

MUSLIM VIEWPOINT(S) ON CURRENT AFFAIRS

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The summit meeting in Cairo between the leaders of the front-line states—Egypt, Jordan and Syria—came as something of a surprise to many people in the Middle East. Clearly it was a meeting of great moment but there was nothing in the platitudes expressed in the communique to suggest this.

We can look at what is happening now in the Middle East and compare it with the course of events associated for example with the Rogers initiative and show that they point in the same direction.

The state most concerned on the Eastern front is Jordan and King Hussein is on record as saying that he cannot go to war with Israel in conditions where he is almost certain to lose. The talk of reactivation of the Eastern front thus conceals another reality, aptly illustrated by Waldheim's recent visit to the Middle East. On the one hand Sadat was speaking of the need to use "all human and material resources" for the direct struggle with the enemy. On the other hand, in the same week, Waldheim was saying at the end of his visit to Egypt: "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".

Egypt has never ceased trying whether under Nasser or under Sadat to get a political settlement with Israel. We have recently seen Egyptian delegations to all the major capitals of the world attempting to seek this objective. At the end of the last Security Council debate on the Middle East, Sadat put the blame firmly on the Americans for failing to bring any pressure on Israel.

Waldheim's statement of course applied also to Syria. Despite its revolutionary pronouncements Syria has always adopted a "safe" attitude towards Israel. No one, it has been said, has done more, by restraining the Palestinians, to defend Israel's security. The Palestinian guerillas can argue that President Asad is now supporting King Hussein against them, not of course that he has given them any effective help hitherto. This argument can be borne out by the Syrian closing down of Palestine radio at Dara after it had voiced criticism of Hussein. Again this is reminiscent

NEW MOVES ON THE EASTERN FRONT

FROM OUR MIDDLE EAST
CORRESPONDENT

of the Rogers' initiative and Nasser's closing down the Voice of Palestine radio in Cairo.

What is true of the attitude of the front-line states now may apply to other Arab governments as well. Even the redoubtable Qaddafi of Libya is not in favour of military conflict and in any case he does not have the capacity to wage one. In a *Newsweek* interview last week he as much as, discounted any military moves against Israel and spoke of economic warfare instead. One may recall the 'revelation' of Premier Dom Mintoff of Malta (at the time of the of Helsinki Conference on European Security) that Qaddafi had agreed with him—and Nasser before him—that Israel must remain in existence.

Perhaps the most important change in the last two decades in the Middle East is now represented by the position of Saudi Arabia, and the growing relationship between it and Egypt, Jordan and the Gulf States. During Nasser's time there was never really good relations between Egypt and Saudi Arabia because of Nasser's ambitions in the Yemen and other places. It did not markedly improve even when Saudi Arabia moved in to give Egypt a massive subsidy to compensate for the losses suffered in the 1967 war. Now there appears to be some growing consensus between Sadat and Faysal.

At first it was, and it still is thought that the purpose of Egypt's Ostpolitik was to get Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States to agree to the use of oil as a political weapon to bring the US to alter its stand in support of Israel. Since then there have been indications that Faysal and some of the Gulf States might be prepared to limit oil production

as a political lever, although it is said that social and purely economic planning goals might be involved instead. How oil can be used as a political weapon has never been properly defined. Certainly oil is a consideration in American policies towards the Middle East, but one may ask whether it is the only or the main consideration.

Apart from the question of oil, there has been the report, repeated more than once both in Western and other circles that Faysal too favoured a political settlement. This was first explicitly stated during the recent conference of Saudi ambassadors. It was also stated in comments on the Cairo meeting between Sadat, Hussein and Asad. If there is any truth in these allegations it would certainly be a very important development in the Middle East situation. On the face of it, it would seem unlikely that Saudi Arabia would embark on such a radical change of policy of agreeing to the recognition, for whatever reasons, of the Zionist presence in Palestine.

What may be the reasons for the Arab states wanting a political settlement with Israel? Perhaps each state might see limited territorial or economic gains! Collectively they may feel that to come to terms with Israel would be to deprive it of benefits in the form of outside support and sympathy which it has always derived by posing as a nation under continuous threat of war and possible extinction. They may consequently argue that a relaxing of tension would enable them to concentrate on the tasks of internal development in expectations of another day to come—waging war through peace.

Israel on the other hand sits smugly at the thought that no threat confronts it and that it dominates and is likely to dominate for some considerable time to come. It is continuing to build settlements and establish its illegal de facto presence on the West Bank, in the Sinai and on the Golan Heights. With Russian immigrants and others, it is seeking to make the land as Jewish as possible. Defiantly it is altering the character of Jerusalem. Do the Israelis then have a mind to negotiate? Even if they do after the formation of their new government, it would be largely on their terms.

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*Subscription Manager***Survey****● RUSSIA & CHINA ● ALGERIAN WORKERS****Russia and China — recrimination over the minorities**

Border problems and the treatment of minorities are turning out to be important questions in the relationship between China and the Soviet Union which is becoming increasingly bitter.

The Soviet Chinese rupture occurred of course about a decade ago and although since then there have been severe mutual recriminations and criticisms, in recent weeks these have reached a new pitch and intensity. The conflict is presented by both sides in many different ways. Each claims that the other has deviated from the Marxist path. The Chinese claim that the Russians have joined the imperialist fold as a super power "reaching out its grasping hand everywhere" and "incessantly carrying out interference and subversion in other countries". The Russians claim that the Chinese have abandoned the socialist ideological divisions of the world into capitalist and communist and adopted the rich and poor division. They also attack Chinese leaders for openly aligning themselves with "the most reactionary forces of imperialism".

On the internal fronts, China accuses the Russian leaders of betraying its own working classes by having gone capitalist. The Russians however say that the Maoist clique in China has proclaimed a distinctive Chinese socialism which in fact is anti-socialism. They have militarised the economy, adopted the mistaken view that agriculture was the foundation of the economy and the policy of self-reliance whereby priority was given to small-scale production rather than heavy industry. These criticisms do not imply that the Soviet Union has given up any thought or hope of China returning to the fold.

These accusations and counter-accusations cannot be ignored in the study of socialism and its evolution. These have an important bearing on the nature and course of socialism and on events in the rest of the world. What is of particular concern here is their bearing on the national minorities (in the border regions especially) in both China and the Soviet Union. Both countries are suing the minorities' question to embarrass the other, to exploit tensions and divisions. In the process we are learning much about the position of the various minorities which would otherwise not be known. Still there is evidence in the mutual recriminations to show that all is not well with either party's minorities.

In a recent attack on the Soviet Union, the New China newsagency challenges Russia's right to sovereignty over the Soviet republics of Central Asia and even the Ukraine. It said that the "two dynasties — the Romanov dynasty and the Krushchev-Brezhnev dynasty — are linked by a black line, that is the aggressive and expansionist nature of great Russian chauvinism and imperialism". Soviet policy towards the peoples of Central Asia, like Tzarist policy, was neither benevolent nor self-protective as claimed but colonialist and expansionist.

On the other hand the Soviet Union has been making even more use of the minorities question to discredit China by proclaiming that the various peoples in the Soviet Union enjoy friendship and brotherhood with each other while the minorities in China suffer from a policy of fear and terror waged by the Peking leadership and the the majority Han Chinese. Dissatisfaction and fear it alleges is strong especially in the minority areas of Inner Mongolia, Tibet, Chinghai and Sinkiang.

In a broadcast in Mongolian on 12 August 73, Radio Peace and Progress claimed that a million Chinese attached to the PLA Production and Construction Corps have been stationed in Sinkiang together with the Regular Army "to promote the militarization of the Uighur people in all fields". They had followed the Ching dynasty in its colonization policy and had "seized and reclaimed the most fertile areas in Sinkiang". It also said that "production and construction corps" were established in other minority areas. In Inner

Mongolia alone the corps is "over half a million strong".

On 26th July, the same radio had carried a talk by Kadir Kerimov entitled "The Destruction of Eastern Turkestan's literary heritage by the Chinese leadership". It described how the rich literary, scientific and theological works (of the ulama) were being destroyed by the Chinese as an expression of Chinese "enmity towards national heritages". It also reported mass mental and physical punishment of rural workers under "false slogans such as the criticism of revisionism". Their have been other reports of Kazaks crossing from Chinese held to Russian held territory.

The reports from either side cannot be disregarded. What we do not have are independent and up-to-date indicators of what the minorities themselves feel about their treatment. It is difficult to deny though that there are major problems, though little mention of solutions, that might satisfy the demands of self-determination for the various peoples. However an *Economist's* special correspondent reported (25 Aug 73) a solution offered by a Soviet journalist.

"History, said the Soviet journalist, shows that buffer states are necessary to keep the peace between great powers; therefore there should be buffer states between Russia and China. Luckily, he went on, the material for such new countries lay at hand. You could start off with Manchuria, on the eastern part of the frontier, where two or three million Manchues would be happy to be independent of China. Mongolia would be next, made up of the Mongolian Republic (now independent and pro-Soviet) and what is at present Chinese Inner Mongolia. The buffer along the central Asian part of the border would again be taken mostly from Chinese territory and might be called the East Turkestan Republic, thus giving freedom—from China—to the Moslem Uighurs and Kazaks."

Algerian Worker's in France: set back to mutuality

Following the latest upsurge of anti-Algerian and anti-North African feeling in France in which 11 Algerians so far have been murdered in separate "incidents", Algeria has decided to suspend immediately all further emigration to France "until the necessary conditions of security and dignity are guaranteed to Algerian nationals by the French authorities.

Although the French Minister of Employment has deplored the Algerian ban (which will only begin to have some effect towards the middle of next year) as an artificial dramatisation of the situation, the Algerian decision is a measure of the seriousness with which they view the problems of Algerian workers in France. The Algerian ambassador to the EEC, M. Ait Chala'al, has gone on record as saying at the first round of negotiations with the EEC on trade and economic agreements, that Europe should be ashamed of the way it treated foreign workers. "The suffering of these 10 million workers is the basis of the prosperity of much of the continent", he said. He condemned the outbreak of anti-Algerian feeling in France as "revolting and scandalous".

The responsibility for the improvement of the lot of immigrant workers in France now rests primarily with the French government and employers. So far these workers have not enjoyed the social benefits or civic rights which their contribution to the prosperity of the country should entitle them. It is known that workers who have striven to better their conditions have been victimised in various ways. In fact the conditions under which they work is nothing but another form of indentured or slave labour.

Survey

● LIBYA ● CHILE ● U.S. & PAKISTAN ● U.K. LIBERALS

The EEC has decided to take responsibility for some improvement. It has now decided to offer improved social security and pay conditions for Algerians working in the Community. These include proposals to pay family allowances to Algerians whose families are with them and better social security benefits for Algerians who change jobs from one member country to another.

Other immediate problems remain which are within the direct competence of the French government to solve. On the question of the security of the Algerians and their protection from fear, harassment and arbitrary attacks, the French government has so far not been reported to have taken any firm action against police and security forces which are notoriously anti-Algerian. Much could be done in this regard. So far also, no new plans have been announced to get rid of the disgraceful bidonvilles or shanty towns and make way for more decent housing for the "guest workers". The French government may be threading a tightrope in this respect. It is certainly up against a great deal of chauvinistic feeling. The Algerian government has stated that the whipping up of the feelings was the work of "secret forces working against the improvement of relations between Algeria and France". In the unmasking of these secret forces could lie one of the keys to the defusing and solution of the problem.

What is worrying in the prospects for the future is the suggestion that the suspension of emigration was a calculated move on the part of the Algerians to gain increases in the quota of workers allowed to enter France. This quota is to come under review in the near future. The basis for this suggestion seems to be that Algeria stands to gain a great deal in the way of easing its unemployment problems and receiving foreign exchange remittances for Algerian workers in France to their families. Widely differing estimates of these remittances have been given, ranging from £118 to £200 million annually. In any case these are taken as reasons for the undisguised keenness of Algeria to continue its new policy of improving relations with France. Although the Algerian move so far is a commendable one, it remains to be seen what practical measures would be adopted to deal with the conditions of immigrant workers in France and whether these would have any significant effect on the atmosphere of hostility, whether veiled or open, in which Algerians are now living in France.

Libya—Perhaps a welcome phenomenon

"If we review the decisions made by the popular committees in Libya in the past weeks", wrote the Libyan paper *Ar-Ra'y* earlier this month, "we shall see that many of the governors, mayors and director-generals dismissed by these committees are just as sincere, patriotic and mature as the committees, if not more". In a situation like Libya's, a newspaper writes what it is asked to, and *Ar-Ra'y*'s boldness in describing the "collective dismissal phenomenon" as an "erroneous phenomenon" and asking the committee "to reconsider their decisions, rectify their mistakes, return to a sound source and try to serve public interest in whatever steps they take" must be noted as a significant phenomenon. Perhaps a welcome phenomenon, in that it might denote an official desire to learn from the experience of the last few months of "popular" chaos. As the paper admits "the methods adopted by the committees are undemocratic, lack consciousness, put personal views and selfish interests before objectivity and before public interest." These naturally produced "an endless series of mistakes committed by these committees affecting patriots and faithful citizens". Libya with such a small human infra structure can not afford such an unplanned experiment in cultural revolution. Already the RCC had started reducing and curtailing the popular committee's jurisdiction, but it appears that the committees had gone too far in affecting even the

"faithful citizens".

Another "noble and humanitarian decision which shows the nobility of the revolutionary command" is the decision to pay the salaries of the political prisoners. Although as far as is known, Libyan political prisoners were not as seriously mistreated as in some other Arab countries, but the prisoner's families have been facing the pinch of the indefinite detention of the earning members of their household. The present decision to pay their salaries should no doubt be commended, but the more fundamental question is the fact of detention without trial. Since the Libyan leadership seeks also to abide by Islam it is expected to know that Islam does not sanction a detention without trial. Islam is not complacent or chicken-hearted in the matter of punishment but punishment applies to proven and not to assumed guilt; and false accusation is a criminal offence.

The need to reconsider, to rectify and to return to a sound source applied both to the popular committees and the R.C.C. And it is in Libya's own interest to move from a position of notional and situational "nobility" to one which is fundamental and eternal.

