

MUSLIM VIEWPOINT(S) ON CURRENT AFFAIRS

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THE MUSLIM PROBLEM IN THE PHILIPPINES Super Power Game in the Middle East Afghanistan: Yesterdays Revolution Israel: Not the Last Exit The Americophones Bangladesh Clemency Bosphorus Bridge British Police Infallibility War and Ceasefire Thinking Over Peace and Population
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MIDDLE EAST MYOPIA AND PERMISSIVE CONFLICT

The war in the Middle East ended as uneventfully as it had started 17 days earlier.

The Arabs say that the war brought them victory. It shattered the superman myth of the Israelis. It inflicted heavy casualties among the enemy's forces and frustrated Israeli attempts to achieve its objectives by means of war. The more real victory, however, possibly, lay in carrying home to the super Powers and the European community, the realisation that the Middle East represented a powder-keg that might not blow up just itself, but threaten their areas of interest too.

The Israelis on the other hand feel more equally victorious and vindicated. Does not this pre-meditated aggression prove the intrinsic belligerence of the Arabs? The case for secure, extended and buffered borders now becomes all the more unassailable. What would have happened, they ask, had the Israelis not been occupying Sinai, Golan Heights and the Jordan West Bank? Would not then the ferocious Arab hordes run over the tiny state and throw away every Israeli into the seas?

The two victories and the vindications of the sort are simply a tribute to the world of a sort we live in today. The victories having been achieved and the respective positions having been proved, the two super Powers, the self-assumed world guardians have now stepped up diplomatic activity to bring about a 'peace' in the area. Irrespective of the fact whether this quest for peace is honest and sincere or otherwise, and irrespective also of the outcome, the simple question to ask is whether this show of diplomatic flurry was not possible without going through this bloody and diabolical ordeal? Was it inevitable that thousands of lives of Israelis and Arabs, of Jews and Muslims, be sacrificed at this altar of super Power politics?

The solution(s) hawked about are the ones which most Arab governments since the days of Nasser—at least the frontline states—were willing to accept. Nasser was willing to settle earlier, but after the disastrous Nasserian misadventure of June 1967, more and more Arab governments had come to accept the inevitability of arriving at a peace settlement with Israel. Liberating the original Palestine having become more a question of rhetoric and romanticism, the only practical concern was to get the Suez flowing again and restore as much of Sinai, Golan Heights and West Bank as possible. The Arab governments also wrote off recovering the whole of Jerusalem and were prepared to offer reasonable (otherwise humiliating) indemnity for the security of Israel. Yet the more the Arabs yielded, the more intransigent the Israeli's became.

The Israeli intransigence was caused primarily by the myopia of its leadership but made possible by the nature of international politics.

The traumatic experience of the Second World War and the Hiroshima, Nagasaki experiments have brought home to the big Powers, the pragmatic abhorrence of war—but only such war which carried the risk of a direct nuclear confrontation between the big Powers. This implied a continual build-up of mutual deterrence. This also produced the need to create, from time to time, battlefields to test the new weaponry and exercise the forces. Such a field could only be in some Korea, Vietnam, Bangladesh, Middle East,

Africa or Latin America. The idea is that if you allow small wars to go on, major conflagrations can be avoided. The upstart psychology speaks about a let-out of aggression within the human species, but the vogue is more succinct. If you want to save marriage, you have to accept permissiveness and prostitution!

The super Powers have a vested interest in conflict and not in peace, and this the Israeli leadership has been able to exploit to the full. Could it otherwise be conceivable that that 'celebrated' Resolution 242 which had both big Power's as well as a virtually unanimous international backing could not be implemented for the avowed reason that its English version did not (the French did) say *the* 'territories occupied in the recent conflict'?

The super Powers are no doubt the villains of the 'peace,' the World Community is a silent but culpable abettor, but there is also the Israeli myopia.

The contemporary Jewish sense of history suffers from a grievous short-vision. The main firmament of their political and cultural entity and consequently the *raison d'être* of a mono-racial Israeli state is based on some recent events in European history: Dreyfus affair, pogroms in Czarist Russia and lately the elimination of six million Jews in Nazi Germany. The dimensions and significance of all these and similar events, even if accepted uncritically, do not preclude the simple question as to their relevance to the throwing out of the Arabs from their homeland, Palestine, and making refugees out of them. Palestine has never been the homeland of the ancestors of the vast majority of the present-day Israelis but those who were expelled had been living there since ages. However, even if Palestine had, if ever, been the homeland of the European Jews that was no way to 'resettle' them. Would the Americans, the British, the Australians, not to mention the Rhodesians and the South Africans accept a resettling of history involving mass expulsion of their present populations? Yet Israel has founded itself on such a logic of 'unsettlement'.

However, that was by way of digression. The point to emphasize is the need for the Jewish people to take a long-term, deeper and objective view of their history and its relationship with the Muslim people. If there has been one single factor in their survival, it was the emergence of Islam and the liberal protection that Muslim rule offered to the oppressed. And Muslims offered more than protection. But for this, the course of Jewish history would have been dictated not by Zionism, but by European anti-Semitism. For the present though, the common Jewish man is a victim of the official-self-propaganda, but the Muslim role in their survival is a fact of Jewish history. It provides a more sound and reliable basis of relationship, and a far more dependable security than all the Nixons, Kissingers and Brezhnevs, put together, can ever provide. The Israeli leadership appears to see a curious advantage in leaving things unsettled. But no matter wherever the ceasefire lines might happen to be, near Cairo or Damascus, leaving it unsettled or trying to settle it from a point of strength and not equity and justice, then they expose themselves to a real insecurity. The present post-colonial generation of Arab leadership may be no match to the ways of today's world politics, but a new generation is bound to arise tomorrow.

