 35p

Prayers of Muhammad Translated by A. H. Farid
£2.00 plus Forwarding 15p

Islam Vs. Ahle Kitab (Past and Present) by Maryam Jameelah
£1.00 plus Forwarding 15p

Islam and Modernism by Maryam Jameelah
70p plus Forwarding 10p

The Qur'an: Text, English translation and notes by Abdullah Yussuf Ali — 2 Vols.
£5.25 + Forwarding 50p

Islamic Book Centre

148 Liverpool Road, London N1 1LA

Phone 01-607 7971

Gram: UK Islamic London N1

Books for Children

Muslim Education Trust Publications

First Primer of Islam

On the meaning of primary Islamic concepts such as Islam, Iman, Muslim, Prophets, Books, Kalima etc.

25p By Post 29p

Second Primer of Islam

Explains the meaning and purpose of worship and prayer.

25p By Post 29p

Third Primer of Islam

How to say prayers (for children and beginners)

25p by Post 30p

NEWSMEDIA BOOK SERVICE
33 Stroud Green Road, London N4 3EF

ISLAMIC BOOK CENTRE
148 Liverpool Road, London N1 1LA

LAGOS EMPORIUM
SPECIALISING IN AFRICAN
AND INDO-PAK GROCERIES

Fresh Halal Meat
68-D Blackstock Road, Finsbury Park
London, N.4 Tel: 01-226 0427

LETTERS

The Holy Indonesia & Tolerance Purdah Subcontinental Geography

The 'Holy' Land ?

Perhaps it is not too late to comment on S. S. Mufassir's letter *Impact* (3 : 4). There is a widespread misconception about the use of the word "holy" in Islamic literature. Nowhere in the Qur'an, Hadith or early Islamic literature was the equivalent of such a word ever used.

The expression "al-Ard al-Muqaddasah" does not mean "the Holy Land" but the "Purified Land", for the word "muqaddas" is defined as "purified" or "clean" in the early Arabic dictionaries.

It seems that the confusion was first started by the early translators of the Qur'an (example, Yusuf Ali). The lack of proper knowledge of Arabic hermeneutics and the use of archaic Biblical terms is the source of trouble in my opinion.

The adjective "holy" should thus not be used to describe such words as the Qur'an, the Prophet, or Land.

QUTAIBA EL-KHUWAIB
Columbia, South Carolina, USA

Indonesia and Religious Tolerance

Dr. M. Natsir's article (*Impact* 3: 5) recounts just another episode in the strange story of Indonesia today. Since Suharto assumed power and started running the country with the help of U.S. advisers, the image of Indonesia has been changing greatly and gravely.

On the question of missionary work and religious tolerance, it must be stated that all the missionary work is done by non-Indonesians—aliens. These people are using means and methods unjustified even by their own religion. Their activities go far beyond their advertised programmes similar to work which has compelled many Muslim and non-Muslim countries to expel them and close down their offices mainly on the charges of espionage and subversive activities. The question of tolerating them on the grounds of religion does not therefore arise.

The responsibility for ending this dangerous situation rests firstly on Gen. Suharto and then on the leaders of the different Muslim groups and organisations. Suharto, being a military man, may not know the full story, history and implications of such missionary works, so it is the duty of Muslim leaders in Indonesia to bring to his notice the facts and the dangers. If they fail to convince him of taking any positive action in the right direction, then it is their duty as Muslims and as Indonesians to see that those missionaries leave their country by any means available to them.

Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. **ISAM AL-ALOOSI**

Hijab and Purdah

Re the "fatwa" on 'Purdah' issued by the U.K. Islamic Mission (*Impact* 3:4), the Mission rightly defines the limits of *hijab* as the whole of the female body which must be covered with the exception of the face and hands. However, it immediately goes on to say that this is the "minimum" that should be insisted upon in this country, the "desirable" being the covering of the entire body including the face. Why?

The Mission's fatwa is unsubstantiated. The Qur'an does not mention any such "desirable" requirement. And so far as we are aware, none of the well-known *ulama* ever subscribed to such a demand. For instance, Ibn Jarir, As-Suyuti, Ibn Kathir, the learned *fukaha* (including Abu Hanifa, Malik, Ash-Shafi'i) all agreed that the face and hands of the woman are not *awrah* (the parts of the body which must be covered) and therefore should not be condemned to *purdah*.