Chile change

So Allende has committed suicide. Less than hundred days after being elected as Chile's first socialist President, Salvador Allende Gossens had told a press conference that "there are some Chileans who would like to see me fried in oil. He was not far wrong.

In the revolution ridden, U.S. backyard of Latin America Allende's coming to power in 1970 was seen as a unique experiment: Marxism through democracy. Though not quite unique as previously in the Indian states of Kerala and West Bengal communist parties had attained power through elections, but paradoxical it was, no doubt.

In a continent so adept at making revolutions at the slightest excuse, even Marx would have had to stand on his head to think of some anti-revolutionary strategy of changing social and economic relations. A people so tormented by the Latin American mutant of oligarchy and capitalism they had all the right appeal to vote for Allende's platform which promised them economic equity and social dignity. However, change is brought about either through despotism and ruthlessness or through a gradual programme aimed at educating and associating the masses. Allende's majority was only slim and he had chosen a non-Marxian road of gradualism.

To the extreme left, Allende was a "bourgeois" and a "Catspaw of the Right". The Rightists called him a "Bolshevik". Perhaps he was neither, perhaps a mixture of both but whatever he was he had committed the fatal mistake of challenging the U.S. monopolist interests. Last October World Bank's Robert McNamara had told Allende that there would be no further credit unless Chile shows that it has "a properly administered economy". That was just one turn of the screw. In 1970 when Allende came to power 14 Chilean escudos equalled one U.S. dollar and later one dollar fetched 350 escudos officially, and 2,000 in the black market. For the past six months there was no meat in shops and the truck drivers had been on strike since more than six weeks. How much of it was due to the inexperience and inefficiency of Allende's government and what part is owed to CIA, it is difficult to answer the question precisely. Allende had nationalised the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation in October, 1971 and the ITT is reported then to have put forward a plan to CIA so "that Allende does not get through the crucial next six-months." The coup only followed the economic chaos.

There is one curious fact to the Chilean episode. Compared to Cuba, Chile was a far "less socialist" country. Santiago unlike Havana was not plastered with anti-imperialist slogans and posters. Yet it was Chile and Cuba which had this bloody coup.

U.S. & Pakistan — the Watergate vaccum

When Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the Pakistan Prime Minister left for the U.S. he had said that he was not going to ask for arms aid. Relations with the U.S. were old and cordial and the two countries had security agreements, so there was no such need, said Mr. Bhutto. In Washington he spoke to Mr. Nixon of his confidence that "you are well acquainted with our problems." He referred flatteringly to the American "tilt" toward Pakistan in December 1971—a tilt which kept Yahya Khan waiting for the U.S. Seventh Fleet to come and save East Pakistan instead of accepting the Russian-Polish resolution calling for a cease fire and a political settlement in *East Pakistan*—and said: "Mr. President that was a tilt for justice and a tilt for equity." Mr. Nixon replied that "the independence and integrity of Pakistan is the cornerstone of American foreign policy."

These patronising remarks of the U.S. President must no doubt have encouraged Mr. Bhutto, but the Pakistan Prime Minister was even otherwise looking forward to being able "to muster all possible support" from a country so friendly as the U.S. "to strengthen the defence of his homeland." Although Mr. Bhutto had tried to be discreet about the matter to the extent that at the Washington National Press Club when asked whether he had called on Mr. Nixon to modify his policy on arms supplies to Pakistan, Mr. Bhutto replied with a blunt "No", it was the official U.S. spokesman who let it be broadcast that Mr. Bhutto did make such a request but President Nixon had said "No".

America had as much right to refuse the request as the visiting Prime Minister had to make it but there seemed a particular uncouthness in this refusal. Last July when Mr. Bhutto had already arrived in Rome on way to Washington, President Nixon became ill and Mr. Bhutto had to have himself received in London and Paris instead. Ironically while Mr. Bhutto was in London the pneumonia-ridden Mr. Nixon was receiving the Shah of Iran. On the present visit too "because of the threat of rain some of the traditional pomp was dispensed with" and Mr. Nixon received Mr. Bhutto in the East Room instead of the White House lawn which is traditionally the place to receive a state guest. Mr. Bhutto's own reaction to his White House pilgrimage can be seen in his undiplomatic speech before the U.N. General Assembly (which might jeopardise the repatriation of the PoWs) or in the remarks about Watergate "We do feel a kind of vacuum is existing in international relations." What could be this vacuum mean in relation to Pakistan?

Britain — the Liberal Phenomenon

Liberalism is that philosophy which in the last century destroyed the very values it now claims it wants to re-establish. The Liberal Party, successor of the Whigs, used such slogans as "freedom from restraint, greater freedom in political institutions, enlightenment in theology, and freedom from prejudice" to deliver the country to the new capitalist class. Its insistence on unrestrained rationality and the Benthamite quantification of the "greatest good" ensured the ultimate emergence of the free enterprise permissive society that the British have today. Indeed the Conservative and the milk-and-water socialists of the Labour Party have uncritically followed the philosophy of the original liberals.

The contemporary British economic, political and social system is now thoroughly liberal and the British people are beginning not to like it. And to reform the system which it claims is the envy of the world, the Liberal Party is offering even more liberalism! If the Liberals succeed the British people will have achieved no meaningful change. Choices in Western democracy are strictly limited by the Liberal's own philosophy.

Sudan's dynamic stalemate

By a Special Correspondent

After over a week of defiance by students, intellectuals and workers, Sudan seems now to have settled to uneasy stalemate.

Numayri since his hurried return from the 'non-aligned' summit in Algiers has been trying to contain and defuse the situation. Arriving at the airport, he was no doubt furious with his Vice-President, Maj-Gen. Baqir for being unable to suppress the "plotters against the May revolution". But by the time, he had arrived in Khartoum, he had better counsels and a more realistic appreciation of the situation. His 9 September speech was a mixture of indictment and apology. He accused the "remnants of reaction and treason" for trying to entice even the South Sudanese. He said he knew "how they sent Turabi, when the revolution released him from detention to collect money under the pretext of the Islamic thought from the Arab Gulf and to advocate in London and New York revolution against the May revolution". He named Sharif al Hindi, Mudawwi and Adam Abd al-Qadir of the National Front as being the instigators of these petitions, and "protests against the revolution, through the same law and constitution which they went out to repeal . . .". The University, he said, "became the platform to eliminate freedom in the name of freedom, democracy in the name of democracy . . . There was much in the leaflets and meetings, starting with abuses, curses and impugning the honour of the officials; then touching the armed force members and senior officers with curses and insults; and ending by cursing the country's command with what the tongue refrains from repeating; then by threats of oppression and the overt calls to strike the revolution and the overt emergence of the dissolved party organisations . . ."

"A small group of young professors at the university have sent me a letter . . . In this letter they accuse the ministers of advocating sedition. The letter denounces what it calls the military occupation of the university." Numayri's speech is an indicator of the true dimensions of the Sudanese democratic upsurge. The University teachers' statement referred to by General Numayri was signed by 180 staff members. It spoke about the "shortsightedness and senseless stupidity" of suppressing, arresting and even shooting the students. The teachers condemned the instigation to violence against the students by such stalwarts of the regime as Mahdi Mustafa El-Hadi, Major Abul Gassim and Gaafer Bakheit. "No respectable regime would abet such violence." "The university," they charged "was under a siege, under military occupation." The teachers, therefore, wanted an immediate judicial inquiry into the whole affair, publication of a complete list of those killed and wounded, release of all political detainees, termination of the university's military occupation, restoring its autonomy and open civilian trial of all those arrested, including Dr. Zakaria Bashir of the Philosophy department, Numayri's answer to this was that "it is not only rejected but (it) also necessitates punishment. The time has come for people to pay for their mistakes".

Some light on the situation is also thrown by the statement issued by 150 doctors of the Kartoum Hospital. The doctors strongly condemned "the shooting of unarmed persons", "irresponsible statements by Major Abul Gassim", the "outrageous and unprecedented" interference by the Ministry of Interior in the post-mortem procedures at the Hospital and the forcible removal of the wounded to military hospitals. Refuting the Vice-President's statement they named two students who were shot dead (Gamal Abdel Rahman Abdel Nabi, 1st year Architecture and Mohammad El-Sayed Higazi, Final Economics) and two who were grievously hurt. They accused the police and army units of "invading" the hospital on 30 August, using guns and tear gas, and assaulting hospital staff and patients. "Doctors, workers, parents, judges, officers and soldiers", the statement concluded, "let's join hands to overthrow this dictatorship and bring a democratic rule to the country."

Numayri, of course was in a position to yield to these demands. He however, tried to "openly admit . . . some negative aspects which we are trying to amend . . . shortcomings which we are daily discovering and the backwardness which the May revolution has inherited . . ." He said, "I admit that we have been amiss in our action. There is a shortcoming in the systems of distribution and prices . . . in the methods and means of storing of products . . . in the fixing of priorities . . . The consumers have shortcomings also . . . There are, brothers, shortcomings in the public utilities . . . There is a shortcoming, brothers, even in the political organisations . . ." Numayri promised a purge of the Socialist Union, establishment of revolutionary control units, and "a supreme political committee to review the role of the university in the revolutionary society . . . to ensure its complete adherence to the traditions of the society . . . as well as to ensure that the non-academic activity of the youth was within the framework of one political organisation in this country."

The Khartoum University Students Union (KUSU), however, remains unappeased and defiant. The university is closed but the students continue to stay in Khartoum and hold meetings and debates. The student mood is reflected in their rejoinder to President Numayri's 9 September speech. It begins: "The President yesterday made a poorly drafted, useless and generalised speech. His speech tells the image of the regime. He falsely declares that the students are part of the so-called May revolution. What then is the meaning of our slogans . . . Down with the May regime! . . . May's gang will not rule us!"

The statement goes on: "The President is broken-hearted about the (abuse of) the freedom of thought and the debate in the university". But "let us explain . . . the Union's platform was serving the nation . . . We gave to the people a picture which is true (and which) the nationalised press hides . . . Millions are starving while millions are being sent to erect a grand premises for the Socialist Union".

The KUSU denied that the students ever abused the armed forces and that what Numayri had said about the university was "a pack of lies". It challenged the regime to publish the "full list" of those killed and wounded as well as the post mortem report on El-Tigani Nasir, the soldier whom the students were blamed to have stoned to death. The KUSU rejected the "so-called political committee" as a committee formed to liquidate the university.

Numayri has taken the situation with an uncharacteristic calm. In the beginning he did want to be ruthless and to execute, but clearly he was better advised by his colleagues, particularly the Vice-President Baqir. Baqir has all along been a reluctant confrontationist. Dr. Zaki Mustafa who had been recalled from Ahmadu Bello University to be the Attorney General in the last reshuffle has advised Numayri against flouting his own constitution. The lawyers were already in revolt and any short shrift with law could possibly alienate the country's judiciary too.

The dismissal of about 400 railway workers and their eviction from the residential quarters in

Port Sudan and Atbara has not helped normalisation on the trade union front. The armed forces appear rather unenthusiastic about getting too involved. Maj.-Gen. Awad Khalifa, head of the orientation programme (*tawjeeh ma'awi*) writing in the armed forces paper, *Al quwat al Musallah*, exhorted the forces to stand as one man behind the government; to execute the orders of their superiors; to hit hard at the reactionaries; and to remember their oath of allegiance. The article did no doubt suggest a certain situation in the armed forces. In fact 19 officers including one Brigadier have already been retired, and another 15 arrested for refusing to execute orders of Abul Gassim, Minister of Health, who they had said was only a retired Major and had no authority to command them.

Numayri has been having a continuous round of meetings with the officers, NCOs and soldiers in the various branches of the forces. He has been speaking to them about the recent events and telling them that "the victories of the revolution made the plotters hurry their plans . . . Some of the leaders of the trade unions had received sums of money" from outside. About students Numayri seems to have since come down from condemnation to regret that "the leaders of tomorrow" should have fallen into the trap of the defunct parties. The keynote is "about the next step of the plotters" which might be "creating rifts in the armed forces, because they were the protecting shield for the revolution."

The agenda before Numayri is to buy time; to retain the armed forces' confidence; to isolate and divide the various sections of the opposition; and to find a new political and administrative team. The first three should not be problematical but it is the last one which is crucial. Despite a number of reshuffles, Numayri's one-man non-ideological revolution has been able to attract only an incompetent and sycophant cadre. Sudan's present economic and administrative mess very much tells this.

Just now the situation in the Sudan looks like a dynamic stalemate.

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XXIX International Congress of Orientalists Of the Orient, by the Occident

Khurshid Ahmad

International Congress of Orientalists is one of the oldest and most respected forums of International scholarship. Study of the Orient has had a long and almost open-ended tradition in the West. But Orientalism, as it is understood today, cannot claim to have such a long pedigree. During the medieval age Christian intellectuals and priests wrote a number of tracts on Islam, primarily to malign and discredit this rising force. The level of scholarship was poor and the anti-bias only too explicit. With the advent of the modern phase of Western imperialism different European powers came into contact with the Oriental world in a number of ways—in certain regions they had established their rule, with respect to others they were pursuing the path of competition and confrontation. This impressed on them the need for knowing more about the thought, religion, culture and history of these peoples. It was under the sheltering arm of the foreign ministries and colonial offices that Orientalist research began and flourished. The opportunity was seized by another group of scholars too: the Christian missionaries, who had multiplied their activities in the colonized world and were gathering fullest patronage from the colonial powers. With the rise of Zionism in the late 19th Century, Jewish scholars also began to take enhanced interest in the Middle East. All these faiths, among others, have shaped modern Orientalism. Its major areas of interest had been the Muslim world, the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent and the Chinese tradition. Many centres for Oriental studies had emerged in different parts of Europe—in particular in the universities, churches, synagogues and foreign and colonial offices. By the middle of the nineteenth century it began to be realised that they needed a joint forum to co-ordinate all this study and research and to exchange notes. While tensions between the colonial powers of Europe were reigning high on the political front, co-ordination on the academic front began. The First International Congress of Orientalists was held in Paris in 1873—the year Bismark had expounded his theory of balance of power. The academic world led the movement towards equilibrium among the antagonists.