Survey • AFGHANISTAN • ISRAEL, AFRICA & AMERICOPHONES

Afghanistan — Revolution, yesterday policies tomorrow

Having survived the challenge posed by the former Prime Minister, Hashim Maiwandwal, a number of senior army and airforce officers, Kandhar governor, and others, all described as "a group of unpatriotic traitors . . . agents of reaction and foreign hirelings", leading to "the dastardly act of suicide" by Maiwandwal, Sardar Daud's republican regime is yet in the process of establishing itself and feeling its way through the myriad of administrative, political and economic problems.

Apart from reshuffling at the top, attention appears to be concentrated, understandably, on reorganising the police and the ministries of information, culture and education. Along with reorganising the force and improving the working conditions of the police, new passports are to be issued "for all Afghan citizens". This would be in the "near future", but initially these will be issued "in a small quantity".

On the media side, the Council of Ministers recently approved a series of regulations for "better organising" the production and distribution of films and, for "organising" the activities of foreign film-producers in Afghanistan. The Ministry of Information will oversee not only the films and film production but also "other related matters concerning the location of cinemas and their management."

All these denoted no more than the post-revolution measures designed to protect the revolution. As a Third World phenomenon, it begins as a justifiable expedient, but in due course, and more often than not, becomes the sole object of the revolution. Some intimation as to the character of the new order is provided, however, by the statement on cultural policy issued on 24 October. Prior to this the ministries of Information, Culture and Education had been reorganised and integrated.

The basic aim of the policy is stated to be "to preserve the country's cultural heritage (but) in the context of scientific and technological change and in the spirit of peaceful co-existence". The government "would fight . . . superstition and negative mentalities" that barred the way to the acceptance of scientific, social, moral and economic ideas and of standards of hygiene (sic). The policy, so far, (vague Islam plus ambiguous modernism and confused progressivism) conveyed nothing new in the Afghan context. Except for that "spirit of peaceful co-existence", the statement was as up to date as the one issued by Amanullah nearly half a century earlier.

The latter part of the statement is, however, more mod, and provides a little insight into the minds of the country's new cultural bureaucracy. Accordingly the Pushtu and Dari languages and other national tongues are to be allowed to develop. Handicrafts that were familiar to Afghanistan would be revived. The people would be made familiar with the arts and traditions of the various peoples in Afghanistan in the spirit of national unity. There would be "academic research into the country's cultures and traditions." The "aesthetic tastes" of the people (not peoples) would be cultivated and their minds prepared to accept "positive change in human evolution".

What seems apparent is the desire to contain and appease certain discontent among the linguistic and ethnic "peoples". Very early on, the deposed Prime Minister, Musa Shafaq who comes from a mixed Persian origin, was accused of selling Afghan national interests over border and river water issues with Iran. But the way "national unity" is to be achieved was bound to be counter-productive. It all appeared to be nothing more than some undigested bits of UNESCO anthropology garnished with a varying assortment of Maoist and European New Left clichés. One wonders even if the drafters of the policy, not to mention their cabinet colleagues, really knew as to what they meant by "positive change in human evolution". Incidentally, the only biologist in the

cabinet happens to hold the portfolio of justice. The policy, on its own, appears to betray an inability to comprehend the country's cultural and educational problems and more seriously, presents a very lopsided priority. Meaningfully also, the statement speaks of a "free, voluntary participation" but not of free, voluntary expression.

For one thing the policy statement would seem to dispel suggestions as to any Pro-Russian implications of the Daud regime. The recent recognition of the "Royal Government of National Unity of Cambodia" headed by Prince Sihanouk, and playing host at the same time to a Russian military delegation, shows that the new regime does wish to follow a no-change policy of non-alignment. No change applied also to Afghanistan's theoretical dispute with Pakistan on the issue of Pushtunistan.

Israel — Not the last exit

In his inaugural speech, the newly promoted U.S. Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, had taken note of a new emerging third power block — alignment of the non-aligned. Whether Kissinger meant it or not, at least Israel is painfully aware of this.

Very early in its diplomatic emergence, Israel had been able to extend its trade and diplomatic interests in the African continent. It had been able to neutralise many pro-Arab sympathies and reap economic benefits too. Within the short period of 12 years, she had been able to increase her exports to Africa from a quarter to ten million Pounds Sterling.

Israeli policy also aimed at establishing a military foothold in the flank of the Negro-Arab Africa. It is probably here as well as in the over-reaching interference, as evidenced in the Biafran episode, that the Israeli setback started. The rift with Gen. Amin of Uganda was perhaps fortuitous, but it became a catalyst to an expression of African disenchantment with Israel's overbearing and as—white-as-the-Europeans position in the game of nations. Meanwhile, the Arabs too had no doubt become somewhat conscious of their obligations towards the African countries and in this a notable role, in their own ways, seems to have been played by Faysal, Qadhafi and Bumadyan. With Liberia also severing diplomatic relations with Israel, the only country which is certain to stand to the last with Israel is South Africa.

The significance of this diplomatic coup from the Arab viewpoint need, however, not be overstated. As the Nigerians put it, the African break was not based on any fundamental differences with Israel but was only an expedient to pressure it to vacate the Arab territories occupied in June 1967. In that regard the recent pause in Israel's relationship with such traditionally pro-Israeli states like Zaire, Kenya, Liberia and Ethiopia was caused more by the indefensibility and obduracy of the Israeli position in refusing to vacate the territories occupied in June 1967 than any Arab diplomatic victory. In due course the Arabs will have to work out a more durable basis of relationship with the African as well as other Asian, and Latin American countries.

And the Americophone community

Compared to the African response, official attitude within the "Americophone" non-Arab Muslim states to the Arab-Israeli war was characterised by pithy tokenness and formality. Malaysia and Indonesia fall under this category.