In his *Hijab al Maratil Muslimah fil-Qur'an was-Sunnah*, Muhammad Nasiruddin al-Albani cites several authentic *ahadith* to support their arguments and beliefs. For example, when Asma, the daughter of Abu Bakr, went to see the

Prophet, peace be upon him, wearing a "see-through" dress, the Prophet turned his face away and said to her, "O Asma, when a young girl reaches the age of puberty, nothing should be seen of her except this" and he pointed to his face and hands.

It is also reported by Ibn Abbas that the Prophet, peace be upon him, saw al-Fadhil Ibn Abbas looking at a beautiful woman who too was looking at him. This woman had gone to the Prophet to seek some advice and al-Fadhil was at the time with him. The Prophet did not do more than turn al-Fadhil's head away from the woman. *He did not ask her to cover her face*, nor was he displeased with her because she was not covering her face. When the Prophet was asked why he had turned al-Fadhil's head away he replied that he saw a young man and a young woman and thought that they would not be safe from *satan*.

Our hearts are anxious to see our sisters in this so-called modern age accepting a mode of dress and life style that is altogether compatible with our faith, but at the same time, we cannot subscribe to efforts that are designed to cause them unnecessary hardship and discomfort that was never prescribed for them. If, however, they should choose *purdah* as their style of fashion, that is another matter, but they should be made fully aware at the outset that such a choice is not incumbent upon them so as to warrant a *fatwa*.

London E.5 **IBADUR RAHMAN**

Subcontinental Geography

I read with interest the article by Matiur Rahman on 'The Subcontinent—Changing the Physical Geography' (*Impact* 3 : 5).

Rainfall in Bangladesh is heavy. It varies widely over the country ranging from 50 inches in the West to as much as 200 inches in the north east, the bulk falling during the monsoon from June to September. The average annual rainfall is approximately 82 inches.

The Ganges with its 1,600 miles length carries water from an area of some 350,000 square miles and the Brahmaputra with its 1,800 miles length drains 224,000 square miles. The Meghna the smallest of the three rivers, drains an area of 25,000 square miles. The total drainage areas of the above three rivers is 600,000 square miles. Only 7.5 per cent of this area lies in Bangladesh while 75 per cent of the total quantity of water reaching Bangladesh is brought from India. The rivers, the Ganges, the Brahmaputra and the Meghna, together discharge a flood which can exceed 5 million cubic feet per second. The estimated average water flow of the rivers and streams of Bangladesh is nearly 1,170 million acre feet annually most of which occurs during the four months from May to August.

The rivers in Bangladesh begin to rise steadily at the onset of monsoon in June and reach their peak in August-September when an area of about 10,000 square miles is flooded in normal years. The areas and estimated rice crop losses during some floods were as follows:

Year	1954	1955	1956	1962
Flooded area in sq. miles ...	14,200	15,000	13,700	13,800
Estimated rice crop losses in million rupees ...	120	129	218	408

About 11.30 million acres or 34 per cent of the total land area of this intensely cultivated region is "normally" flooded every year, and in years of larger than "normal" floods, the area flooded exceeds this figure. Thus, main causes of low agricultural production in Bangladesh are flood and lack of water in the dry season.

The dominating feature of the topography in Bangladesh is the extreme flatness of the country in general. The land slopes gently from about 200 feet at the north western boundary to only a few feet above mean sea level at the sea coast.

Thus there is no possibility of controlling the magnitude flood flows by construction of flood storage reservoirs. Such reservoirs will only submerge large areas in Bangladesh. Storage reservoirs or diversion works are possible only in India.

Alternatively, simple embankment can be constructed along the streams to confine the flood flows in Bangladesh. River flood water will be excluded by embankments and excess rain water accumulations within the projected areas will be removed by sluicing or pumping. A Master Plan was prepared in 1965 for constructing embankments along the streams in Bangladesh. This Master Plan will take thirty years for completion and will cost 1,442 million dollars. Ernest M. Bowles, Vice President and Chief Engineer, International Engineering Company, San Francisco, California, writes that "the implementation of Master Plan represents a task greater than is being accomplished elsewhere in the world". There will be shortages of manpower and material. Already there is a severe shortage of engineers and constructors. Thus this Master Plan will be very costly to implement.