The 1973 Congress of Orientalists was held in Paris to commemorate its centenary at the place where it was born. Paris was playing host to it for the third time. After the First Congress, the XIth Congress was also held there in 1897. The 1973 Congress was the first one held in Paris in the twentieth century. It was also the first conference in the post-colonial period of France, if 'post-colonial' is the proper word for the contemporary phase of neo-imperialism. It might be of some interest to note that in the last hundred years only three of the twenty-nine Congresses have been held in the Orient—two in the Muslim world (XIVth Congress of 1905 in Algiers and XXIIth congress of 1951 in Istanbul) and one in India (Delhi, 1964, XXIVth Congress). Whether this confirms the shibboleth that Orientalism is the study of the Orient by the Occidentals for the Occident, is a matter of opinion.

The Congress began on the 16th July, 1973 and concluded its deliberations on the 22nd July. Professor M. Rene Labat acted as the President of the Congress. Professor M. Yves Hervouet was its secretary. The Plenary Session was presided over by Professor Bernard Lewis of the London University School of Oriental Studies.

After the Plenary Session the Congress was divided into eleven sections, each section met independently almost every morning and evening. Five to eight papers were read in every sectional session. The Congress has grown so huge that it has become virtually impossible for any one person to attend more than one section. Two Conferences and thirteen seminars were also organised in whatever time could be snatched before, in-between, or after the sessions. The programme was overcrowded, so were the portals of the Sorbonne and College de France, where most of these meetings took place. A number of exhibitions and social functions were also organised by different cultural organisations of Paris. An idea of the variety of subjects covered and the number of papers devoted to each theme can be had from the following resume:

<i>Sections and sub-sections</i>	<i>No. of Papers</i>
1. Ancient Near East	
(a) Assyriology—16	
(b) Egyptology—37	
(c) Semitic Studies—24	77
2. The Christian Orient	27
3. Hebraic Studies	13
4. Arabic & Islamic Studies	108
5. Iranian Studies (Ancient and Modern)	63
6. Central Asian Civilization	
(a) Ancient—22	
(b) Mongol and Tibetan—34	
(c) Turkish—44	100
7. India (Ancient & Modern)	167
8. South-East Asia	
(a) Insulindian archipelago—50	
(b) South-East Contintal Area—52	102
9. Chinese Studies	
(a) Pre-Modern—78	
(b) Modern China—46	124
10. Japanese and Korean Studies	
(a) Korea—43	
(b) Japan—51	94
11. Libraries and Documentation	16
Conferences:	
i The Deciphering of Writings and Languages	31
ii Contemporary Literature in South-East Asia—17	48
Seminars (Papers)	49
Total number of papers:	1019

Standards are bound to vary in such a diverse enormity of papers. My impression is based on the papers presented in the section on Arabic and Islamic Studies, plus those I was able to gather from the fellow delegates, particularly from the sections on India, Iran and Central Asia. Some of the papers were well researched and neatly presented. Many seemed reasonably good. But at the other end of the spectrum some were extremely

superficial and patently subjective. Perhaps understandable! What is significant, however is that the type of scholarship and the issues and themes which were introduced by the founding orientalists have become perpetuated. Almost all the papers, with rare exceptions, were steeped in the classic methodology of Orientalism. There were new researches, even new conclusions, but almost no rethinking about the basic attitudes and methodology of Orientalism.

The dead past is still more important than the living present. Oriental cultures, even where living and dynamic, are dissected and examined as parts of a legacy, not as a live force destined to fashion the future. The construction of the language has precedence over the content of thought. The criterion for judging the Orient is still provided by the Occident—the model of criticism developed in the West is regarded as universally relevant. Cultures of the Orient are not studied on the basis of their own value-pattern. The absolutist assumption of universalism of Western paradigms is accepted almost without question. And this is so despite two to three decades of independence and a growing participation of the Oriental Orientalists! Almost half of the congressionists to the XXIXth Congress came from the Orient. But this made very little difference to the themes, issues and methodology of Orientalism.



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Turkish Workers in West Germany

Nevzad Yalcintas

The continuity of economic growth and structural labour shortage in Western Europe are two main factors which have contributed to the presence of a large number of foreign workers in Europe. While on the one hand economists and industrialists are admitting that the high rate of economic growth in Western European countries would not have been possible without the foreign labour force, there is on the other hand a growing resistance against the increasing numbers of foreign workers in receiving countries. From time to time this issue has become one of the hot points of internal politics of these countries.

Amidst the controversies, however, some vital problems of foreign workers are glossed over or ignored. These problems stem from the fact that the workers often come from countries with a very different social, cultural, economic and in most cases religious structure. This applies particularly to Muslim workers. From Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia, from Mauritania and Mali, workers have emigrated mainly to France and Germany. There are almost 5,000 Tunisians working in Sicily. A large number of Muslims from Pakistan, India, Yemen, and various countries of Africa are now working in the United Kingdom. Egyptian labour has been exported to Greece where there is a shortage in some sectors like construction, itself due to emigration of Greek workers to western Europe.

The Turkish workers who began migrating to western Europe in large numbers from 1961. By 1973, their number had reached 700,000 with the figure totalling one million when families are included. This is the second largest group of Muslim workers in Europe after the Algerians. Turkish workers are concentrated mainly in West Germany which accommodates 600,000 of the 700,000. The main concentration areas are Cologne, Frankfurt, Stuttgart, Nuremberg, Munich and West Berlin. The migration of Turkish workers to Western Europe is expected to continue in the near future, though possibly at a slower rate.

From the time of arrival in Germany, one of the problems immediately felt by the Turkish workers is separation from their families. This separation could continue for a

long period. Under German legislation a foreign worker cannot take the members of his family with him unless they have jobs or until a specified period has elapsed. By this time, some workers who can, do not bring their families with them in order to save more money. Separated families can easily lead to broken families. The number of Turkish workers marrying German women is also increasing constantly. In cases where the women do not become Muslim or do not try to adapt to Turkish customs, traditions and way of living, marital problems arise which often end in broken marriages.

The housing conditions of foreign workers are usually not good. Turkish workers, who generally have the desire to return home soon, are not inclined to buy houses. Many Turkish workers live in overcrowded flats with poor sanitary facilities. These can lead to health problems which are aggravated by wrong nutrition and loneliness.

On the other hand, while being abroad, a great many Turkish workers, are becoming more conscious of their religious obligations and trying to practice it better. In West Germany, Turkish workers and their organizations have established mosques and prayer rooms in the cities, factories or in their boarding houses. In general, German employers do not create difficulties in this regard and indeed in most cases they are even quite helpful. In each of the nine Turkish consulates in W. Germany there is a trained and educated employee in charge of the religious affairs in the area. They are selected from graduates of Higher Islamic Institutes in Turkey. In addition to these employees several *imams* and *hatips* are sent to Germany, Belgium, and Austria, during the Ramadan, by the Turkish government. The Turkish constitution states that public religious education is a state responsibility. In radio programmes broadcast to Turkish workers abroad, Islamic teachings and the reading and meaning of the Qur'an are included.

The influence of a foreign society on immigrants in the field of culture and social behaviour is considerable. In spite of the efforts made by Turkish authorities, worker organizations and individuals, the cultural, moral, religious and civic life of the migrant workers is under a process of erosion which is sometimes quite rapid. To shield themselves from this erosion, the bulk of Turkish workers have a strong tendency to isolate themselves from the rest of the society in which they live and work. Such tendency finds support from the language barriers and the differences in social and cultural life. This has led to the emergence of Turkish workers' population pockets in German cities. These pockets would have their own Turkish shops, restaurants, cafes and cinemas. While this patchy living helps a certain preservation of the social and cultural values and ways of life, but it also bars any positive socio-cultural interaction.

In this process of erosion, though the number affected at present is not very high, fear has been expressed that in the long run many may be completely lost to Turkish

society. Partly to counteract this, there is a strong emphasis on the preservation of Turkish national identity and the Turkish connections. There are regular and frequent air, rail and road transport facilities between West Germany and Turkey. Workers and their families benefit from a reduction in fares on Turkish airways, and on train services too. Many Turkish workers have their own cars and the road conditions being good, a majority spends its annual holiday in their towns or villages in Turkey.

In Germany they can listen to Turkish radio programmes every day specially broadcast for them. There are also daily and evening Turkish broadcasts on German radio from Cologne, with music, news and readings from the Qur'an and a religious talk on Fridays. The three major Istanbul newspapers print special editions in Germany. The exact circulation figures are not available, but estimates put their total daily circulation at 60,000, half of which belongs to *Tercuman* followed by *Hurriyet* and *Milliyet*. This estimate shows that almost ten per cent of Turkish workers in West Germany buy a Turkish newspaper daily and more of them read one.

One of the main problems facing Turkish families in Europe, is the education of children and the youth. The adults are relatively better equipped to preserve and even develop their spiritual, moral and cultural values. They were born and grew up in their own societies. In their childhood and youth they inherited the traditional attitudes and beliefs. On the other hand Muslim children born or young people growing up in Europe are surrounded by an environment and culture quite different from the one their parents knew or are accustomed to. Some efforts are made to bridge the gap. In every German school, if there are enough Turkish students, Turkish classes are formed. Teachers are provided by the Turkish Government. At the moment there are about 300 such Turkish teachers teaching Turkish language, religion and Turkish history. The Turkish government pays for about 100 of these while the West German Government pays for about 200.

Such efforts, however, are not enough to solve the educational problems of Turkish children. There are children who are not going to school and Turkish classes are not available to many who attend. There is no doubt that priority attention must be given to these problems. One attractive solution suggested is the setting up of independent Turkish schools with boarding facilities.

Meanwhile the problems of the workers themselves remain. Most of the foreign and Muslim workers in Western Europe are unskilled. This of course affects their employment status and their salaries. Technical and vocational training possibilities at the disposal of Turkish workers in this category are not sufficient both in Turkey and Germany. Any improvement in this regard would certainly benefit workers greatly.

One question which is of interest to the Turkish government and nation is the ex-

posure of Turkish workers in Europe to various ideological pressures, particularly those from the Left. It has been noted that communists in Europe and various missionary groups are quite active in this field and have a high level of efficient organisation and technique.

In some, it is probably true to say that the problems of Turkish workers abroad are not very different from those of Muslim workers at large. The solution of these problems are similar. Ultimately it would be the co-operation between immigrant workers in general and Muslim workers in particular, and the strength of worker's organisations which would bring about any substantial improvement. But governmental support cannot be ignored. The project of the Turkish government to set up a Trust in Western Europe to help workers in the cultural, religious and social fields is appropriate in this regard. Muslim and Turkish workers abroad have a positive role and efficient measures need be taken to preserve and develop it.

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Yugoslavia's Liberal Socialism

The problem of "anti-self-managing forces"

Zia Sardar

It appears that President Tito's 'liberal Socialism' has now come to an end. The Yugoslav Communist Party's conference last May officially called for a check in the swing towards liberalism, and dutifully gave its approval for the 'struggle' now being waged against nationalism, liberalism, dogmatism, technobureaucratism, and a multitude of other 'foes of Yugoslav Socialism'. Yugoslavia, with its uniquely unpredictable brand of communism, its own political slogans, has its own kind of purges too. In the last eighteen months thousands of politicians, party officials, journalists, and intellectuals lost their jobs for alleged liberalism or nationalism. Daily accusations are being made against sociologists, philosophy professors, writers, poets, publishers and film directors. All this is taking place against a background of the burning issues of the succession to President Tito and the introduction of Yugoslavia's fourth postwar constitution.

Perhaps the end of Tito's wave of liberalization is being felt most acutely in the religious circles. The Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina recently held a long session, on the basis of a letter from President Tito and the Executive Bureau, to assess and to wage a "decisive struggle against all negative phenomena in society". Religion is by far the chief 'negative phenomena'. The Central Committee noted that religious organisations are working more openly and religious life in the republic is more common. Furthermore, these religiously oriented organisations and people are pursuing politically negative actions. Discussing the situation of the Muslims, the Central Committee noted that the nationalists among the Muslims assume that the League of Communists "has not yet adopted clear stands" on all issues in the sphere of the affirmation of the national individuality of Muslims, and especially in the spheres of culture and history of Muslims in Yugoslavia. This provides them with an opportunity to impose themselves as "leaders" of the Muslim community. "Such attitudes and pretensions", says a report adopted by the Central Committee, are particularly manifested among those with a "reactionary orientation, and among those individuals, intellectuals compromised during the national liberation struggle and after the war". These people are "presenting events wrongly and maliciously; they are falsifying facts and attacking science and policy for allegedly concealing what was happening among Muslims in the recent past, and sometimes unscrupulously accuse communists of other nationalities of this." The Central Committee claims that the leaders of the Muslim people of Yugoslavia are spreading slogans, both at home and abroad, about the Muslims in Yugoslavia being threatened and persecuted; advocating the rallying of Muslims; and are also joining the Muslim intellectuals who have come into conflict with the League of Communists.

The Central Committee has also attacked the Muslim community press for openly adopting political stands in contradiction

with the creed of Socialism and for showing a tendency towards clericalism. "In order to influence world opinion", says the Central Committee, "some publications of the religious communities are trying to present our struggle against reactionary priests and abuses of religious life for political purposes as a struggle against religious freedom". The Central Committee accuses the Christian paper *Glas Koncila* for trying to prove that the Catholic clergymen are fighting for the constitution and that the constitutional rights of the religiously minded people are being violated by the Communists. This paper is also blamed for writing articles against some East European countries with the intention of disrupting the relationship between these countries and Yugoslavia. The organ of the Islamic community, *Preporod*, is accused of rousing a pan-Islamic spirit and glorifying the most reactionary phenomena and personalities in some African and Asian countries, thus objectively retarding the progress movements in Yugoslavia and downgrading the progress movements abroad.