In Pakistan too, Mr. Bhutto claimed that their support was unwavering and "more than tangible", but he seems to have failed to satisfy the enthusiastic pro-Arab public mood within the country. By contrast in the secular Bangladesh,

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Survey

● BANGLADESH ● TURKEY ● BRITISH POLICE

the masses took the Middle East war as a God-sent opportunity to re-discover and assert their sense of Islamic solidarity, and the government too did not lag behind in making a show of their support to the 'Arab brethren.' Mr. Bhutto's visits to Iran and Turkey, on the other hand seemed to reflect the same familiar character as the visit previously of the then President Iskander Mirza and Prime Minister Suhrawardy to the same capitals during the 1956 Suez crisis. The misunderstanding between Pakistan and the nationalist Arab countries then sown has not been fully cleared even up till now. Similarly, whatever might be the private feelings of the Turkish leadership, officially the Turkish position was put as that of "positive neutrality". Iran's relationship and her continued recognition of Israel remained all the more incongruous.

Yet more notable was the absence of any effective diplomatic or information role on the part of the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers. Except for some statements and a meeting of the Foreign Ministers at the United Nations, nothing really is known about any contribution made by the Islamic Conference.

(Postscript: Islamic Secretariat has since convened an emergency conference in Pakistan.)

Bangladesh clemency for the not guilty!

"Following (the) clemency granted by Prime Minister Bangabandhu Shaikh Mujibur Rahman on the occasion of Eid-ul-Fitr", the Bangladesh authorities have released about 400 persons held since about two years "on charges of collaboration and other antisocial activities". It was said that a total of 1,600 persons are to receive the benefit of the clemency.

The move should be welcomed no doubt, but looking into the real magnitude of the "collaborator" problem and the nature of the present clemency, it is doubtful if the "clemency" touched even the surface of the problem. While announcing the clemency, the Home Minister admitted that "there were no specific charges against (these 1,600 persons) and the district scrutiny committees also could not bring specific charges against them." Holding 1,600 persons without a *prima facie* case and holding them without trial for a period of 22 months was not a case of clemency. The appropriate clemency for the nation, in the circumstances, was for such an irresponsible government to resign.

Disregarding the high but not implausible estimate of the number of political prisoners in Bangladesh, the problem was many many times more real and gigantic than the authorities appeared to comprehend. In October last year, the authorities said they held 41,000 persons as collaborators. Six months later, in April 1973, the Home Minister reported "that till then only 12,000 cases had been instituted, of these 6,000 were charge-sheeted but only 5,000 cases placed before the special tribunals which had", till then "disposed of only 59 cases". Now the new Home Minister, Mr. Abdul Malek, states that till today (i.e. 25 October) 37,022 were charge-sheeted on collaboration and other charges, 3,000 tried by courts on charges of collaboration, and 742 convicted. A figure of 2,258 i.e. 75% acquittal simply meant that out of every four person held, three were in prison without having committed any crime. Comparing the latest official figure on the number of collaborators held in Bangladesh prisons with last year's official figure of 41,000, a question might also be asked as to the fate of the other 3,078 prisoners. Either they were liquidated or such was the primitive state of imprisonment and prison-keeping that the Bangladesh authorities were never sure as to the numbers they actually held.

Last year the percentage of acquittal was 50% and this 50% increase in the ratio of the acquittable cases clearly suggested that the vast majority of those held as collaborators had committed no

crime even within the meaning of an acquittal-proof collaborator law.

The collaborator baiting in Bangladesh is indefensible on both juristic and political grounds. The relative collaborator law which suspends the right of *habeas corpus* and the law of evidence was such a lawless ordinance that, but for the specific constitutional protection, it will not stand the test of repugnancy to fundamental rights laid down in Bangladesh' own constitution. On political grounds, there was no nation in the world which stood in a more dire need of normalcy and national reconciliation but the whole difficulty appears to lie in the fact that with the passage of time Sheikh Mujib's government is becoming less and less confident of itself and becoming more and more dependent on those elements who have a vested interest in the continuation of chaos and political and economic uncertainty in Bangladesh.

Bosphorus—A bridge is a two-way thing

On 30th October, President Fahri Koruturk of Turkey cut a ribbon and walked a 3,500 feet span from Asia into Europe. The occasion was the opening of the £15m Bosphorus Bridge, the fourth-largest suspension bridge in the world. The link was designed by Freeman Fox and Partners of London, built by Anglo-German Bosphorus Consortium, and the non-Turkish part of the finance came from Britain, Germany, France, Italy and the EEC. The work on the bridge had started in February 1970 and its completion at the end of the last month was marked to synchronise with the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Turkish Republic; incidentally also the abolition of the Ottoman caliphate.

The symbolism in Koruturk's direction of march—from Asia into Europe—should, one hopes, not only mark the reversal of the centuries old European imperialist march into Turkey, but also a maturing of the Turkish personality. The reversal of the European imperialist march does not and should not imply the incipience of any counter imperial march into Europe. Finance, business and profit apart, the construction and opening of the bridge also goes to emphasise the fundamental and para-territorial mutuality within the human kind. And it is this intrinsic mutuality which can and should form a true and a durable basis of international relations.

A bridge, no doubt is a two-way thing. The whole mutuality and cooperation, can, however, be mucked up if the new bridge helps only to speed up the flow of Hashish into Europe and the seamy and alienated side of the European life into Asia minor. The balance of the two-way flow, to be beneficial, has to be positive. The bridge is only a symbol, but Turkey has a role to recover and to play it to the good of the world community. It is also so well-situated.

British Police — A problem of infallibility

The recent report on "Police Immigrant Relations in Ealing" by the Runnymede Trust only confirms an old story: that some sections of the British Police Force are race-oriented and their behaviour towards the immigrants was far from desired. For years, the West Indian community has been complaining that the Police has been mistreating them. The Indians and Pakistanis, with their closely knit communities, had, up to now, a lesser provocation to complain. But the situation appears to be worsening.

Dr. Stanislaus Pulle, author of the report, catalogues some dozen cases which provide clear proof of the police mistreatment of the immigrants. Dr. Pulle says that he chose his dozen cases from a selection of 50 complaints collected by the Ealing Community Relations Council. He collected evidence from the complainants, from eye-witnesses and from court hearings and avoided all cases

which, in his opinion, were biased towards the police or the British society. The cases make depressing reading and consist of sad and unfortunate stories like that of the Indian, a civil servant who had to move from Ealing because of the indifferent and insulting treatment by the police, the Asian schoolmaster the windows of whose home were consistently broken but whom the police appeared unwilling to help, or of the bus conductor, with excellent working record, found guilty of "failing to behave civilly" towards a passenger who had offensively refused to pay the correct fare.