Some extracts from a book 'Lectures on the Ancient System of Irrigation in Bengal and its application to modern problems' by a well-known engineer, Sir William Willcocks, will be of interest to readers.

"Today I am privileged to show you what was the system of 'overflow irrigation' evolved by the rulers of ancient Bengal some 3,000 years ago and to let you see how such irrigation can be reintroduced in the Ganges Delta and bring in again the health and wealth which central and western Bengal once enjoyed."

"The irrigation of the country was done principally by the rainfall and the river water used through a network of canals to manure the soil and kill mosquitoes."

"In the middle of the seventeenth century A.D. round about 1660, Bernier twice visited Bengal and wrote what he saw before the break-up of the Mogul Empire. In one of his works he says: The knowledge I have acquired of Bengal in two visits inclines me to believe that it is richer than Egypt. It exports in abundance cottons and silks, rice, sugar and butter. It produces amply, for its own consumption, of wheat, vegetables, grains, fowls, ducks and geese. It has immense herds of pigs and flocks of sheep and goat. Fish of every kind it has in profusion. From Rajmahal to the sea is an endless number of canals, cut in bygone ages from the Ganges by immense labour, for navigation and irrigation, while the Indian considers the Ganges water as the best in the world."

"It is evident that by 1815 the Zamindars and tenants of central Bengal had neglected the clearing up of the canals and the repairing of the banks with the silt so cleared. This negligence began in Bengal in the troubled Mahratta-Afghan wars and the early English who were traders and sailors knew nothing about irrigation. Seeing many waterways neglected and unused after the wars, they thought the canals were only for navigation and left them alone. This negligence made central Bengal in 1815 cede the place of honour it held in 1660 in Bernier's day."

I think that extensive damage which occurs every year due to floods in Bangladesh, can be averted only by construction of major storage reservoirs and diversion barrages in India. Water stored in these reservoirs can be released during dry season for flushing and preventing salinity in Bangladesh. If certain lands in Bangladesh become saline or dry, peasants so displaced can be rehabilitated in Indian areas which will be irrigated by diversion of Ganges water.

Reading, U.K. **M. DIN**

MINARET HOUSE**AUDIO VISUAL AIDS**● **Al-Qur'an Al-Kareem**

Al-Rahman, Yaseen, Yousuf, Maryam, etc.
Cassette (C.30) Each £2.25 + 15p forwarding

● **Arabic Religious Songs and Na'at**

Um-Kulthoom, Al-Kahlaawi and
Naqshabandi

Cassette (C.60) Each £2.25 + 15p forwarding

● **Arabic Without a Teacher**

2 C.60 Cassettes, £2.25 + 15p forwarding.

For further information, please send a
stamped-addressed envelope to:

**Minaret House, 9 Leslie Park Road
Croydon, Surrey, CR0 6TN**

QUALITY KNITWEAR FOR ALL PEOPLE AND ALL CLIMATES

In Lurex, Tricel,
Orlon & Nylon

Export and Wholesale
enquiries only

KNIGHTON KNITWEAR LTD.

15-A Fleetwood Road,
Leicester LE2 1YA, England.

Pakistan Flood Appeal by Doctors Society

The Doctors Islamic Society in conjunction with the Red Crescent Society of Manchester has made arrangements for sending medicine and money to the people affected by the recent floods in Pakistan. Donations of medicine and money, particularly from the Muslim doctors, are invited (Dr. B. M. Rathur 38 Shaw Road, Oldham, Lancs., Tel: 061-652 5480). (*Impact news*)

● Doctors Islamic Society is holding its Annual Conference on 15-16 September at 15 Stanley Street, Liverpool.

Flood Relief Fund

According to the Embassy of Pakistan, a total amount of £50,141.63 had been donated to the Pakistan Flood Relief Fund in the UK up to 31 August 1973. This amount has been remitted to the State Bank of Pakistan. (*Impact news*).