Preporod is edited by Hafiz Husein Mujic and is published from Sarajevo, capital of Bosnia-Hercegovina province. A May '73 issue of the magazine talks about the resurgence of Islam and carries a long article of 'Islam and Socialism', in addition to local news and comments. The paper also suggests that Bosnia-Hercegovina represents the centre for Muslims in Yugoslavia and that it is a Muslim province. The Central Committee accuses the paper of regularly carrying photographs of destroyed and reconstructed churches and mosques in Bosnia, Lika, Kordun, Banija and Dalmatinska Zagora—all this, to the Central Committee, implies a clear political aim. *Preporod* constantly emphasises religion, says the Central Committee, "as a basic element of the nation and national life".

The Central Committee is of the opinion that the Muslim religious community has exceeded the limits laid down by the law in its activities. It stressed the religious view of the world. Religious rites are something alien to the League of Communists. Hamdija Pozderac, President of the Republican Assembly, taking part in the sessions of the Central Committee, dealt with the question of the League of Communists in the social and political system of Yugoslavia. "The idea that the League of Communists ought not to 'interfere' in the affairs of the self-managing society's organisations and institutions", said Pozderac, "(is) contrary to the basic constitutional concept of the place and function of the League of Communists and of other socio-political organisations in the socio-political system . . ." Mica Rakic, a member of the Central Committee, thought that a vacuum should not be allowed to develop in the organisation of the self-managing communities, because "this vacuum and an insufficient activity of organised forces would constantly permit the technocratic, conservative-dogmatic and other anti-self-managing forces to offer their concepts of organisations."

Non-aligned: Hopefully, and Intangibly

A. W. Hamid

Twelve years after the first "non-aligned" conference in Belgrade, the fourth conference of non-aligned states was held in Algiers from 6-9 September. It was called by President Bumadyan "the greatest assembly in the history of the world". But this was at the beginning and in terms of results President Bumadyan himself, the dour and realistic man that he is known to be, may yet come to a different assessment.

There were indeed 76 nations which took part, 56 of these being represented by heads of states or governments. This was taken as an index of "the vitality and dynamism of non-alignment". In Belgrade in 1961, there were just 24 countries present. As it stands the grouping is the largest in the world and represents the majority of mankind. It is twice as big as the Commonwealth and a great deal more diverse. It is this diversity among other things which makes the non-alignment movement so difficult to define and assess.

In undertaking this task, a good starting point might be the opening speech of President Tito of Yugoslavia, himself one of the founding fathers of non-alignment together with Jawaharlal Nehru, Jamal Abd an-Nasir, Kwame Nkrumah and Ahmed Sukarno—"men who saw in the policy of non-alignment the path to a more beautiful and just world" according to the eulogy of Tito himself. Tito's speech dealt with the achievements of non-alignment and its continued relevance. He expressed the hopes and fears, the anxieties and dilemmas of the movement.

On the one hand, he felt that the policy of non-alignment had made "a powerful breakthrough" in the world, a living example of which was Algeria which participated in the Belgrade conference 12 years ago as a revolutionary liberation movement and which was now a sovereign country enjoying a powerful boom thanks to the full support extended by the non-alignment movement. Also, the efforts of the non-aligned have been influential in bringing the major powers, split by the cold war, to sit down at the table of negotiation and agreement. The new international situation characterised by detente and peaceful co-existence has been due in no small measure to the far-sighted initiatives of the non-aligned nations. Those who have interpreted non-alignment merely as resistance to bloc grouping have long been refuted.

On the other hand, Tito has as much confessed that detente and peaceful cooperation applied only to the major powers and the developed countries which enjoyed a state of "triumphant opulence" in the phrase of Cameroon President Ahmadou Ahidjo. Tito

observed that old hotbeds of conflict were being maintained, and new ones being created while places like Europe remained islands of calm and welfare in a sea of world instability and poverty. He said: "The position of developing countries in relation to developed countries continues to get worse . . . The interests of developing countries are not given any consideration. Economic relations in the world today are based on the privileges and the monopoly of the stronger and the more developed . . . Two years have passed since the international development strategy has been adopted, yet many developed countries are not ready even now to implement it".

In spite of all this Tito was hopeful that international cooperation could be developed on more equitable foundations; "Non alignment is not only the conscience of our epoch, but it is also mankind's real hope, a powerful positive factor in international relations".

The proclamations of power and the confessions of helplessness thus stand side by side and we are back to the question of the role and relevance of non-alignment. Did the leaders of the Third World go to Algeria, in the words of Mrs. Gandhi, "to perform a mere display or to renew a dying faith by an act of convocation?" Of course, the answer given was "No" on the grounds that non-alignment was born as an assertion of the Third World's will to be sovereign and not mere objects of imperial history, an assertion which was still valid today, even though the international situation had changed in the popular view.

Certainly, the view that the poorer and less (technologically) developed nations of the world have an interest in coming together to resist and curb the ambitions of the rich and predatory world is a natural and understandable one. So far non-alignment has not been a satisfactory platform for realizing this view. To begin with, the concept of non-alignment, like atheism, is a negative one which cannot exist on its own. It has to have something on which to cling, from which it takes its points of reference. In its original form it could be seen essentially as political fall-out from the conflict of the cold war, from the conflict between East and West, between the major powers representing capitalism on the one hand and communism on the other. It may be a world-view that is temporarily valid, but in the long run deficient.

Now we are told that the cold war has gone and is being replaced by an era of international cooperation and detente. Since the world is no longer cast into rigid political divisions or at least political and ideological differences are tolerated and accepted or beginning to be, we may expect the policy of non-alignment to change. The Algiers conference did note and discuss "the present strengthening of detente between East and West" and the tendency towards "dialogue rather than confrontation". But all this merely "confirmed the viability and lasting validity of aims, principles and practice of the policy of non-alignment". The problem was to give non-alignment a positive interpretation. This was done by describing it as "an important and irreplaceable factor in the struggle for freedom and independence of peoples and countries, for general peace and equitable security for all states, for universal application of principles of active peaceful co-existence, for democratization of international relations, for all-round equitable co-operation, for economic development and social progress".

Thus we have the view that non-alignment

is positively thriving and that it has achieved a degree of respectability and maturity which can only be further strengthened. However, what the resolutions and declarations of the Algiers conference point to is the immense amount of ground which has to be covered. In the political declaration what is emphasized is the continuing effects of imperialism and neo-colonialism. In a survey of the world's trouble spots and festering areas of war and conflict, what is shown is that the big powers have managed to export their wars and pollution to the rest of the world. With the exception of Northern Ireland, the theatres of war and political upheavals are all in the Third World. In all the regions of conflict, whether in South East Asia, the Middle East, Africa or Latin America it was the United States which was the butt of opprobrium.

In the economic declaration, the Conference concluded that the development of the international situation towards detente and the outcome of various development strategies, including the Lusaka conference, the third UNCTAD, the UN conference on the protection of the human environment, multilateral trade negotiations, reform of the monetary system—all have had "no marked useful effect on the developing countries and on international cooperation". It concludes also, that "as a whole, the non-aligned countries are still subjugated to imperialist exploitation, overtly or covertly". It noted that "the otherwise modest share of the developing countries in the world's economy is steadily diminishing, whereas the conditions of trade are constantly deteriorating. The share of the developing countries in the world's commerce has diminished from 21.3 per cent in 1960 to 17.8 per cent in 1970". Also, "the transfer of financial resources from the developed to developing countries has not ceased going down, whereas the total amount of foreign debts owed by the developing countries quadrupled in the past decade coming to 80,000 million dollars. What is more, development credit terms have not turned easier at all". The exploitative nature of multinational companies came under heavy fire for jeopardizing the sovereignty of developing countries.

These are only some of the multiplicities of economic problems described in the declaration. The heads of states or governments said that they were "confident that significant possibilities exist for co-operation in economic, trade, financial and technological domains among the developing countries". It is in the economic field that the non-aligned group stands the best chance of practical achievement although one could point out that even on a regional basis (for example, within Africa) significant economic cooperation has not yet gone very far.

Optimism in this regard is strengthened by the fact that the Conference has steered away from the ideological division of the world into capitalist and communist (which Russia was keen to press on it) towards the view shared by China of a world divided into rich and poor. In any case the great political differences among the states represented render effective cooperation in the political sphere minimal. Moreover, so far as political resolutions are concerned, it is reported that a number of delegates made it quite clear privately that their countries did not regard non-aligned summit meetings decisions as binding. It is only by playing down these differences that countries as diverse as Cuba or Saudi Arabia or governments as antipathetic to each other

as the Moroccan and the Libyan could meet in a single forum. Later they can go their separate ways. In this respect the usefulness of the summit cannot be seen in terms of policies decided upon. In the words of Mrs. Gandhi, "the outcome is bound to be intangible, but no less substantial" having in mind the personal contacts established. In this sense, the inability to agree on the setting up of a secretariat for the non-aligned movement was not a failure but a pointer to the desire to escape the burdens of bureaucracy, to remain as loose and as uncommitted as possible.

Here one point worth considering is the position of the Muslim countries in the non-aligned camp and the high level delegations which were sent to Algiers. Twenty-three heads of Muslim states, two foreign ministers and two special envoys attended. This stands in marked contrast to the Islamic Foreign Ministers Conference where delegations have been led by deputy or junior ministers. The last conference at Benghazi was supposed to have been opened by President Qaddafi but he chose that moment to stay away. Perhaps the apparent keenness for the non-aligned movement and the coolness towards the Muslim body is that the former does not call for any definite commitment on the part of its members. Heads of state and government could go there and speak as freely as they like knowing that they would not have to dip their hands into their pockets or commit themselves to any definite line of policy. In the latter case perhaps they not only wish to avoid any commitment but there might be the feeling that any gathering on the basis of Islam could arouse suspicions and fears, however ungrounded, of those who might be wary of Muslim unity and influence in any form.

It is interesting that President Bumadyan in the closing speech should refer to "the hostile reactions and fears" which the non-aligned movement sometimes gives rise to as evidence of its increasing strength and its great importance. Indeed the plea has gone out (to Europe and the EEC) that the potential power of the non-aligned nations cannot be ignored, that the Algiers meeting has created a new mood of toughness among the non-aligned symbolised by Algeria itself which has the custodianship of the movement for the next three years until the jamboree meets again in Colombo in 1976.

● The following 23 Muslim heads of states or governments were present at the non-aligned summit: Hawwari Bumadyan (Algeria); Sheikh Mujibur Rahman (Bangladesh); Shaykh Bin Salman al-Khalifah (Bahrain); Ahmadou Ahidjou (Cameroon); Anwar Sadat (Egypt); Shaikh Sabah as-Salem as-Sabah (Kuwait); Taqi ad-Din as-Sulh (Lebanon); Mu'ammarr Qaddafi (Libya); Tun Abdur Razak (Malaysia); Moussa Traore (Mali); Moktar Ould Daddah (Mauritania); Ahmad Uthman (Morocco); Sultan Qabus (Oman); Khalifah bin Hamad Al Thani (Qatar); Faysal ibn Abd al-Aziz (Saudi Arabia); Siyad Barreh (Somalia); Gaffer Numayri (Sudan); Hafiz Asad (Syria); Habib Bourguiba (Tunisia); Idi Amin (Uganda); Zaid Bin Sultan Al Nahayyan (United Arab Emirates); Abd ar-Rahman al-Iryani (North Yemen); Salim Rubay (South Yemen).

The following Foreign Ministers led delegations: Adam Malik (Indonesia); Murtada Sa'd Abd al-Baqi (Iraq).

The following envoys led delegations: Abdurahman Pazvak (Afghanistan); Abd al-Mun'im ar-Rifa'i (Jordan).

Nota Bene

'SCRIBE'

Allende's fate and the new Chilean "revolution" should cause no surprise. As one London daily said, it was "predictable and logical". If you know the world you live in, you could no doubt have predicted the event long before its actual staging. And if you know Watergate you would readily accept the "logic" of it all.

About Watergate, one seems rather unsure of one thing. That is, whether it was a good thing or a bad thing? The doubt is not about the morality of the Watergate polity. No, there can hardly be two opinions about it. Hardly, because the Russians seem to have a different view, or to be precise, no views at all. They have not spoken about the dirty rotten bourgeois capitalist society. Perhaps it's their own glasshouse living. There might be other good reasons too.

Filth is filth, there is no doubt about it. What one feels unsure about is filth raking. Certainly after 15 months of media—full showing of this documentary pornography, one has an intimate knowledge of the American democracy, but it seems to have made no difference either to the drama, or the characters, or even the director. On the other hand, one suspects the development of a tendency to derive a kind of pleasure from the scandal. Like the pleasure they derive from some revealing painting of an ill-clad belle. The artist might say innocently that he was simply painting poverty, deprivation and exploitation but the patrons of art well know what they are looking at.

The frightfulness of Watergate, lies, however, not in its obscenity, stark as it may be, but in the insensitivity it threatens to produce. To arouse itself, the human conscience now needs something more shocking than Watergate. No more could one either invoke or pretend, even though thinly, about liberalism, freedom and democracy. The veneer having been removed, one now has to accept the ugly and torturing reality with fatalism and resignation. A world where thuggery is accepted as "logical" is no doubt a frightful place to live in.

The bonus of Watergate morality to the developing and "democratic" nations who have since after the World War Two been reared to look to the U.S. as some kind of an ideological uncle needs hardly be underestimated. The tin-pot "Made in CIA" military rulers and democratic dictators of Afro-Asia can now look up to Nixon when visiting the U.S. on an aid-seeking round and give him a word or two of unobsequious advice.

Watergate or not, many anti-imperialists do acknowledge the political and cultural debt they owe to their imperialist past; at least in deeds if not in words. Mr. Bhutto (then President) visiting Britain last July had the B.B.C. TV interviewer knocked out flat by the repartee that the political thuggery he is being accused of by his opponents in Pakistan was in fact "what you had taught us". Another B.B.C. TV correspondent asked Prime Minister Bhutto whether by opening a "Prime Minister's Flood Relief Fund" instead of a National Relief Fund he was not using the calamity for party political ends. The retort silenced him: "Didn't you British used to have the Viceroy's Relief Fund?"