Scotland Yard has denied all charges of brutality to immigrants and has claimed that all the cases in the report have been investigated and have proved to be distorted. The Police are but human beings. This may seem too obvious a statement but the Scotland Yard seem also to be insistently overlooking this simple fact. They have emphasised again and again, that the Police does not make mistakes, that its treatment of black and white is alike, sometimes even at the expense of common-sense. The case of the senseless killing of the two Pakistani boys at India House is one example. More recently there was the case of an Indian Youth, Satnam Kane, who was accused of stealing £50 from a garage. He spent six hours in the Southall police station. He alleges that his face was slapped and he was told that his family would also be implicated unless he "confessed" to the crime. The youth confessed. Later the garage rung the police to inform them that the £50 had been accounted for. The police, however, paid no heed to the fact that the crime never occurred, but proceeded to prosecute the youth and insisted that he had confessed and was in fact guilty!

People

PEOPLE

Mahdi Bannouna appointed Director-General, Islamic International News Agency. Li Chiang appointed new Chinese Minister of Foreign Trade, Dr. Masood Husain Khan (nephew of former President, Dr. Zakir Husain), new V.C. Jamia Millya Delhi, in place of Prof. M. Mujeeb resigned due to long illness.

VISITS

Khalid al Hassan, member of the PLO Central Committee to Algeria, received by Bumadyanl Gen. G. G. Bewoor, Indian Chief of Army Staff to Indonesia, 30 Oct-5th Nov. Sri Lanka Prime Minister, Mrs. Bandaranaike, to India and Pakistan. Tun Abdul Razak to Bangladesh, later Romanian Premier Maurer to Iran. Skachov, Chairman USSR State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations to Iraq. Sudan F.M., Dr. Mansur Khalid, to China. King Haile Selassie to Moscow. Indian F.M. Swarn Singh, to Kabul. Henry Kissinger to Rabat, Cairo, Jeddah, Amman, Tehran, Islamabad and Peking. Egyptian F.M. Ismail Fahmy and Mrs. Meir to Washington. Kuznetsov, Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister, to Cairo and Damascus. Afghan Head of State, Gen. Daud to India, later.

DIPLOMATS

Junji Yamada, new Japanese Ambassador to Afghanistan. New Libyan Ambassadors: Abd al Wahab Zentani, Saleh Tinaz and Ashor Qurqum Dr. Janos Pataki named Hungary's new Ambassador to Ghana. Ronald Boettcher, new GDR Ambassador to Libya. S. Uthman Yola, Nigerian Ambassador to West Germany. M. Syedina Sy, Senegal's new Ambassador in Brussels.

DIED

Dr. Taha Hussein, well-known Egyptian controversial academic, B.B.C. Arabic broadcaster during World War II, Minister of Education under Nahas Pasha, on 28 Oct. Prof. Abul Moid Khan, editor *Islamic Culture*, India, former Head, Arabic Department, (former) Osmania University, on 26 Sept. Dr. Tara Chand, well-known Indian historian. Mohammad Saed, 92, twice Prime Minister of Iran during late forties.

Middle East

The Super Power Game

A. W. Hamid

One of the most crucial problems in the latest round of Arab-Israeli hostilities is to determine the roles of the Soviet Union and the United States. The Soviet position appears to be more complex than that of the United States. Its attitude towards the Arab states is certainly not governed by altruistic considerations. Although the basic American policy is clear—full backing to Israel at whatever cost—the unfolding of this policy is dangerously quixotic. Motives are concealed, information is withheld or distorted, deliberate attempts are made to mislead. What exists at present, in the words of a senior member of the British Labour Party, is “political and diplomatic chaos in the western world”. This in his opinion was primarily brought about by Nixon of whom he said: “It is impossible to tell whether any statement which comes out of the White House is or is not a lie”. What is so supremely galling in this situation is the frequency with which these powers talk of having a just and lasting settlement to the conflict in the Middle East.

It will be a long time before the full truth is known, if ever it is known. The attempt however has to be made to understand the positions that are adopted by outside powers since these more often than not have had the decisive impact on the outcome of events in the recent past. Below are some pointers which may help to pave the way for some assessment, beginning with the position of the Soviet Union,

The Soviet Union, like the USA, Britain, and all western European countries in lesser or greater degree are sympathetic towards the State of Israel and guarantee its existence. The Soviet Union was the first country to recognise the state of Israel and has always been warning Palestinians and other Arabs that it is foolhardy to think in terms of supplanting the Jewish state. Meanwhile, it has adopted the posture of “friend and protector” of the Arabs and indeed has helped enough to earn some Arab gratitude, in a shortsighted sort of way. The Soviet Union, can afford to see the Arabs lose in the confrontations with Israel but not to the extent of having them lose face completely. So far the implantation of Israel and support for it by the imperialist USA has enabled the Soviet Union to use Israel as a catalyst for extending Russian influence in the Muslim world. This influence is for the purpose of achieving a variety of military, economic and political gains.

It is true that the Soviet Union has supplied the bulk of the material to re-arm Syria and Egypt to make possible the initial good showing of the Arabs against Israel. The extent of this help, however, only permitted Syria and Egypt to have very limited aims in the war. It is now increasingly clear that the war was embarked upon to pave the way for a political settlement of the conflict that would eventually accord to Israel legal recognition and boundaries to its advantage. This limited support also applies to certain reports during and after the war that the Russians were sending in massive supplies to the Syrians and the Egyptians. The most lurid example is the report in the French daily *L'Aurore* which said that Russian atomic bombs were ready for delivery to Egypt. No one has yet been able to vouch for the accuracy of these reports or their source but it seems likely that they were put out to provide justification for the immediate and massive response of the USA in rearming Israel with the most sophisticated and deadly weapons systems. The key to this question is perhaps the statement of Kissinger that Soviet alleged help to Egypt was not of such an extent as to endanger the policy of detente being pursued by the two super Powers.