UKIM Tenth Annual Conference**'An Inspiring Experience'**

S. H. Mutahar

"Ours is a religion of virtue and morality, learning and science, strength and dynamism, invitation and competition, social co-operation and democracy". Prof. Fadhel Jamali set the Tenth Annual Conference of the U.K. Islamic Mission to an inspiring start. He mentioned a number of principles which the Muslim *ummah* must accept and observe to regain their lost glory. They must believe in human brotherhood based on the oneness of the Creator and the concept of *Deen-al-Wahdah*. They are required to respect and protect the human dignity for God has made man his vicegerent in the world. They should understand the natural laws. Islam asks man to study nature and live in harmony with it. This is the only way to the zenith of civilization.

This year the Mission held its Annual Conference at the Stamford Hall of the University of Leicester on 25-27 August. The Conference, attended by over 300 members, associates and observers, was held in a calm, peaceful atmosphere of brotherhood and co-operation.

Khurshid Ahmad spoke on 'The Significance of Isra'. He punctuated his speech on the ascension of the blessed Prophet with some moving phrases about the limitless powers of Allah. This can only be appreciated according to "the level of understanding" one is bestowed with. The purpose of the ascension was to show to the Prophet the signs of Almighty Allah—the source of all knowledge and wisdom. The Qur'an has most aptly described the Miraj as "an extraordinary event (for the blessed Prophet and the mankind)". Later Prof. Ghulam Azam spoke on the problems and prospects of the Islamic movement.

The Islamic movement is a disciplined force whose *raison d'être* is unceasing struggle in the way of Allah. The success of the movement cannot be measured in material terms; however, if its workers are honest and earnest, the impact of their work will be truly great and lasting.

Dr. Mustafa Momen of the Call of Islam Society of Libya gave a moving, heart-to-heart talk on "The Islamic State". He outlined its necessity and inevitability. Without an Islamic State, he maintained, the Muslims would be submerged deep in the ocean of ignorance. He made a plea for the revival of the Khilafat "the only institution which could save the Muslim socio-economic and political structure from further disintegration". If the Ottoman Caliphate had not collapsed they would never have been able to establish Israel in the Muslim heartland. Our mistakes can only be rectified, and the anomalies and discrepancies removed from our socio-political system by creating a strong, central administration based on the pattern of the Khilafat, even though in the beginning the sphere of its influence may be small and rather limited.

Dr. Ali Kettani, a guest speaker from the World Muslim League, Mecca, discussed problems of education and leadership, particularly in a society like Britain where the Muslims form a negligible minority. He suggested ways and means to overcome the difficulties the Muslim youth are facing in regard to their education and preservation of their Muslim identity. The British Muslims, he said, have a duty also to examine the various problems affecting British society and find practicable answers.



Prof. Fadhel Jamali addressing the opening session: from L to R Maulana Habibur Rahman, Saleem Kayani and Dr. Ali Kettani from World Muslim League



Dr. Mostafa Momen on 'Islamic State'

new spectrum

Shaban 16—29 Ramadan 1393

FIA 22nd Annual Convention

Over to the Youth

Re-elected to her second term as President of the Federation of Islamic Associations in the United States and Canada, Zehia Kalil kept a watchful eye over the 22nd Annual Convention of the organisation in Detroit. Projecting an image of authority over a group unaccustomed to having a women in position of leadership, it was apparent that Mrs. Kalil had kept one of her promises she made last year after her election—to re-activate the youth: the young people were there . . . dancing to the deafening sounds of a hard-rock band till three o'clock in the morning each night at the grand ballroom of the old comfortable Detroit Hilton Hotel. "Zee", as she likes to be called by her young followers, is convinced that this is the way to attract the young Muslims to events which center around preserving the religion of Islam in North America . . .

This is not to say that the love of Islam was not there. It was. As Dr. Mahammad Abdul Rauf, Director of the Islamic Centre of Washington, reminded the convention, "the purpose for which this Federation was formed are indeed nobel goals." Perhaps what is needed is a complete evaluation of Western life in relationship to the enduring principles of Islam. It would be a mistake to think that one has to completely reject Western culture to become a good Muslim, on the other hand, it would be wrong to feel that one can accept Western culture in total and remain a good Muslim. In this regard, American Muslims must determine in their own mind, what are the modes of entertainment within the mainstream of American life, which can be adopted by the Muslim community and moulded into complete conformity to Islamic law. In other words, we must build a new Islamic culture in this country, which will be American in outlook, but guided by the teachings of the Qur'an and the *Sunnah*.