Something less blown-up but luscious was the British call girl affair which led to the resignation of two ministers. The life story of the girl, "I, Norma Levy" comes out on 15 October. Miss Levy reveals that the British Foreign Office retains call girls to entertain the visiting foreign dignitaries. The Civil Service Department does have a hospitality budget of about £280,000. With about 650 "entertainments" in a year, the average came to over £400 per person.

The Foreign Office has not denied what is supposed to be an accepted hospitality norm with most powers. Long before the companies discovered oil, and the Arabs discovered that it was a weapon too, call girls have been employed as a weapon in international affairs. One is in no position to list all those who have succumbed to the weapon, but there certainly has been an outstanding escape. The Russians had Sukarno "filmed" while on a state visit to Russia and later let it be known discreetly that such a film was there. Sukarno felt exalted and asked: Could I have a copy? Back home, the folks would be delighted to see it.

Pakistan's over-worked press censor seems to have made an interesting slip.

One of the premier national dailies published earlier this month an eulogy on the death anniversary of state's founder, Qaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. It's a beautiful poem and pays a well merited homage to the memory of the great leader, and his disciplined and unwavering struggle in the cause of truth. This could be so, the poet says, because "perhaps (sic) you had an unflinching faith in God." Though grave, but "perhaps" this was a slip of the pen. The poet, however, slips into more difficult water, "perhaps" unintentionally, when he speaks of the robbers who after the Qaid became leaders; of the thorns which have "sapped the life of our Spring"; of the darkness which has "sucked the blood out of the stars"; and of *Iblees* who has robbed "Man of his dignity". What makes the poem notable is the present continuous tense in which it is written. The poet, Kausar Niazi happens to be Pakistan's Information Minister.

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The classical caliphate came to an end in 1258. In the latter half of the post classical period which ended about 1700, we have traced (see *Impact* 3:8) how the Ottoman and even the Mughal empires came to be founded on the theory that even if the ideal Islamic state of the *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*.

Now although the *sultan*—*'ulama* formula was accepted (just as a president—*'ulama* formula is acceptable to conservatives today) it was never the ideal solution and was, in any case, a regional solution. Where Muslim unity was concerned, conservative thought continued to place the emphasis on the *khilafa* as the only valid solution. This revivalist trend found added impetus during the last two centuries as one Muslim region after another fell under non-Muslim control. Yet a caliph according to classical theory had to be of Qurayshite descent and yet the only feasible Muslim ruler who could become a symbolic point of reference for conquered Muslims and a rallying point for those still independent was the Ottoman *sultan* who suffered from an unfortunate lack of Qurayshite blood in his veins. Muslim writings and policies reflect this confusion when the Ottoman *sultans*, from 1774 and with increasing emphasis from the mid-19th century laid claim to being the caliph of all Islam.

At the other extreme, was the view of Ibn Taymiya which was carried on by Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab (d.1787) that Muslim unity and well-being, depended on emphasis on the *shari'a* and rejected any idea of a *khalifa* after the end of the *Rashidun* caliphs.

In between, there were a number of views which tried to reconcile the desire for a central *khilafa* with the reality of regional monarchs and to ensure that the unifying role of *shari'a* was given due importance. Shah Wali Allah (d.1762) envisaged a pyramid with a caliph at its apex and regional monarchs followed at the base with provincial governors, with unity resting on a *shari'a* (understood through moderate *ijtihad*), Sunni-Shi'a reconciliation, congregational prayer and the pilgrimage (besides the symbolic caliph). Khayr al-Din Pasha of Tunis (d.1889) worked on very similar lines of a caliph, regional monarchs and a progressive type of *'ulama*. The same was true of Jamal al-Din Afghani (d.1897). But although al-Afghani was aware of the significance of *shari'a* in any meaningful Muslim unity, his emphasis was strongly political and concerned with institutionalizing the relationship between a caliph and regional rulers, with parallel central and regional organizations of the *'ulama* as well as on providing a basis for Sunni-Shi'a understanding.

But as the dangers to Muslims from outside grew ever greater, the efforts of al-Afghani brought him into increasing conflict with regional Muslim rulers and thinkers. These had little time to concern themselves with anything outside their own particular regional problems—whether it was Sayyid Ahmad Khan in India, the khadives of Egypt, the *sultan* in Istanbul, the *shah* in Iran or the *amir* in Kabul. Even the Egyptian thinker, Muhammad 'Abduh (d.1905) who began by working in close liaison with al-Afghani, steadily diverged from al-Afghani's Pan-Islamism and concentrated his attention on the uplift of the Muslims of Egypt. This growing

Pan-Islamism and Islamic Universalism

Kemal A. Faruki

emphasis on solving local problems first shows itself in the steady shift from Islam to Ottomanism to Turkism in Istanbul; in the conflict between al-Afghani and Sayyid Ahmad Khan on the question of priorities in the sub-continent; and an increasing questioning of the claims of the Ottoman caliphate in other regions of the Muslim world, such as the Mahdist movement in the Sudan.

Matters finally came to a head in the years 1922-1926, in the great controversy surrounding the abolition of the so-called caliphate of the Ottomans by Kemal Ataturk (d.1938). Broadly speaking one can divide the participants in this great drama into those in favour of the caliphate and those against it, but it would be an over-simplification to think that there were not vital shades of emphasis within the two groups.

In the pro-caliphate group there was, first: the Ottoman *sultan* and the Ottoman *'ulama* opposing the proposed Kemalist abolition, for self-evident reasons. Second, there was the Indian *khilafat* movement backed by the Indian *'ulama* who were prepared, it seems to overlook the lack of Qurayshite descent of the Ottomans in their anxiety to find a familiar point of reference in the Ottoman *sultan*-caliph as symbol of Muslim unity and to counteract the British and purely Hindu aspect of Indian nationalism. Third, there was Sharif Husayn from Makka, who saw in the abolition of the alleged Ottoman caliphate an opportunity of reasserting a Qurayshite caliphate (with himself as caliph) which lasted for seven months in 1924 and was supported by the *'ulama* of such regions as Jordan, Iraq and Palestine (with the Syrian and Lebanese *'ulama* remaining silent because of French pressure but tacitly in favour of Husayn's claims). Fourth, there were the behind-the-scenes moves of the Egyptian king Fu'ad manipulating the main group of the *'ulama* of al-Azhar, who appear in retrospect to have been working for the installation of King Fu'ad as caliph. They opposed the first Kemalist solution of a caliph who was no longer *sultan* which lasted for two years from 1924 to 1926. They opposed Sharif Husayn's claims and sought a solution in an Islamic Congress in Cairo which was eventually held in 1926 and ended in a deadlock and failure, apart from a forlorn reassertion of the essentiality of the caliphate, without any idea of how this was to be brought about. This, to the extent that it was largely manipulated by King Fu'ad, saw more a political power-play than any deeply thought-out policy for Muslim unity and salvation.

On the other side, the anti-caliphate group possessed first: the Kemalists of Turkey anxious to concentrate on their survival and finally and irrevocably disenchanted with the Ottoman *sultan*-caliph after his ignominious acquiescence in the foreign occupation of Istanbul and the 1920 Treaty of Sevres which

provided for the partition of what remained of Turkey. Second, there was implacable opposition of King Ibn Sa'ud in Arabia to any talk of a caliphate, in line with the Ibn-Taymiya and Wahhabi tradition of his state, which led first to the expulsion of Sharif Husayn from the Holy cities and then the convening of a Congress in Makka in 1926 a few months after the abortive Congress in Cairo under King Fu'ad's sponsorship. In contrast, the Makka Congress—which concentrated on matters of common *shari'a* concern to all Muslims, notably the pilgrimage proved to be constructive and successful. Indeed, a comparison of these two Congresses (at Cairo and Makka) shows how an emphasis on the classical *khilafa* leads to disunity and deadlock while an emphasis on *shari'a* with its common beliefs and practices leads to growing understanding and unity. Third, there was the opposition in Egypt itself amongst political circles concerned with curbing the powers of the king and fostering a constitutional monarchy, who regarded Fu'ad's caliphate ambitions as an attempt by the monarch to strengthen his powers at the expense of the growth of democracy in Egypt. They were also against the attempt to revive the caliphate under Egyptian leadership because it would divert Egyptian energies into the same barren channels which had plagued Turkey during the previous century. Fourth, there was the opposition to the *khilafa* revival in the sub-continent, which was exemplified by Jinnah and important Muslim League elements, for very much the same reasons that prompted the Kemalists in Turkey and the politicians in Egypt struggling to establish parliamentary control over the king. In all these cases there was a strong, if often unexpressed, link with the idea that the true caliphate had ended in 661 CE after the *Rashidun* era. It was not always unexpressed, either. Thus it is to be found in the writings of Sayyid Ahmad Khan whose Aligarh was the starting point for the Muslim League movement (as distinct from the Deoband link of the *'ulama*). It is also to be found in the treatise produced by the Turkish National Assembly when justifying on Islamic grounds the Kemalist abolition of the caliphate.

The anti-*khilafa* revival trend may be said to be dominant in most Muslim governments today and some may consider that this is because a western-type nationalism has triumphed over the ideal of Muslim unity. This, however would be a superficial way of evaluating the situation. The elements which have gone into the making of the rejection of the caliphate as the proper vehicle for Muslim unity have many Islamic characteristics rooted in the Muslim past, as we have seen. Conversely, many who have supported the revival of a caliphate have done so for motives unconnected with any genuine desire for Muslim unity and brotherhood but for reasons of selfish aggrandisement and regarding the caliphate as a kind of imperial domination by one individual and one centre of power over the rest of the Muslim world. This kind of imposed unity by conquest and the employment of superior power has also a non-monarchical, republican version which sees Muslim unity achieved by the same methods that were used by Bismarck to achieve German unity i.e. a strong man in one strong region (Prussia) who then forcibly unites the rest of Germany (under Prussian hegemony) into a single German Reich. It was the basis for Ottomanism and the Young

Turk movement in the last days of the Ottoman empire. It was the basis for those who regarded Arab unity under one strong leader as an essential prelude for Muslim unity. It has been the basis for the fears aroused in many parts of the Muslim world by the claims made in Pakistan about Pakistan's size and its consequent role in achieving Muslim unity.

The true significance of the result of these many trends in the Muslim world was well expressed by Iqbal when he wrote in approving terms of the Turkish abolition of the Ottoman caliphate: "For the present every Muslim nation must sink into her own deeper self, temporarily focus her vision on herself alone, until all are strong and powerful enough to form a living family of republics . . ."

This emphasis on reform and development at home before attempting unity with the rest of the Muslim world has become the primary characteristic of Muslim affairs today but at the same time the very compulsions of this age have been driving Muslims—like other peoples—to search for larger political groupings and economic areas. These compulsions are also behind various Islamic conferences and international Muslim organizations that have been at work during the last two decades since foreign rule has ended.

We shall be in a far better position, however, to evaluate these new moves towards greater unity or co-operation if we keep in mind the historical elements. An attempt has been made in this paper to trace their outlines. It is possible to detect a persistence of moves which savour of the classical caliphate or a variation thereof. This, in turn, is responsible for the reluctance of others to be drawn into closer forms of association. There is the evidence from the past that *shari'a* with its common Islamic beliefs and practices is a surer basis for enduring unity but this in turn brings up the need for understanding the *shari'a* in terms which are relevant and acceptable for our day and age.

There are the physical obstructions to unity such as a lamentable lack of the language of the Qur'an—Arabic—amongst many non-Arab regions of the Muslim world; the absence of mass means of communications such as roads and railways along which the peoples of the Muslim world at a wider level could make contacts and restore inter-Muslim trade; there is the absence of economic, industrial and commercial links between even neighbouring Muslim regions.

Finally, it is desirable to draw a distinction in our ideas and evaluation of ideas and projects, between what has been described as Pan-Islamism, on the one hand, and Islamic universalism, on the other. Pan-Islamism essentially conceives of various sub-nations (of Turks, Persians, Afghans, Pakistanis, Arabs and so on) welded into one Muslim "supernation" who are held together by a conglomerate of cultural, economic and even pseudo-racial ties, under common political institutions which bring about and preserve unity rather than being an expression of an existing unity.

Islamic universalism, on the other hand, relies for unity on the common beliefs and practices of Muslims—above all belief in the One God and in its sequel, belief in the brotherhood of man, expressed annually by the pilgrimage. In this context, the unity of Muslims has a positive role for the benefit of all humanity by setting an example of what a brotherhood of man, regardless of class, race or colour, can mean.

Books

Economy of a friendship: India & Bangladesh

Bangladesh Economy: Problems and Prospects Edited by V. K. R. V. Rao,
Vikas, Delhi, 199 pages + VI, Rs.24.

In less than two years since the beginning of the East Pakistan/Bangladesh crisis, Indian authors have produced over one hundred studies and tracts on the subject. Since the early days of the crisis, Indian writers have remained pre-occupied with the question of disparities between East and West Pakistan; brutalities committed by the Pakistan army; and the bright visions of Indo-Bangladesh friendship. It is an extension of this new friendship, perhaps, that several Indian writers have taken it upon themselves to suggest "suitable" ways and means for the economic development of Bangladesh. These recommendations include a Canada-U.S.A. type relationship; an economic community; an Indo-Bangladesh confederation; and finally, a federation.

Bangladesh Economy prepared under the auspices of the Indian Institute of Economic Growth and edited by V. K. R. V. Rao, one of the front-rank members of the *Lok Sabha* and an advocate of military action against Pakistan in 1971, is one of the best examples of the Indian concern for Bangladesh's economic development. The book contains ten articles contributed by seven different writers. There is an introduction and an appendix from the editor. The main thrust of the study is that the future prosperity of Bangladesh depends on the nature of her relationship with India.