Another indication that the Soviet Union is in favour only of very limited action on the part of the Arab states and the Palestinians in reclaiming their land occupied by the Israelis is that it brands

all those who support objectives beyond these limited actions as “reactionary extremist circles” which it sees “in several Arab countries”.

During the course of the conflict, the number of Jews from the Soviet Union allowed to emigrate to Israel reached a record peak at a time when Israel's most pressing problem has been the lack of trained personnel.

The Chinese have made the most of these blatant contradictions in Soviet policy. They have launched scathing attacks which the Soviet Union have not been able to answer satisfactorily. They say: “The Soviet Union has styled itself the ‘protector of the Arab countries. A ‘protector’ indeed! If you are a genuine supporter of the Arab peoples in their just struggle, why did you hurriedly withdraw your military specialists and their families before the outbreak of the war? And why did you continue to supply Israel with manpower after the war had started? When the Egyptian and Syrian armed forces scored successes in their counter-attacks, you sent them a bit of munitions for your own interests. But when the other super-Power exerted pressure on you and tried to intimidate you, you coupled pressure with deception and called for an immediate ‘in-place’ ceasefire”.

In essence the Soviet Union and the USA are not divided in their fundamental attitude to the Arab-Israeli conflict. Of late the Soviet Union has been more and more amenable to American initiatives and pressures even on the Middle East. This may be because of financial considerations which lie at the root of the whole problem. The US is now emerging as the Soviet bloc's international banker. By 1980, Russia's foreign indebtedness would be four times the present figure of \$8,500m. One result of the rapprochement between the Soviet Union and the US is to give the Soviet Union extremely generous American deferred payment terms for the payment of US capital goods. It is now considered inconceivable that Russia would allow the Arab-Israeli conflict to jeopardise its new financial relationship with the US. If this view is taken to its logical conclusion, it would seem that money indeed is the root of all evil.

So far as the American position is concerned, the American Secretary of State claimed that America did not know anything of the impending outbreak of hostilities. This statement is unbelievable. The USA and its various agencies including the CIA are on record as giving the Israelis up-to-date information on Egyptian troop movements and plans for renewed fighting. It was Israeli policy not to launch a massive attack but wait for the Arabs to attack before replying. Kissinger, according to a French journalist, welcomed this policy in a telephone call to Golda Meir on the morning of October 6 by saying, “Good, under those circumstances, the United States will be on your side right to the end.”

The allowing of the Arab to get a head start in the battle and achieve a (false) sense of victory was apparently for the purpose of smoothing the path to negotiations with the Israelis, making it more easily acceptable to the Arab peoples. It is true for example that the Arabs have gained some pride by initially destroying the idea of the invincibility of Israeli forces, but at present they are in a somewhat worse off position than they were before October 6. There may be a case for arguing that the whole exercise was a carefully calculated one.

The US and President Nixon himself apparently welcomed this latest outbreak of hostilities in the Middle East. This could mean too that it kept up the momentum which led to the outbreak of hostilities. The reason for this lies in the acute domestic troubles over Watergate which has directly threatened Nixon's tenure of office. The

Middle East conflict was seized upon to divert attention from these troubles and to make Nixon pose to the American public as a valuable and indispensable East-West peacemaker. It is significant that during President Nixon's conference in the last week of October, he justified his determination to remain in office primarily on one thing that, “when it is necessary to face international crises of great weight, I have got what it takes”.

The aggressive and demanding nature of the American Administration's pro-Israeli stance can best be demonstrated on the effects it had on NATO. The US expected NATO to give its full backing on the Middle East and did not seem to be aware of the different imperatives in the European situation. It is arguable for instance that Britain has suffered the most from the present Arab-Israeli conflict but has tried with characteristic British subtlety to mix its policies with sympathy for Israeli and a consideration of its own self interests which demand a pro-Arab policy on the face of it. One of the most significant results of the Middle East war this time would be the consolidation of a political will in Europe and the emergence of Europe as a super power, internationally and politically. Pompidou, Heath and Brandt are to initiate regular meetings of a “European Cabinet” which would eventually work towards providing Europe with the type of institutions to be able to make corporate decisions in times of crisis. Heath has said that there are other ways to conduct diplomacy than by flitting from one capital of the world to the next—a pointed reference to the globe trotting habits of America's top Jew.

One of the most mystifying actions of the US was the putting of its forces on nuclear alert. An elaborate game of bluff? It is conceivable that it was all intended for the benefit of the Soviet Union. One way of making the Soviet Union appear to be giving “the friendly Arab states all-round assistance and support” (according to Mr. Brezhnev) is to make the Soviet Union appear to stand up to the United States which backs Israel to the hilt. The alert was called at a time when Soviet prestige in the Middle East Arab world was beginning to wane as a result of its token arms support compared to the US opening its arsenals freely to the Israelis.

Kissinger said of the alert that the USA did not consider itself to be in a state of confrontation with the USSR. It is significant that USSR government and party newspapers did not carry any comment on the world-wide military alert. Moscow's broadcasts merely said that the alert was “difficult to comprehend”.

There have been frequent reports of the Americans putting pressure on Israel to come to a peace settlement. Such a notion is difficult to swallow. Israel has never been known to be amenable to pressure. Its own habit of exerting pressure is almost built-in. This accounts for the increasing popularity of General Sharon and the Likud Party as against the Golda Meir government which may have toyed with the idea of some “concessions” to the Arabs. In this situation, it is not known how far the Nixon administration is prepared to go in forcing unpopular decision on Israel and risking Mrs. Meir's replacement by a govern “Stern Gang” (to which Sharon belonged) ment in Israel's coming elections in December. It is doubtful in any case whether anything could be done before December.