The FIA, and Zehia Kalil, will ultimately be judged by the extent to which they have contributed to the establishment of an American Muslim culture. Once a distinctly Muslim culture is established in North America, it will produce an American Muslim identity which will enable our people to stand tall on their feet as equals to those Muslims of the many varying and diversified Islamic identities which have emerged

in North Africa, the Middle East Turkistan, China and South Asia. (From *Islamic Items*)

Dante's Inferno, Zeffirelli and the Islamic Centre, Rome

It was announced recently that the celebrated film director Franco Zeffirelli plans to make a film of Dante's *Divine Comedy*. It was also reported that this film may contain scenes which will raise misunderstanding about Islam and which may prove to be offensive to Muslims. The Islamic Cultural Centre of Rome took up the issue with Mr. Zeffirelli. They received a long reply assuring them that the film will not contain any "anti-Muslim" implications. Zeffirelli said that he had no intentions of stirring up problems of unjust visions of the Islamic world: "Be sure that if I am lucky enough to realize this difficult and involving film, I will eliminate any episode that could be disrespectful or disparaging for the Muslim world and its Faith. Only by doing this can I fulfil my artistic duties and sentiments of great sympathy and respect that I nourish for your faith and culture". (*Impact news*).

World of Islam Festival Trust

Impact Report

The World of Islam Festival Trust has been formed under the chairmanship of Sir Harold Beeley. The Rajah of Mahmudabad is Vice-Chairman of the Board of Trustees, and Alistair Duncan Chairman of the Management Committee. Paul Keeler is Director of the Trust. The

Trust has received official recognition and is soon to be registered as a Charity.

The purpose of the Trust is to promote knowledge, understanding and appreciation of Islamic culture and civilisation. This means not only its past contribution to the development of human society, but also its role and influence today and tomorrow.

The Trust has decided, as its first venture, to promote and organise a Festival. This will take place in London during April, May and June of 1976. It will consist of an elaborate structure of interlinking presentations, which will include exhibitions, seminars and conferences, lectures and other cultural events and these will be supported by a full publishing programme by Longmans and films for television.

Organisation already involved in this Festival include the British Museum, The Arts Council of Great Britain, The British Library Authority and the Islamic Cultural Centre.

Greece Releases Turkish Editor

Selahettin Galip, editor of a Turkish minority newspaper, has been released from jail by the Greek government following the amnesty proclaimed in Greece. Selahettin Galip had published a series of articles in his paper about the pressures which [Turks in Western Thrace were being subjected to and had been tried and sentenced as a result of these articles. (*Impact news*).

A Man for All Pakistanis

Impact Report

Mr. Sarwar Rija, president of Peterborough's Pakistan Welfare Association, has won the Peterborough Advertiser Award of Honour for Good Citizenship—"an award that is given only to those people who have performed outstanding acts of good citizenship towards their fellows". Mr. Rija has been working for the local Pakistani community since he moved to Peterborough in 1969—helping them to fill forms, interpreting in courts, speaking on their behalf in industrial disputes, and organising demonstrations against India's unjust detention of Pakistani Pow's and for the maintenance of one united Pakistan. He has also worked to maintain good race relations in Peterborough. Early this year he was asked to represent Peterborough on the East Midlands Conciliation Committee, which investigates cases of racial discrimination in the area for the Race Relations Board. He told *Impact*: "My purpose in life is to practice Islam and serve the Muslim *ummah*. My services for the Pakistanis is only one aspect of this object". Mr. Rija lectures in mathematics at the Peterborough annexe of the Kesteven College of Education, is married and has one daughter

UMO Third Annual Conference

The Union of Muslim Organisations of UK and Eire held its Third Annual Conference at the Islamic Cultural Centre on 1-2 September, under the chairmanship of Col. Abdullah Baines-Hewitt. The conference which was attended by representatives of over 30 organisations, called on the oil rich Muslim countries to use oil as a political weapon against those nations which support the Zionists. The conference also called for the restoration of Al-Aqsa mosque and resolved to collect funds for the flood victims of Pakistan. The UMO is to send a donation of £100 to Pakistan. (*Impact news*).