Two of the contributors, Arjun Sengupta and P. C. Verma have dealt mainly with question of East Pakistan's economic exploitation by West Pakistan. Both ignore the pre-1947 economic base of East Bengal, before it became the eastern wing of Pakistan. Nor do they refer to the exploitation of East Bengal, by the British and the collaborating Hindu landlords, money-lenders, and political leadership. The editor while commending the findings of Sengupta and Verma notes casually that "the western wing of Pakistan did have some initial advantages over its eastern wing, as it had received a better deal when it was in the old Punjab than the eastern had when it was part of the old Bengal" but is emphatic that "the initial disparities were no more than marginal" (p.2). Rao, Sengupta and Verma do not take note of the consequences of the partition scheme on the respective economies of East and West Pakistan. In the West, the two important cities of Lahore and Karachi had remained intact and so were her modest industrial and commercial infra structure. She also benefitted immensely from the capital and know-how brought by the migrating or expelled Muslims from India, Burma and Ceylon. East Pakistan on the other hand lost to India the Subcontinent's premier industrial and business city of Calcutta. A large number of Bengali Hindu administrators, officials, teachers and traders who

had until 1947 monopolised all powers and privileges in East Bengal migrated to India. The new province did not even have a proper port. The question of East Pakistan's development and disparity cannot, therefore, be viewed in disregard of these realities. Doubtless East Pakistan was exploited by capitalists from West Pakistan (as also by the East Pakistani capitalists), but the contributors to *Bangladesh Economy* treat the subject in isolation. They over-exaggerate the nature and quantum of this exploitation so as perhaps to cover-up the failures of the East Pakistani leadership, economists and bureaucracy.

This study is neither comprehensive nor objective. The article by A. M. Khusro, Director of the Institute, treats the subject of Indo-Bangladesh trade and Bangladesh's economic prospects in a cautious undertone. In advocating the expansion of Indian investments in, and trade with Bangladesh, Khusro cautions the government of India against being misunderstood by the government and people of Bangladesh. He admits that India cannot buy much tea, jute goods, leather and matches from Bangladesh, but says India should purchase Bangladesh's surplus jute. Khusro also wants Bangladesh and India to avoid any competition in selling raw jute and tea in the world market. The two should have "a mutual agreement for world sales" of Jute and tea (p.117).

Khusro's junior colleague, B. Chattopadhyay is, however, frank and forthright. He thinks that the restoration of the pre-1947 trade pattern between Bangladesh and India as suggested in certain Indian circles, was not feasible. The pre-1947 East Bengal was "the agricultural hinterland" of Calcutta. Bangladesh could not be expected to become "an agricultural appendage of the industries in Eastern India" (p.145). Yet according to Chattopadhyay there is no escaping the fact that "for quite some years to come, the pattern of trade flows between Bangladesh and India would consist of flows of primary produce from the former and of manufacturers from the latter" (p.145). So there is no escaping the crude fact!

Chattopadhyay is perhaps the first Indian economist to have told Bangladesh in so many words that she should not expect to regain her "pre-(1971)—independence" economic status vis-a-vis India within the foreseeable future. He observes that as late as the middle of December 1971, 47 Pakistani rupees used to fetch 55 Indian rupees on the Hongkong market. "This option would no longer be available to Bangladesh" (p.146). To start with, Bangladesh had to devalue her rupee to bring it at "par" with India's and currently 100 Bangladesh ruppes (Takas) fetch 50 Indian rupees in the Calcutta market. Bangladesh must, therefore, accept to absorb all the future shocks and set-backs to the Indian rupee.

Chattopadhyay also sees it as imperative for Bangladesh to accept a massive influx of capital from India. This "Indian" capital would also include foreign capital located in India, particularly the British capital. Britain "could not have behaved in the U.N. the way she did without expectation of some pay-off" (p.150).

This pay-off must come from Bangladesh. Bangladesh may not like such plain talking but its leadership could not be so naive as to think that India, Russia and Britain, and others wanted to create an independent Bangladesh!

Bangladesh Economy may also be noted for the gloss it puts over the openly espoused "economic integration" of Bangladesh with India. The writers use seemingly innocuous terms to outline various approaches to Bangladesh's integration. Khusro's altruistic suggestions that Bangladesh and India should avoid competing in the consumer goods market is supported by other contributors to the volume. All agree that instead of competing with Indian goods Bangladesh goods should "complement" them. This complementarity might be achieved either through a barter trade with India, or through direct selling to India, or through formation of commodity-wise groupings. Ganguly prefers barter trade to other arrangements. He thinks that the future pattern of Indo-Bangladesh trade has already emerged in the form of "demand for the activation of barter trade between Sylhet and Assam". He believes that "Sylhet tea could

... Economy of a Friendship

be offered a good market at the Gauhati auction" and sees no reason why "fish, egg and vegetables in small quantities as well as bamboo and gur (date-palm candy) cannot find a ready market in India" (p.80).

Rao, Bhattacharya, Khusro and Chattopadhyaya are more inclined towards a commodity-wise grouping, for "the substance of economic integration" between India and Bangladesh should be achieved gradually and at various levels. To begin with "a single electricity grid and a single water resources grid for the whole of eastern India and Bangladesh seem to be very much on the agenda" (pp.154-55). India needs the co-operation and agreement of Bangladesh for an effective exploitation of the potentials of the Brahmaputra and north Bengal rivers. Besides co-operation by Bangladesh, such projects cannot be materialised without foreign assistance. And this offered "an eminently eligible field for the U.S.S.R. to step in" (p.155).

Once the water and power resources of the two countries have been brought under a "joint" control, steps should be taken for the formation of a "Jute Community", a "Tea Community", a "Rice Community", and a "Customs and Payments Union" (p.155). Establishment of these Communities could be followed by the setting up of a "shipping pool" to handle the two countries' coastal and foreign trade. Besides being mutually beneficial, these joint ventures "would also help project India's altered position in the power balance in South and South-East Asia" (p.155).

Some of the integration measures have already been taken: a joint Indo-Bangladesh River Commission; agreement on exchange of economic, technical and scientific data; advanced discussions on a single power grid; and preliminary talks on commodity-wise groupings. India's Commerce Minister, D. P. Chattopadhyaya declared in Dacca recently that trade between India and Bangladesh "is not competitive but complementary" (*Holiday weekly*, Dacca, 2 September 1973). And this claim seems to have been accepted by the Foreign Trade Minister of Bangladesh, Mr. Kamruzzaman.

Dr. M. R. Ali

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Briefing

Thinking About the Future: A Critique of The Limits to Growth Edited by H. S. D. Cole *et al.*, *Chatto and Windus*, £3 (paperback £1.25).

The Club of Rome's report on *The Limits to Growth* predicted global catastrophe by the year 2100 if the present trends concerning population, food production, pollution, economic growth and resource depletion continue. An interdisciplinary team at the Science Policy Research Unit of the University of Sussex took the task of analysing the 'World Model' put forward by the MIT study. Almost a year's research has resulted in *Thinking About The Future*. The book contains thirteen essays by various members of the research team who first dissect the assumptions made by Professor Meadows, who co-ordinated the research for the MIT study, and then note the results obtained from slightly different assumptions.

In the MIT study the collapse of the global village is brought about by the exhaustion of the natural resources of the world. R. W. Page, in a chapter on non-renewable resources, argues that MIT study gives a false picture of the depletion of the natural resources of the world: as and when the natural resources start to become scarce, their relative prices will increase thus setting in operation a multitude of negative-feedback reactions—something which the MIT study does not allow for. Men will be forced to prospect new areas and discover new resources. A. J. Surrey and A. J. Bromley also complain that the MIT study gives a false picture of the future rise in the energy demand. Furthermore, the prospects on the supply side are much more favourable than the MIT study makes it out.

In a chapter on pollution, Pauline Marstrand and T. C. Sinclair attack the rigid projection of linear relationship between industrial consumption and pollution of the MIT study. They argue that where proper measures have been taken pollution has been cut to a small fraction of its original value, making even the 'optimistic' assumptions of MIT study appear completely unrealistic.

The Sussex study also examines food production and population explosion, once again pointing out that one reaches different conclusions if one starts with slightly different assumptions. The Sussex team put the MIT study in its right perspective: it is a political document and this is how it should be seen. The energy crisis, economic growth and problems of food production are all essentially political problems requiring political solutions. For example, the energy crisis requires a settlement between the consumers and the producers of oil. It is not a problem of physical shortage as projected by the MIT computer. Similarly, the problem of food production has a political component of a very large magnitude. The technical possibilities of massive additional food production are greatest in areas like North America and Europe whereas it is the areas of South America and Asia where food is most needed.

One of the major weaknesses of the MIT study is that it fails to incorporate negative feedback loops. In addition a very important variable is missing from the MIT report: man. How can any model of the world represent reality when it omits the most important inhabitants of the globe? All this goes to show that if one puts garbage in the computer, one gets garbage out!

Corps Diplomatique by Eric Clark, *Allen Lane*, £3.50.

A sympathetic look at the role of embassies in today's world. In general, says Mr. Clark, embassies are involved in just as much spreading general information and strengthening trade ties as in political affairs. An embassy is a busy place: filing numerous relevant reports which are always worth probing, although often neglected by the foreign office at home. Diplomacy is also dinner evenings and cocktail parties: this is where most political opinions are exchanged. And diplomacy also

involves intrigue and back-stabbing. When asked what do you do all day a French diplomat replied: "I get in at eight, work till nine, and spend the rest of the day protecting my position".

The Crack in the Cosmic Egg by Joseph Chilton Pearce, *Lyrebird Press*, £2.50.

Dr. Pearce argues that Christianity in any shape and form is dead. He equates Jesus Christ to Carlos Castaneda's Yaqui Indian Don Juan—a man who abandoned rationality for intuitive knowledge and magic. Jesus, says Dr. Pearce, created his own reality in much the similar way as the firewalkers of Ceylon.

India's Boundary and Territorial Disputes by Surya P. Sharma, *Vikas*, Delhi. A defence of Indian frontier policy towards China and her persistent refusal to hold a plebiscite in Jammu and Kashmir.

Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official by W. H. Sleeman, Edited by Vincent Smith, *OUP*, £4. A reprint of the 1915 edition in "Asia Historical Reprints from Pakistan".

The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia 1900-1942 by Deliar Noer, *OUP* £9.50

Paperbacks

Nasser by Robert Stephen (£1), **Sukarno** by J. D. Legge (75p) and **Nehru** by Michael Edwards (60p), three new additions to *Pelican's Political Leaders of the Twentieth Century*. Besides containing short biographical sketches each book gives an appreciation of the wider implications of the work of the individual politician.

Popper by Bryan Megee, *Fontana*, 40p. Bryan Megee, a devoted follower of Popper, gives a sympathetic resume of the great philosopher's life and work. After discussing the basic outline of Popper's philosophy, Mr. Megee looks at some of his individual works: there is a lengthy appreciation of Popper's new book *Objective Knowledge* in which he claims to have found a solution to the problem of induction; a racy discussion of *The Open Society and its Enemies* which Mr. Megee thinks, is the ultimate criticism of Plato and Marx; and a brilliant analysis of Popper's theory of the Three Worlds. On the whole a very readable book which provides a fascinating insight into the mind of a great philosopher.

● **Weltanschauung und Leben im Islam** by Abul A'la Maudoodi, translated by Fatima Heeren-Sarka, *Herder-Bucherei*, Freiburg W. Germany, £0.90. German translation of *Towards Understanding Islam* published under the auspices of the Islamic Foundation. The book was well received by the German speaking people; the first edition is already out of print. Nearly 30 German newspapers, magazines and journals reviewed the book and considered it to be one of the most fundamental books on Islam. The Islamic Foundation (3-7 Keythorpe Street, Leicester, UK) has also published a French translation of the book: *Comprendre L'Islam*. During last three months over 8,000 copies of the French edition have been distributed under a phased programme; priority being given to educational establishments, hospitals and prisons in France.

● **Opređenje**, a new Marxist periodical on theory and practice of self-managing society, being published by the Marxist Study Centre of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The magazine will stress the role of the Party in the development of this society.

● A new collection of works by Afro-Asian writers has been published in Ashkabad in the Turkmen language and comprises of short stories by Krishna Chandra, Khawja Ahmad Abbas etc.

ABU RAIHAN MUHAMMAD AL-BIRUNI (362/973—442/1051)

Scientist, Encyclopaedist, Historian

Muhammad Iqbal

Abu Raihan Muhammad Ibn Ahman al-Biruni was born outside (*Birun*) the city of Khwarizm in Persia in the year 362 A.H.1973 A.D.) He travelled widely in Iran and then in 407/1017 became court astronomer to Mahmud of Ghazna. In this capacity he went to India, where he composed his *India*, his major work on sociology and comparative religion. Most of his later life was spent under the patronage of Mas'ud, Mahmud's successor to the throne. He died in 442/1051.

Al-Biruni was a prolific writer and mastered Arabic, Turkish, Persian and Sanskrit. Some one hundred and eighty books are attributed to him. Among these, many like the *Kitab al-Shamil* (The Book of General Knowledge) are lost and their existence can only be inferred from his other works. He wrote on diverse topics. His major astronomical work is an Encyclopaedia of Astronomy which is an eleven volume work dealing with fundamental definitions, calendars of different races, properties of the circle, the mathematical astronomy of the sun and constellations and its use in the study of night and day and the latitudes of cities, the further mathematical treatment of latitude and longitude, motion of the sun in the zodiac, motion of the moon, eclipses of the sun and of the moon, the fixed stars, the motion of the five planets in their spheres, and finally motion of a planet in the zodiac and its astrological significance.

Apart from these, he composed treatises on chronology of nations, on philosophy and several replies to Aristotelian philosophers. In several commentaries, like those on Ptolemy's *Almagest*, he gives new proof of many mathematical statements. With his breadth of knowledge he achieved an integration of existing Muslim sciences. As such his works served throughout the succeeding centuries as sources for the natural and historical sciences.

The purpose of undertaking any study was held by Al-Biruni to be its importance to the life of the Islamic community. He rejected the notion of science for science's sake. Also rejected was the notion of a purely utilitarian science. The validity of the study of science was to be found in the Qur'anic injunction whereby man is commanded to contemplate heaven and earth which God created in Truth (*al-Haqq*). With this purpose in mind he does not stick to any one manner of studying nature. Observation and experimentation, reason and reflection, as well as sacred scripture and ancient sources, all lead to the knowledge of the Universe.