On the massive American arms shipment to Israel, Defence Secretary, James R. Schlesinger noted: “There may be some irony that it has been typically those on the Hill (i.e. in Congress) who have voted regularly to reduce defense expenditures across the board who have most vigorously pressed the department to supply fully all of Israel's stated needs.”

The Middle East War and Ceasefire

Impact Briefing

AS SEEN BY SADAT

The U.S. intervention

The US intervened not just with ammunition . . . we were also surprised by modern US weapons which the US army had not yet used . . . The US opened its arsenal to Israel.

I accepted ceasefire

For two reasons: First . . . the draft provides the two super Powers as guarantors for the cessation of firing along the lines that existed on 22 October. Secondly—for the immediate implementation of Resolution 242.

The Military situation

The Israeli militarists themselves know that the wedge on the West Bank is no more than a pocket . . . (They) exploited the ceasefire after we had accepted it and advanced so that they could say "we are about 50 miles from Cairo". Now they say that they have cut off the Third Army's lines of communication and that they have encircled it . . . The Third Army is not only on the East Bank, it holds a sector in the East and a larger sector in the West . . . My military men are putting fierce pressure on me to eliminate . . . the thin strip.

Four or five days ago they woke me up. There was a message from Brezhnev . . . from Mr. Heath! You are blocking Bab-al-Mandab and the Red Sea. Abandon this, and we will leave for you what is behind the Third Army and we want the release of the prisoners and wounded, I replied . . . first of all the ceasefire must be observed along the 22 Oct. line . . . When it comes to Bab-al-Mandab we will talk about it when we talk about . . . disengagement . . . Nixon asked me for more time . . . so that the issue could be resolved peacefully . . . now they say it is not known where the 22 Oct. line is. This matter is simple. On the day of the ceasefire . . . Mrs. Meir said: We now occupy 70 sq. km. on the West Bank . . . let her take another 10 sq. km. from me. My military personnel are asking me to fight but let us now have no more war.

The Political situation

The political action is going on . . . in Washington, Cairo, Western Europe. I acquainted all my Arab brothers with all the developments that occurred . . . I can say that the USSR, as a friend and as a super Power, is carrying out its commitments . . . I can also say that the US, despite its intervention . . . the US attitude in regard to peace is a constructive one . . . up to this moment.

The Energy Weapon

It is not . . . directed against any people nor even against individual Americans . . . The Arab nation does not wreak vengeance on peoples . . . (it) is only demanding its right to live.

About Peace

Peace does not mean a partial or separate solution affecting Egypt alone . . . it means restoration of the Egyptian territories, Syrian territories and the Palestinian people's rights, including their right to self-determination . . . If peace is really desired then we indeed, want peace . . . let the Security Council resolution of 22 Oct. be respected and completely implemented. (President Sadat's statement before the International Press Conference on 31 Oct.)

EBAN, MEIR & DAYAN

Main factor in victory

The main factor in the IDF victory was the quality of the fighters, their readiness, adaptability and sacrifice. . . Although the warning given in reports about the enemy and his deployment was short and insufficient, the IDF had never made Israeli security dependent solely on getting an early warning. We had always required a regular Army

and Air Force sufficiently strong to prevent a catastrophe if we were attacked without sufficient warning. We cannot have a large mobilised army permanently and the very decision to mobilise it was complicated. (Lt.-Gen. Elazar, Israeli Chief of Staff).

No American arm twisting

There had been no American arm twisting to bring about Israel's acceptance of the ceasefire. The cabinet decision was unanimous, "our parliament accepted it with an overwhelming majority, and the public consensus is firmly in favour of it". Of course if there had been time to talk ahead of the Soviet-American proposal, we would have been happy. "It is true that nobody would have dreamt a month ago that the Egyptians could have put a large force across the Canal and maintain them there in a situation of all out war. Certainly that will help them—satisfy them psychologically—to get away from this business of military rivalry and the pursuit of prestige, and get down to negotiations. (Abba Eban, Foreign Minister).

Cannot afford to demand more

Mrs. Meir told Israeli troops on the West Bank of Suez Canal that since 1970 the US has been the sole supplier of weapons needed by the IDF. As soon as the fighting began, though a little late, not exactly on the same day, we began to request for arms and for several days now an airlift has been arriving. Nothing superfluous had been sent. They sent what we requested, very vital things. This should not be forgotten. "From the political standpoint as well, we cannot afford to demand more than the US demanded." (Mrs. Meir addressing the Israeli troops on the West bank of Suez Canal).

Conditions for an opening to peace

The two conditions for an opening to peace is a Russian restraint and an Egyptian approach. The chances for the time being are not too encouraging.

VIEWS ON CEASEFIRE

The Chinese No, and others

The Council must condemn all the acts of aggression by the Israeli Zionists in the strongest terms, demand the immediate withdrawal of the Israelis from all the Arab territories and explicitly provide for restoration of the national rights of the Palestinians. But the draft resolution tabled by the US and USSR failed to reflect the above just position, and was an attempt to reimpose the situation of "no war no peace" on the Arab people, (Huang Hua, speech in the Security Council).

Just as the military situation was favourable to the Arabs, the Soviet Union and the USA produced their Security Council resolution on a ceasefire . . . At the beginning of the war, the Soviet Union and the USA "like hens on a hot girdle" had consulted frequently and run hither and thither and thereafter the USSR styled itself the protector of the Arab countries, but when the other super Power tried to intimidate it, it called for an immediate ceasefire. (*People's Daily*, Peking, editorial, 26 Oct.).

The resolution is a mere scrap of paper designed to cover the Israel's expansion of aggression and to dupe the Arab people. While the USA airlifted weapons to Israel, the Soviet Union continually supplied Israel with manpower. (NCNA-Chinese News Agency).