"God and Evil in Three Monotheistic Religions"

A course of six lectures, in conjunction with the University of London, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, on 'God and evil in three monotheistic religions' is to be held at the Notting Hill Ecumenical Centre (5-7 Denbigh Road, London W11 2SJ). The lectures on Islam will be delivered by Dr. D. Cowan of the School of African and Oriental Studies of the London University, who will speak on 'God's will and the Muslim reaction to evil and suffering' on 20 November and 'Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful' on 27 November. The course fee is £1'50 (*Impact news*).

In the News

UMO Office bearers: Dr. Aziz Pasha (Sec. Gen.), Hamid Rabani Siddiqui (Asst. Sec. Gen.), Dr. Nazir Ally (Asst. Sec. Gen.), Syed Sharif Shah Bukhari (Treasurer). UKIM new executive: Habibur Rahman (President), Rashid Siddiqui (V.P.), Saleem Kayani (Sec. Gen.), Saeed Ahmad (Treasurer), Abdus Salam, Waheedur Rahman, Iqbal Ijaz Chaudry, Mukhtar Salim, Dr. Zakauddin, Naqi Ali Alvi, Najmun Noor. Birmingham Mosque Trust: Dr. M. Nasim (Chairman), Haji Afzal Khan (V.C.), Dr. N. A. Raja (Treasurer), Sufi Bagh Ali, Afzal Chaudry, Zafar Alam, M. Zareef and Awwal Badshah. Chaudry Mahmud Ali, new President Pakistan Welfare Association, Waltham Forest, London.

'Khilafat'

Khilafat is new Urdu monthly published by the Khilafat-e-Rashida Movement (30 Rowfant Road, London SW17). The first issue published in August contains a lead article on the Pakistan Movement. There are articles on the UN, condition of pro-Pakistani Muslims in Bangladesh, and an extract from the autobiography of Maulana Mohammed Ali Johar. (*Impact news*).

Ramadan Moon

Ramadan moon will probably be visible on 27 August.

news brief • news brief • news brief • news brief • news brief

AFGHANISTAN. Kabul university vacations extended until 10 September. ● Kabul radio reported Pushtunistan National Day "auspiciously observed" all over the country on 31 August. Vice-Premier Shafaq attended the ceremonies in Kabul. *Kabul Times*, *Hewad*, and *Jumhuriyat* published special articles and printed flag of Pushtunistan. Afghan support continue until "our Pushtun and Baluch brothers" have attained self-determination.

ASIAN SECURITY. Wataru Owada, a Japanese Foreign Ministry official told a Cabinet Committee that Japan should not take part in the Soviet Asian Security System until the territorial issue with the USSR had been settled. He said USSR had not obtained recognition as an Asian nation at Bandung in 1955. If a non-Asian country joined the ASS, US participation would also have to be considered. Indian F.M. Swaran Singh, dismissed reports about USSR naval bases at Visakhapatnam. On the collective security pact he said: "There is no doubt that observance of certain international principles will be conducive to the strengthening of security but this does not mean that the pact is going to be signed". East Germany's *Neues Deutschland* said that detente in Europe had to be expanded and that particular attention had to be given to Asia where peace can also be consolidated by a system of collective security.

BANGLADESH. In the first 5-year plan, 12,006m. taka allocated to private industrial sector and 7,550m to nationalised sector. Foreign collaboration in key industries would be welcome. Those 100% exporting exempted from some statutory duties. Entrepreneurs from less developed areas will get a preferential treatment. ● An Afghan airliner chartered by UN started a daily airlift of Bengalis from Karachi and W. Pakistanis from Kathmandu. ● Awami League, N.A.P. (M), and Communist Parties called for resistance against lawlessness and communalism. ● A Bangladesh-Arab Friendship Society formed in Dacca. ● Ivory Coast recognised Bangladesh. ● 24 persons killed in violence during Dacca University student union elections.

BURMA. A national referendum on a draft constitution to be held on 15-31 December.