Reflection on the then existing knowledge of geography leads him to think that on balance there must be another land mass (inferred now to be America) even taking into account the rumoured presence of 'Australia'. In another striking instance, he reflects upon the geocentric (earth-centred) and Heliocentric (sun-centred) theories of the universe.

In his own works, "I saw a kind of simple Astrolabe, invented by Abu Said al-Sizzi, not composed of the Northern and Southern sections of the sky, and known as *Az-Zawraqi*. I like it immensely and praised him a great deal as it rested on an independent foundation, the basis of its operation and construction lies in some people's belief that the motion lies in the Earth and not the sky. I swear that it is an uncertainty extremely difficult to resolve or by my life contradict. The geometricians and astronomers who depend merely on the lines resulting from measurements, have no means to contradict this theory. For in view of the fact that it is the same so far as the movement itself is concerned whether one ascribes it to the earth or the heavens. In both cases it does not affect their science, but if it is possible to contradict this belief and resolve the uncertainty, then amongst all the philosophers it should be the concern of the physicists". It is debatable whether he was aware of relativity of motion but this passage is certainly indicative of his high calibre.

Al-Biruni's studies on geography, his description of the flora, fauna and minerals of various regions of the earth, as well as his remarkable description of the Indus valley where he argues for the first time for its sedimentary origin show him as a master of observation of the multiple forms of nature. In questioning certain Aristotelian doctrines he says, "If it be established by us that the existence of a vacuum inside and outside of the world is impossible, then why does a glass vessel, whose inside air has been sucked out when inverted into water pulls the water upwards?" In another question he observes the peculiar property of water which expands upon solidification and points to its conflicts with Aristotelian physics.

Experimentation paralleled Al-Biruni's acute observations. Experimentation in turn was supplemented by better and original methods of measurement. He developed his own method of measuring the circumference of the earth. After two attempts the results he got are within 80 miles of the most recent measurements. Again, in finding the specific gravity of metals by displacement of water some of his results vary only in the third place of decimal from current estimates.

Prof. S. H. Nasr in his *Introduction to Islamic Cosmological Doctrines*, concludes that Al-Biruni must be considered as "a devout Muslim scientist, compiler, and historian, for whom the role of reason lay in leading naturally to the Transcendent Cause of all things". He adds that the emphasis on this noble aspect reason as a natural bridge to the suprarational realities and religious faith, rather than as an obstacle against them, is a profound aspect of the Islamic spirit. It is in this spirit that Al-Biruni devoted himself to the study of the intellectual sciences.

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Letters

Sub-continental Geography

Mr. Din's useful follow-up (Letters, *Impact*, 3:8) of my article "The Subcontinent: Changing the Physical Geography" (*Impact*, 3:5) ends on a very interesting note.

He remarks "that extensive damage... 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." And suggests that "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." The former is in fact a re-statement of the Indian argument on Farraka barrage and their plans to divert other Bangladeshi rivers. I do not know if the Indians would agree to the second part, that is to compensate by ceding land in India to help resettle the displaced Bengalis. The problem is essentially political and not technological. In the first place these have been either created or aggravated because of the inequitable and unscientific way the British tried to partition the provinces. Their love for the unity of the subcontinent was no less religious than some other Indians. So when they felt they had to concede Pakistan, they decided to concede it with vengeance. Perhaps they hoped that the absurdities they are creating would lead eventually to a re-unification of the Subcontinent. The Indians seem unfortunately to have taken the legacy too seriously. They are now trying to rectify these problems (and boundaries) through political and military means.

The problem, otherwise is not insoluble. But would India show the common sense of good-neighbourliness and would Bangladesh leadership

be able to defend the country's viability and freedom?

DR. MATIUR RAHMAN

London, SW

Mu'ammarr

I do not share Mr. Abbasi's opinion (*Impact* 3:7). Any professor of Arabic is, like "the rest of us", not immune from making mistakes. (I have just finished correcting the proofs of a critique of the English translation of the *Sirah* of the Prophet by a distinguished professor of Arabic. The mistakes he makes in the understanding of elementary Arabic are simply incredible.) How can the average reader, without Mr. Abbasi's perceptive advocacy, "presume", like him, that the misunderstanding of the meaning of *mu'ammarr*, to which I called attention, is due to a supposed "popular mispronunciation" of *m'ammir*? The writer himself might have said so, but he did not.

Then Mr. Abbasi strays away from his brief to make an astonishing contribution of his own. He asserts that *mu'ammarr* "cannot mean built but only blessed with old age". This is indeed one of the meanings but not the only one. If Mr. Abbasi consults any classical or even modern Arabic dictionary he will discover many surprises.

In the Koran the noun *mu'ammarr* occurs in Surah, *Al-Fatir* (35:11) in the sense of longevity, but as a verb in Surah *Ar-Rum* (30:9) it means ploughing up the land and cultivating it. Other derivations also occur with other or extended shades of meaning. In modern Arabic various derivations from the same root mean not only building, developing, inhabiting etc. but also, ironically, colonising—and hence *isti'mar* (colonialism).

Esher, Surrey, U.K.

A. L. TIBAWI

M.S.A. XIth Annual Convention Education for Social Change

The Eleventh Annual Convention of the Muslim Students' Association of the United States and Canada was held at the Michigan State University campus, East Lansing, from 31 August to 3 September 1973. The theme of the convention was Education and Social Change in Muslim Society. More than 1,200 Muslims, many with their families, attended the convention which was an organisational triumph for the convention chairman, M. Naziruddin Ahmed, the programme director, Anis Ahmed, and the local chapter chairman, Ali Khezri, and their committees.

The programme included lectures, seminars and workshops addressed by eminent scholars and guests from overseas. Even more impressive was the total identification of the growing Muslim community of North America with the MSA. The MSA leadership and workers in turn conducted themselves with a degree of humility and dedication to Islam which was at once touching and infectious. They displayed a sound grasp of the problems facing Muslims in North America and their systematic, organisational and institutional approach was endorsed by the convention.

The new president of the MSA is Dr. El-Tigani Abu-Gideiri. (*Impact* news.)

A Wineless Evening

To meet the officers and trustees of the World of Islam Festival, the Chairman of the Trust, Sir Harold Beeley and Lady Beeley were host at a reception on 10 September in the Library of the Travellers' Club, London.

In notable contrast with receptions normally thrown by the Arab and Muslim diplomats, only non-alcoholic drinks were served. The reception was attended by a galaxy of diplomats, academics, journalists and others interested in Islamic culture. (*Impact* news.)

More baggage for expatriate Pakistanis

Under a revised baggage rule, Pakistanis working abroad would now be permitted to bring home jewellery and gold worth Rs. 2,500; professional tools worth Rs. 5,000; one duty free radio receiver or TV set; and few other items of personal use. In the year 1971-72, Pakistanis in Britain remitted home about \$70 million. (*Impact* news.)

● Sri Lanka Islamic Association (56 Princes Avenue, London N3) held a public lecture on "The Significance of the Holy Month of Ramadan" at the Ceylon Students Centre on 23 September. Dr. Syed Pasha, General Secretary of UMO, was the speaker.

● The U.K. Islamic Mission, Urdu Circle, London, held its monthly meeting on 23 September in Balham Mosque, London S.W.

in the news

New FOSIS Executive: Dawud Owen (President), Ahmad Bahafzallah (V.P.), Kamarudin Jaffar (Gen. Sec.), Syed Kamarulzaman Kabeer (Treasurer), Abdul Khaliq (Asst. Sec.), Azizan Radzi (Asst. Sec.), Abdul Hameed Qureshi, K. Muzaffaruddin Niyazi Eruclu, Zakaria Hashim, Ziauddin, Sardar. ● Diridi Ayat, 21, son of Algerian Ambassador to France, fined £100 for shoplifting from a Chelsea store. East London Mosque, Council of Management: Mian Mumtaz Daultana (Chairman), S. M. Jetha (Hon. Sec.), M. A. Salam (V.C.), Bashiruddin (Property Manager), S. A. Mannan (Treasurer), Hafiz Ahmad Ghani, Ismail Bawa—form permanent Council. Shabbir Ali Khan, Haji Ataur Hussain, Javed Qayyum, Abdur Rashid, Yusuf Bhai, Syed Shabbir Bukhari—co-opted members. Syed Munawar Hasan, a former trustee of the mosque is understood to have left a £30,000 waqf for the mosque. Doctors Islamic Society, new Executive: Dr. G. M. Khan (President), Dr. M. J. H. Qureshi (V.P.), Dr. A. Zaman Khan (Secretary), Dr. M. S. Sawaf (Treasurer).

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new spectrum

Ramadan 1—14, 1393

“Through reason and advice; through tenderness and compassion”

From Dr. S. A. Pasha

A general misconception prevailing in the Western world is that Islam, like other religions, is not suited to guide men in the modern world. However, the modern world is drawing closer to Islam without knowing or admitting the contribution that Islam has made towards its evolution. The vacuum that has been created in the spiritual and moral domains as a result of an unrestricted pursuit in the material field in the Western World is growing to such frightful dimensions that, unless the Muslims make a strenuous effort to fill this vacuum with the Islamic principles of spirituality and morality, the entire world will perish sooner than expected. The responsibility of the Muslim community in Britain, in this respect, is indeed great: they have to make a concerted and organised effort to stem the tide of paganism and materialism which is currently sweeping the Western world. Professor Zaki Badawi of Ahmedo Bello University, Nigeria, made these remarks while addressing The Third Annual Conference of the Union of Muslim Organisations of UK and Eire. The Conference was held on 1-2 September 1973 at the Islamic Cultural Centre, London.

Mr. Salem Azzam, Secretary General of the Islamic Council of Europe and Counsellor at the Saudi Arabian Embassy, also touched upon the abominable decadence in morality and spirituality of the Western world and the role of the British Muslims in reversing this trend. Mr. Azzam drew the attention of the participants to five principles of Islam which, he thought, are very relevant to the future of Muslims in Britain: “the religion of Islam evokes in the believer a sense of dignity without haughtiness, a feeling of security without impassiveness and a spirit of confidence without conceit”; the Muslims submit only to Allah and capitulation to oppressive conditions on the grounds of fatalism is contrary to Islam; the Qur’an and the *Sunnah* are two tremendous forces capable of charging the Muslims with faith and zeal; it is the duty of every Muslim to propagate his religion; and finally there is no compulsion in religion. Concerning the last two points which directly effect the Muslim community in Britain, Mr. Azzam stressed that *Da’wa Islamiyya* should be undertaken through reason and advice, through tenderness and compassion.

Speaking on “Relevance of Islam in Britain Today”, Dr. James Dicki of the University of Lancaster, said that even before the large-scale immigration of Muslims in this country, a movement for Islam had quietly been afoot and gaining ground amongst the British people. The first newcomers to Islam came from the aristocracy; and when such personalities as Lord Headly embraced Islam they caused deep commotion among people here. During the colonial period many British officers, who came in contact with Muslims in places like Malaysia and Iraq, also accepted Islam. Today there are a number of British University professors and academics who profess Islam. But Dr. Dicki

cautioned the Conference that this movement towards Islam may suffer a setback if the immigrant Muslim community engages itself in things which repel the host community. The modern trend appears to be that many young people, mostly those with hippy outlook, are accepting Islam after having come into contact with some sufis of Morocco and Algeria. The local Muslim community should help these newcomers to Islam in their rehabilitation and make them a part of the community. Tolerance and good manners towards these newcomers can act as a catalyst for a rapid spread of Islam in this country.

Professor Ghulam Riza Saeedi, Director of Publications at Tabligh-e-Islam, Qom, Iran, also briefly addressed the Conference. He said that the need of the hour is unity. He quoted a verse from Iqbal to say that all Muslims of different schools of thought are like roses in a garden,

The Conference elected a new Executive for the year 1973/74, and decided to delegate it with the responsibility to form a UMO Trust for the specific purpose of implementing projects like community centres, primary schools, colleges etc., which will be administered by the UMO.

An Islamic Centre for Saigon

The Muslim community in Saigon has started building a Mosque and a primary school for Muslim children. The Imam of the Mosque, Shaikh Osman, has appealed for donations to complete the building. Those wishing to see Islam prosper in the war-torn country of South Vietnam are requested to send contributions to: Masjid Misbahul-Islam, 31/4 Binh-Tien, Saigon 6, South Vietnam. (Impact news).

Prayer virgil for Racial Harmony

Impact Report

A number of Churches and missionary organisations have come together to organise a 24-hour vigil for racial harmony on Tuesday and Wednesday, 23/24 October, 1973. The vigil was first observed in Cape Town in 1967 by a group of Anglican clergymen in answer to the intractable and worsening race relations in South Africa. Ever since an increased number of Churches in South Africa, and also in some other countries of the world, have been observing the vigil annually on an ecumenical basis.

In Britain, the Vigil for Racial Harmony is supported by the leaders of all the Churches. A commendation of the vigil, signed by some celebrated leaders of various Churches in Britain—amongst them Archbishop Ramsey and Cardinal Heenan—says that the Prayer Vigil is connected with no political organisation or movement and there is a growing response to the opportunity and recollection and intercession which it gives.”

The theme of the vigil is “Thy Will be done” and its object is described as the ordering of race relations according to God’s will in this country and throughout the world.