The situation that has now been created in the Middle East contains in itself also the danger of a new escalation of the US and Soviet interference in the region. The UN troops for supervising peace and the US and Soviet observers will in fact be a sound means for a consolidation of the position of the Israeli aggressors. (Albanian *Zeri Popullit*) The behaviour of the US and Israel had become really dangerous and the Arabs have been tricked. (*Zagreb* commentary).

Heard on the radio !

We had heard the news of the outbreak of fighting as well as the ceasefire (which we reject),



CEASEFIRE AS SEEN BY AL-FAJRAL-JADEED, Tripoli

The blue skies of the Middle East are still full of Russian clouds and Arab imaginations but the results might appear a little later on. As to the US pressure, in spite of these pressures Israel is still amongst the most independent nations which exist today all over the world. Unlike some of the European countries there are no American soldiers in Israel. (Shimon Peres, Transport Minister).

Not a humanitarian gesture

The Egyptian Third Army was not supplied with food as a humanitarian gesture but because "we had no alternative". A week ago we did not have the shells which we have now. There is only one country, the US, which is prepared to supply us with equipment. Whoever suggests conducting a war by a rift with the US is actually suggesting that we should not win the war. (Moshe Dayan in the Knesset).

on the radio. The Iraqi forces now had no Pan-Arab combat duty to fulfil and would return to protect the homeland. (Iraqi joint Party and Government statement). President Sadat blindly accepted the ceasefire but President Bakr should not let his unhappiness cause him to withdraw Iraqi troops from Syria. (President Amin). What is important is not the recovery of the Arab territories occupied in 1967 . . . (it) is the liberation of Palestine from the Zionist gang. I cannot accept vague sentences and expressions such as respect for the national legitimate rights of the Palestinian people (Qadhafi).

Make ceasefire not war

Chinese opposition to ceasefire meant the continuation of a war which would not bring about a just peace but only increase the number of victims. (*Izvestiya*, Moscow). Accept the resolution on the basis that it means the complete withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Arab territories occupied in June 1967 and after, and that it will secure the rights of the Palestinian Arab people. (Syrian Central Command). Chou En-lai's cables to Egypt and Syria asking them not to accept the ceasefire was characteristic of China's policy of giving no material aid but offering only empty words. (A Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee official).

While the non-belligerent Mediterranean countries have been absent or ignored, we see non-Mediterranean circles playing a leading intervention role in the present crisis in the East Mediterranean. The non-selfish intervention of the Mediterranean countries could substantially reduce the crisis of confidence which has a peaceful settlement of the dispute. (Greek Foreign Minister). Indonesian Foreign Minister, Adam Malik, told a UN Day Meeting in Djakarta that power politics by the super Powers impeded the growth of the UN as a peacemaking instrument. He hoped the ceasefire would bring justice to all parties concerned.

The French knew what they were doing, and how they wanted to train a Francais musulman, as they called their type of colonial lackey. He was to be servile, indifferent to the kind of meat he ate, and drink wine and beer.

Thinking Over . . .

T. B. Irving

While thinking over the topic of moral decadence, there came to my mind the city of Algiers in the summer of 1956, just after the War of Independence had begun. I had gone there to visit the places where Ibn-Khaldun, the great Tunisian philosopher of history and founder of sociology, had lived and studied. It was a strange experience in that North African capital, with young French soldiers patrolling the streets with tommy guns, and it reminded me somewhat of Montreal with its dual culture. However, the tenacious Catholics in Montreal have their own institutions; while Algiers had only one university, a French-style one similar to the provincial French one I had once attended in Montreal.

During this visit, I met only one real Algerian, but many Frenchmen. The exception was the driver of the car the French authorities lent me, and who I realized was illiterate when he began to ask me to read the road signs for him. No sign anywhere in all of Algeria was in Arabic in those days. The Frenchman kept insisting that they loved their *Francais musulmans*, as they called the Algerians they wanted to train to serve them. They also explained at length how the economy could not function without the help of France, so insistently that it seemed they were afraid of losing their jobs there if that ever happened.

Algiers was a strange place in the summer of 1956. Pork and wine were on the menu of all the restaurants in the centre of town, and it did not seem like a basically Islamic city at all. At the last lunch I ate on the day I was leaving, I found it difficult even to be served veal. This farewell lunch was with an army major, a university professor (who was later hired by an American university to train American students on the history of North Africa), and two or three other officials. When I indicated I wanted no pork, I wondered just what these individuals thought of this.

The French knew what they were doing, and how they wanted to train a *Francais musulman*, as they called their type of colonial lackey. He was to be servile, indifferent to the kind of meat he ate, and drink wine and beer. Today the *Francais musulman* has disappeared from the scene, and he is replaced by the Algerian who is trying to restore his country. I was

there again two years ago in 1971, and drinking was much the same. However the agriculture of North Africa had been deliberately perverted by the colony in order to provide a ready cash crop, cheap wine, for the colonial masters. No wonder that the tough *pieds noirs* which that colony produced as on-the-spot bosses, were so ruthless, as cities like Marseille and Montreal and Paris have found out when they left Algeria to swagger there.

We can now tell whether the economist or sociologist who worries about the Algerian government's attempt to tear up the vineyards and replace grapes with crops like wheat which are not so subject to the whims of the export market and may even help to feed the Algerian people, are really interested in Islam, by the extent and thrust of their worry. This experience in Algiers also made me think seriously about these two matters in Islamic life: how do we Muslims explain the absence of liquor and pork in our culture? Not eating pork is a simple mandate, something we need not discuss, but which still distinguishes the true Muslim despite the gnawing attempt which our critics indulge in to make Islamic norms look crude and "antiquated". They are simply two signs of a sincere Muslim.