CYPRUS. Turkish Cypriot Executive Council to extend no-interest credit of 200,000 Cypriot pounds to the Turkish farmers. ● Rauf Denktas charged Makarios with harbouring Enosis designs.

EGYPT. In reply to *Al Ahram Economic Review*, a Moscow commentator denied the charge that Egypt was forced to buy dear but inferior quality goods. The terms he said, were easy and helped boost production and employment in Egypt.

INDIA. Swaran Singh told a parliamentary committee that India could not write-off Iran, even though a friend of Pakistan, there was scope for expanding commercial and economic contacts. ● The new Rs.50m. Hindustan Aeronautics at Lucknow has started production: will initially

produce a wide range of equipment for jet fighter *Marut* and jet trainer *Keran*. Production of improved MIG-21 has started while plans are underway to improve HF-24 and Gnat aircrafts. Manufacture of a new series of helicopters is also to be undertaken. Replacement planes for the aircraft carrier *Vikrant*, manufacture of sophisticated radar and microwave equipment for air defence and patrol ships are under construction. ● AEC Chairman said Canada's refusal to supply nuclear material and components does not affect Indian programme as the main problem of raw material has been overcome. ● Iraq is to provide credit for a refinery in India in the form of \$50m. worth of crude. India will train Iraqis in shipbuilding & repairs, nautical and marine engineering, and undertake shipbuilding for Iraq. ● India-USSR study centres to be set up in both countries and the two collaborate in social science research. ● A reserve of 50m. tons of copper ore with 1.3% copper content located in Barahat.

INDONESIA. The Air Defence Command incorporated into the National Defence Command. ● Women leaders demanded a monogamous marriage law with minimum age limit, equal divorce rights, and a fairer division of common property. A bill curbing polygamy is already in Parliament. ● Indonesians banned from travelling for Hajj on a passport other than Hajj permit, and go no where else than S. Arabia. ● Suharto told Golkar Congress that political consciousness must be promoted but not allowed to degenerate into fanaticism. ● Foreign tourists banned from visiting Jakarta slums as "it might harm the national cultural values". ● Natural gas discovered in Gandul, Bogor Regency in W. Java.

IRAQ. Kurdistan Democratic Party charged the army with unprovoked attack in Sinjar area during last August. Authorities said army action was in retaliation of Kurd sabotage on 18 Aug. when 10 Arabs were killed and 11 wounded. Kurdish irregulars also attacked in Kirkuk. ● Col. Shafiq Draji, intelligence chief during Pres. Abdus Salam Aref appointed new Intelligence Chief. Saadoun Shakir the previous incumbent sent to Moscow. Bagdad Governor Taffah (uncle of Vice-Pres. Khaddam) retired.

KENYA. Mombasa traders have been called upon by the District Commissioner to come forward and apply for businesses left by the non-citizens; response so far has been very meagre.

KUWAIT. Kuwait considering financing some projects in Yugoslavia;

LEBANON. Import of certain industrial chemical and agricultural items from Romania, suspected of being Israeli products, banned.

LIBYA. Libya donated 221,000 shillings to the Zimbabwe Liberation movements of ZANU and ZAPU. Law issued to nationalise 51% assets of Esso, Libyan-American, Shell, Mobil and Gelsenberg, and Texaco and Asiatic Petroleum oil companies.

MOROCCO. Morocco (and Tunisia) demanded abrogation of trade agreement with USSR and payment in hard currency. Morocco imports goods worth 189m. French francs and exports goods for 240m. F.F. ● A military court sentenced 16 to death and 15 to life imprisonment.

OIL AFFAIRS. President Nixon told a press conference that the U.S. did not depend on Mideast oil as much as Europe, said he has asked Kissinger to move to "some progress" on the Mideast dispute. The radical elements that presumably seem to be in ascendancy in various countries in Mideast, like Libya we are not in a position to control, although we may be in a position to influence them; "oil without market as Dr Mossadegh learned many, many years ago, does not do a country much good." John Love, Nixon's energy adviser said the US could be "relatively" self-sufficient in 3-5 years. The OPEC ministerial council supported Libya's 51% nationalisation and is expected to ask the OPEC conference in Vienna to modify the posted price in view of the inflationary losses. Libya's Oil Minister Mabruk said the only reason for not nationalising 100% was the need to train their youth but if the companies decided to withdraw completely they were free to do so at the pain of unprecedented consequences. The Communist "Radio Iran Courier" criticised Iranian ambassador Zahedi in U.S. for saying that if Saudi Arabia decides to restrict oil production, Iran will increase it.