“A new Spirit in Muslim Christian Relationship”

September 1973 issue of *The Month* a review of Christian thought and world affairs, published by the Society of Jesus (114 Mount Street, London W1Y 6AH) carries an article by Christian Troll on the relationship between Christians and Muslims. The author sees Islam as “a means which in given circumstances, helps men to draw nearer to God”. However, it is better not to compare systems of philosophy or ideas but to develop true personal relationships based on mutual respect and trust. As such it may be necessary for the present to avoid overtly religious dialogue. The author deals with the main prejudices of the Christians towards Islam and the Muslims and says that these prejudices have hindered the establishment of a good Muslim-Christian relationship. He observes that a real revolution is taking place amongst the Muslims regarding polygamy: their outlook on this institution is being modified, in varying degrees, in the laws of modern states. As regards fanaticism, “Islam... has hardly shown more fanaticism than the sacred cities of Christianity”. In conclusion, the author says the Christian community should always be “on the lookout for the traces of God’s Word amongst men, to adopt into (its) own life of faith the religious sentiments of other people”. (Impact Report)

Floods in Pakistan: Appeal for Relief Goods

Impact Report

The recent floods in Pakistan have brought misery and misfortune to millions many of whom have lost both their homes and crops. The immediate needs are for money, rescue vehicles, medicines and clothing. Those who wish to send clothes or blankets to Pakistan should contact their local Pakistan Welfare Associations. These Associations are serving as collecting points for donations of clothing and blankets and will arrange for the packing and transport of these goods to PIA Cargo Terminal at Heathrow Airport. In order to ensure the proper dispatch of the clothing, the Pakistan Embassy asks that the following measures be taken: the clothes/blankets should be clean: they should be wrapped in polythene bags and then placed in cardboard boxes; these cardboard boxes should be delivered preferably in bulk through the help of the local Welfare Association; the boxes should be carefully addressed to Cabinet Secretary, Government of Pakistan, Karachi and marked “Flood Relief Goods”; finally the boxes should be delivered to PIA Cargo Terminal, Southern Perimeter Road, Heathrow Airport, Middlesex (01-759 0055).

● The U.K. Islamic Mission has also appealed for donations for Pakistan flood disaster and has made arrangements for direct transfer of money to the deserving and the needy. **Pakistan Medical Society in U.K.** (283 Camden High Street, London NW1 7BX) is making arrangements for sending medicines to the flood stricken areas. The society is collecting donations to buy two fully equipped ambulances urgently needed for relief work in the rural areas. **Pakistan Solidarity Front, U.K.**, has urged the Pakistani community to volunteer regular weekly donations as the losses are immense and they call for sustained and continued relief efforts.

Pakistan Arts and Crafts Exhibition Pakistan Cultural Institute Coventry, organised its Third Annual Pakistan Arts and Crafts Exhibition at Coventry Cathedral on Saturday, 15 September, 1973.

Al-Rissalah

A weekly Arabic newspaper, *Al-Rissalah* (The Message), started publication in America last month. The newspaper is edited by Eissa Mansour and can be had from: 8707 Plymouth Street, S.S.MD. 20901, USA.

CALENDAR

Badr Victory Day	14 October
Laylatul Qadr	24 October
Juma’at al-Wida	26 October
‘Id al-Fitr*	28 October

*Subject to the visibility of the moon. Our apologies for the slip in mentioning 27 August instead of 27 September as the probable date for the sighting of Ramadan moon; and also in the relative Hijri date: 29 Ramadan instead of 29 Shaban.

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

AFGHANISTAN. India is to assist Afghanistan in setting up an archive repository. ● A number of senior officials including the Mayor of Kabul and Afghan Bank Governor were sacked on inefficiency charges.

ASIAN SECURITY. Thai weekly *Mahanakorn* and Sarawak *Sec Hua Daily News* criticised Soviet proposal for Asian Security as new colonialism.

BANGLADESH. Awami League Working Committee approved three-party alliance on the basis of Mujibism. ● A new Printing Press and Publication Bill passed to replace the Press Ordinance despite protests from the Journalists Union. ● A 25-year agreement concluded with India on the peaceful use of Atomic Energy and Scientific Research. ● Egypt and Syria to establish formal diplomatic relations with Bangladesh.

CHAD. Fort Lamy, Chad's capital renamed Ndjamena from 28 Nov.

EGYPT. Over 5,000 members of the Arab popular forces to meet in Cairo on 3 November for "pooling Arab potential resources for the battle of destiny."

FAMILY PLANNING. Mr. Des Frost Chairman of the ruling Rhodesian Front has called for the setting up of a Ministry of Birth Control to curb the African population growth by rewarding those who conform, and punishing those who do not. ● Alza contraceptive device, an American once-a-year pill is being tried on 3,000 women in China. ● The U.S. authoritative National Fertility Survey revealed that despite advances in birth control more than 33% women had unwanted pregnancies. ● Indian Family Planning Budget cut by two thirds (£60m) to curb inflation.

GHANA. Imam Nuhu of Larabanga asked the National Monuments Board and Ghana Muslim Council to help save Larabanga's 300-year-old historical mosque.

INDIA. The U.S. has agreed to write-off two thirds of Indian rupee debt of \$3 billion. ● Mrs. Gandhi criticised newspapers for putting all the blame on the Congress Party, and criticising ministers living in "some-what big houses" but had no criticism for the big businessmen. She said the Government will not tolerate communalism whether by Muslim League, the RSS, the Jang Sangh or any other organisation. When they had reached understanding, the Muslim League in Kerala was not indulging in communalism, but now we have to see whether it is the same League or has changed.

INDONESIA. Adam Malik complained that the non-aligned states sometimes sacrificed their block unity to self-interest. ● Indonesian Ambassador to the Netherlands told "Amnesty" that the conditions of the Indonesian political prisoners are far better than described in the foreign press. The total number of category B prisoners was now 9,898. ● Brig-Gen. Wijogo replaced Brig-Gen. Sofjar as Chief of Staff of Kostrad (Army Strategic Command).

ISRAEL. Cuba and Togo broke diplomatic relations with Israel. ● Israel's former army intelligence

chief said "the time has come for the open establishment of a central organisation based in Israel, co-ordinating international Jewish representative organisations" which will counter Arab use of oil as a political weapon. British M.P. Maurice Orbach felt Herzog's declaration would give currency to the "Elders of Zion theory". He said "Jewish economic power is exaggerated by the Jewish Community—and by anti-semites too." Orbach said such actions taken quietly might be worthwhile, but to publicise the possibility and then fail would be disastrous.

KASHMIR. About 700 Jan Sangh members arrested for defying ban on demonstrations. J.S. demands immediate settlement of 100,000 Hindus and Sikhs "uprooted" during the 1971 war. Some Buddhist demonstrators asking for Ladakh's separation from Kashmir and direct rule by Delhi were also arrested.

LIBYA. More than 500 Tunisian, Egyptian, Syrian and Maltese young men and women participated in a youth festival in Tripoli from 19 to 25 Sept. ● Under the proposed unity plan Dr. Murad Ghalib appointed Egyptian Minister in Tripoli and Abu Baker Yunis his Libyan counterpart in Cairo. ● Turkish Embassy in Tripoli has been exempted from moving along with the U.S., British and Italian embassies to another part of the city. ● Major Jallud expressed regret for the Libyan Air Force gunning "by mistake" of an Italian ship.

NEPAL. Nepal announced that it will take stern action against entry of Pakistani nationals from Bangladesh.

NIGERIA. Gowon said if Israel continued to be arrogant "we will have to reconsider our diplomatic relations" with her. ● The Anglican Synod excommunicated about 2,500 Ozo Christians in the East Central State for worshipping idols. Ononye, secretary of the sect claimed that they had omitted idolatry but the Anglican Church harbour free-masons and other quasi-religious groups because they were influential.

OIL. Qadhafi said the oil companies' profits on 49% would be greater than on 100%, so it would be shortsighted for them not to agree to 51% nationalisation. ● OPEC nations have called oil companies' reps. to meet in Vienna to revise 1971 Tehran agreement on oil prices because of high inflation and two devaluations of dollar. ● Former OPEC Sec-Gen. Dr. Pachachi said the Arabs held the key to the energy and monetary crisis and "they will know how to use both as political weapons." ● Texaco is suing Italy's Saras refinery to recover crude confiscated under Libyan 51% take-over. ● Mr. Murray Pincus, Managing Director for Europe of National Utility Services, Energy Consultants, London, said that exaggerated forecasts of world energy crises can and have been used to justify fuel and power price increases that would otherwise be unacceptable. ● William Casey, U.S. Under Sec. of State for Economic Affairs told a Washington

Conference that to have "control over our energy destiny in our own hands all we have to do is to substantially eliminate the need for foreign oil and to bring down use of energy from 3.6 to 3.4%." ● Burmah Oil and KMS Fusion of the U.S. completed agreements to go into the nuclear energy business. ● Tanker rates are expected to register a further increase in coming winter. ● Standard Oil clarified that it stood for due regard to Israel's legitimate interests.

OMAN. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Gulf has thanked the USSR for aiding the Front.

PAKISTAN. Mr. Bhutto said there will not be another Bangladesh in Pakistan and it was futile for the Opposition to look for outside support. ● All vegetable ghee factories except the ones with foreign participation taken over and their stocks seized. ● Under a new law abrogating or subverting the Constitution of Pakistan anytime since 1956 is made a treasonable offence. ● Income Tax and duties raised by 10-25% to meet flood reconstruction costs. ● State Bank Governor warned against the most disturbing inflationary pressures in the country and asked the Government to minimise deficit financing. Because of sizeable deficit in Government financial transactions there was a record 23% monetary expansion. ● Wali Khan said that never since the establishment of Pakistan had he used the word Pukhtunistan but since many false things continue to be attributed to him, he will not comment on the Afghan Foreign Minister's speech in Algiers on Pukhtunistan. ● UDF announced suspension of civil disobedience because the Government since withdrew ban on public meetings. ● Karachi journalists staged a 24-hour strike in protest against the banning of three dailies. The editors of *Jasarat* and *Hurriyat* re-arrested on new charges after being bailed by the High Court. ● Mian Tufail Muhammad, Jamaat-e-Islami Amir, said his party was concentrating on providing flood relief; more than 100 relief centres are functioning and over one million rupees worth of clothes, medicines, food etc., have been distributed so far. Mian Tufail accused the Government for mis-managing the country's economy. ● The PoW Committee Chairman said Pakistan will not force the Bengalis to leave Pakistan and those willing to go will be allowed to take their belongings including some gold.

PALESTINE LIBERATION. Under an amnesty announced by King Hussain about 800 Fidayeen including Abu Daud released. ● The PLO executive agreed to follow a moderate line on the reconciliation between Jordan, Egypt and Syria. ● Kuwait to hand over the five "terrorists" who seized Saudi diplomats in Paris to the PLO. ● Syrian authorities confiscated the property of "Voice of Palestine" in Dar'a, dismantled transmitters and took them to Damascus.

SAUDI ARABIA. The Prophet's Mosque is to be extended to 48,000 sq. metres from the present 16,200. Muslim World League Constituent Council to meet in December. SR 160m allocated for Hajj projects in 1393-4. ● France negotiating to sell 34-38 Mirage 3-E deep penetration bombers. The U.S. had offered 50 Northrop F-5-E's instead of Phantoms. The neighbouring Iran has about 80 Phantoms. Diplomatic relations with W. Germany broken in May 1965 resumed from 18 Sept.

SYRIA. *An-Nahar*, Beirut, disclosed that some months ago Jordanian Intelligence had discovered a plot to overthrow the Syrian regime and gave Asad the names of the plotters.

TUNISA. Bourgiba recommended a stick and carrot policy towards Israel, so as to force it to opt for peace. About unity of the North African countries, he said, we have agreed to think about it and to move towards something like the U.S. federal system.

TURKEY. 16,865,510 voters go to polls on 14 October.

PEOPLE

"Egyptian Republican Medal Class One" to Abbas Khalat-bari, Iranian F.M. U.S. Senator Henry Jackson made Doctor by Tel Aviv university. Lenin Prize winner Faiz Ahmad Faiz replaced as chairman Pakistan National Council of Arts by Law Minister Peerzada, Faiz becomes a consultant in Education Ministry. Dr. M. A. Rauf, Director, Washington Islamic Centre rejoined duties after a successful eye-surgery. Dissenter Soviet physicist Andrei Sakharov also nominated for "Nobel Peace Prize 1973". Brezhnev named "Hero of the People's Republic of Bulgaria" by the Bulgarian State Council for "construction of socialism in Bulgaria". Francois Duchene, 46, Director, International Institute for Strategic Studies, joins as Director, Centre of Contemporary European Studies at Sussex University in Sept./Oct. 1974. Victor Sorokin, Director of Leningrad tourist office "Intourist" jailed for 13 years for corruption. Senate Foreign Relations Committee confirmed by 16 to one, Henry Kissinger's nomination as U.S. Secretary of State. Sen. McGovern who opposed said he cast his vote as a symbolic protest on Vietnam. Prof. Ralf Dahrendorf, 44, a German immigrant, to be Director, London School of Economics from autumn next year. Lt-Gen. Boonchai Bamrungpong promoted Chief, Thai Army. Teddy Kollek, 62, to run for 3rd term as Israeli Mayor of Jerusalem. Dr. Eugene Gordon set the world record for being the fifth Jew to be elected Mayor of Bulawayo, Rhodesia. Alhaji Amino Kano elected chairman, WHO African Regional Committee.

VISITS

Ali Samatar, Somali V.P. to the USSR. Turkish F.M. Bayulken to Cairo. Afghan Premier Daud to Bangladesh, later, Shaikh Kutbi Saudi Minister of Awqaf to Pakistan. King Faysal to Pakistan, shortly, Pakistan MP (JI) Mahmood Azam Farooqui to Europe and Saudi Arabia. Inamullah Khan, Sec.-Gen., World Muslim Congress to S. Arabia.

DIPLOMATS

Itzhak Una formerly Consul General in S. Africa, Israel's new ambassador in Kenya. Adil al-Khalidi to be new Jordan ambassador to Pakistan, Kamil Sharif returned to Amman. Henry Byroade, 60, previously in Egypt, S. Africa, Afghanistan, Burma and the Philippines to be new U.S. ambassador in Pakistan. L. Pangandaman, to be Philippine's ambassador in Saudi Arabia. Rasgotra, India's acting High Commissioner in London goes to Nepal as ambassador. Suryono Darusman, new Indonesian ambassador to Mongolia. Dr. Mordecai Shneerson, new Israeli ambassador in Brazil. David Roberts, 49, formerly U.K. High Commissioner at Barbados to be ambassador in Syria.

DIED

Abdullah al-Tal, military governor of Jerusalem in 1949 and member Jordan Upper House. Sajjad Zaheer, 68, Indo-Pakistan Communist party leader, and a "Rawalpindi Conspiracy" convict, in Tashkent, on 13 Sept. Pablo Neruda, 69, Chile's Marxist poet, 1971 Nobel Prize in literature.