NIGERIA. Power Commissioner Ali Mongonu said the government already participated in nine out of 13 oil companies. There was need to limit oil production, he said. ● A history bureau established in N.W. State will encourage study of history and archaeology.

NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE. Bumadyan told the Conference that the solution of the problems is in our own hands. The peoples will can rectify the situation, restore normality and resist the many outside threats if this will is corrected, directed and given the freedom to express itself. The speech was responded to by the Chilean FM Almeyda on behalf of Latin America, Mrs. Gandhi on behalf of Asia, Sadat on behalf of Africa, and President Bongo of Gabon on behalf of French-speaking countries of Africa.

PAKISTAN. Emergency suspending some fundamental rights extended for another six months. Three dailys *Hurriyet*, *Jasarat* & *Mehran* banned for 30 days; editors & publishers detained. Over 60 UDF (excluding *Ji*) leaders arrested for defying restrictions on freedom of assembly; police torture alleged. **Ji chief Tufail Muhammad** charged government with provoking violence and deliberate aggravation of flood damages to cover the economic mess. Mahmud Ali Kasuri said Bhutto wanted to destroy Pakistan and establish Sindh Desh. Zafar Ahmad Ansari blamed govt. for using flood calamity for political ends. Bhutto

asked opposition to abandon confrontation and offered to talk. ● Govt. to acquire shares in 18 "nationalised" industries. ● The US has promised \$30m. and 10,000 tons of wheat; Saudi Arabia and Arab Emirates have given \$8m. cash; and China has assured \$500,000 for flood relief. Total damage estimated at over \$300m. Mr. Bhutto told a group of Bengalis that on returning home you will discover who were the exploiters.

PALESTINE LIBERATION. The Libyan hijacker "Mohammad Al-Tuni's", Israeli lawyer received an anonymous letter saying it was unwise "to conduct an illegal case against an Israeli double-agent". ● Yasser Arafat warned those Arab regimes which were trying to "silence the rifle of the Palestinians" and "open themselves to King Hussain", of a fate similar to Wasfi at-Tall. ● PLO to open an office in Conakry, Guinea. ● Men holding in hostage Paris Saudi diplomats surrendered in Kuwait.

SAUDI ARABIA. Sh. Saleh Ghazzaz Secy-Gen. Muslim World League, denounced reported intention of some Muslim governments to produce films on the Prophet's life. ● MWL plans to build an astronomical observatory in Mecca to standardise the sighting of moon. Ten ulama to be trained in French language. ● Saudis employed in foreign, defence and security services and all students studying abroad banned from marrying foreigners. Other Saudis must obtain permission.

SINO-USSR RELATIONS. Peking Home service accused Russia of selling out Arabs during the 1967 war and said the weapons sold at a high price had become a "useless trash" and a means of Soviet expansion in the M.E. ● *NCNA* criticised Soviet policy of grabbing Gulf oil in exchange for its own over-priced goods and equipment. Moscow replying said it was slanderous Maoist propaganda. Tass criticised Maoist division of mankind not on class lines but into so-called rich and poor, and big and small as absurd. ● China refused visa to the correspondent of the pro-Moscow French Communist Party paper, *L'Humanite*.

SOUTH AFRICA. Premier Vorster told National Party that no population group could afford to share its political power over its own people with another group. He warned the neighbouring states for their extremist criticism. In years to come their people would be forced to come to S. Africa for work.

TANZANIA. The Cabinet directed Tanu Youth League and Militia to prevent wearing of indecent dresses such as mini and tight dresses and indecently tailored trousers.

TURKEY. Consular service agreement with Bulgaria ratified. ● President Koruturk's said that "as a result of victorious battle of Dumlupinar on 30 August we built out of the Ottoman Empire which foreign interests had been trying to strangle for many years, a Turkish Republic... (which) has served as an example to many nations."