Islam is moreover not a dionysiac cult which tries to escape reality through a mad frenzy induced by drugs or alcohol. Ancient Greece and Mexico are examples of countries where religion was based to some extent upon intoxication. *Payote*, the primitive LSD, originated in Mexico where "we are drunk on mushroom wine" runs as a refrain through one of the Aztec hymns. Islam requires instead a clear vision of God, Who is ultimate Reality. This vision must be achieved through the intellect, through our mind, *al-aql* as it is called in Arabic; we need to have our heads clear for prayer and the direct contemplation of Divinity. The brain is God's gift to man, and it has been given to us so that we may reflect on things. The Islamic mind developed collectively during the great efflorescence of philosophic and cultural activity when Islam blossomed in Baghdad. Yet our experts on Islam in the West try to make that period seem "medieval", and one professor in this country even wrote a book called *Medieval Islam* to prove his point, and this tendentious book is used in the few classes on Islamic culture that are taught here. He meant Islam in its glory, when Europe was medieval, or living between two ages. The gap in world culture was filled, and filled well, by the Islamic empire which stretched then from Spain to China.

* * *

"Something will happen soon", said the professor as we were driving up to the airport and watching the ships in the harbour of Algiers, "which will change things". There were cargo ships and passenger liners which had brought French soldier boys over from Marseille, and now were taking some of them

to a new rendezvous somewhere else. The professor was referring to the ill-fated Suez War which occurred later in that year, 1956. The Suez War knocked Britain and France out of their positions in North Africa and the Middle East, and for once Islam was closer to being free, although it still had many problems left, and needed especially to think its way clearly back to what its new norms should be, now that foreign pressure was removed from its home governments. Its institutions and more important, even the Western-trained intellectuals who serviced them had to be freed from the same incubus.

The French experts I talked to did not understand Islam, nor did they even want to know it. They only observed it, to find out what they could do in order to manipulate the Muslims in their colonies. Islam has been the long frustration for most colonial governments, as it still is for Russia with her colonial system in the Caucasus and in Central Asia. We forget most of the time that there are more Turks living under the Soviet system than in the Turkish republic; and we looked with surprise when we find that the Turks were the best fighters at our side during the Korean war.

Spanish experts do not know Islam either, nor do the British nor the Americans. Reference texts like the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, *The Legacy of Islam* which has just been revised by Oxford University Press, or the new *Cambridge History of Islam* are not impartial. Look at the roster of scholars on their mastheads. Yet when I once asked the member of one editorial board why they preferred it that way, he replied: "A Muslim (or did he say *Moslem*?) would not be impartial". They simply want a sort of *Francais musulman* on their board who will dish up their sort of propaganda. Sociologists are similar. Ask them how many of them have read the Qur'an, and in what language, above all if one of them should venture to discuss Islam and cast moral judgments upon it.

In 1936 I began the study of Arabic at the University of Toronto. In my class was a fellow student who went on to become one of the great contemporary scholars on Islam. Yet I have met him here in Texas, although in another city, and he seemed embarrassed, and preferred not to discuss his visit with me personally. At Minnesota a quarter of a century ago I met another bright young student who likewise went on to Princeton to become another expert, and who writes learned tomes on Islam. Yet basically he is tied into the Catholic movement against Islam throughout the world. These are the experts, and they are afraid to talk seriously with a convinced Muslim about their interests, and dodge such meetings. They will fly in on one plane, and leave on the next as soon as their talk is over; meanwhile talking with local Protestant or Catholic missionary groups if they talk with anybody outside of the convention to which they have been invited. These experts know only the negative features and gossipy items about Islam, like the *huris* in Paradise or the supposed chopping off thieves' hands in Libya or the (now in disuse) deplorable liquor laws in Pakistan. Some of them behave as Andre Gide and Oscar Wilde did in Algiers, and then try to give the world the impression that the poor little Algerian boys they seduced led them astray.

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After teaching a lot of political history, Dr. Kissinger is set along the road to make some of it. The Nobel Committee has, consciously or unconsciously, become a participant in this quick march to destiny. Never in the history of Nobel awards has such a controversy raged as in the case of the Peace Award to Dr. Henry Kissinger and Le Duc Tho for bringing "peace" to Vietnam. The award has been disputed in the Norwegian parliament. Two members of the Five-man Award Committee have resigned for non-agreement with the majority decision. Le Duc Tho has declined to accept the Award. And the people of Vietnam are asking if peace has really come to their wretched land.

The Administration in Saigon has paid its own compliments to the Award by releasing some facts and figures which provide a proper background to the Kissinger-award.

It was in January 1973 that the era of ceasefire began in Vietnam. During the last 10 months of "peace" 27,500 violations of ceasefire are reported to have taken place. According to the Saigon government during this period of ceasefire and peace 36,500 Vietcong soldiers have been killed. South Vietnamese losses are reported to be 10,000 dead, 46,000 wounded and 3,000 missing. Civilian casualties amounted to 1,700 killed and 4,700 wounded. This means that about 5,000 persons were killed every month, about 150 every day. Isn't such a peace noble enough to merit a Nobel Award?

The international crusade for birth control alias family planning, alias population programming, alias planned parenthood has its own exploits and anomalies. It is not the name alone that has been changed again and again to suit the new climate of opinion and the client sensitivity. Both strategy and tactics have been dynamic and progressive.

Some of this came to light again on the occasion of the annual conference of the International Planned Parenthood Federation, held in Brighton, England last month. How the idea is being sold to the world is, however, a topic which merits

Nota Bene

Peace and Population

'Scribe'

separate research and study. Now it is not just the stick of "resource-scarcity" and "no room to live by 2001" that is to force the Third World to resort to birth control, there are carrots in offer. The Executive Director of the United Nations' Fund for Population Activities, who was one of the guest speakers, revealed some of the business secrets to fellow-traders. The U.N.F.P.A., he divulged, has been selling the idea to the Third World in a number of ways, varying in degrees of sophistication. In Iran they have persuaded the Government to raise the minimum female age for marriage with a consequent drop in the birth rate. Illegitimate births remain so far low due to Iranian "backwardness". The U.N.F.P.A., he informs, never talks of "population control", only of "population programmes". It employs indirect methods for contact and persuasion. In Korea it does not ask women to come to family planning clinics. There are Day Care Centres which keep 10,000 children a day. When mothers come to collect their children, they get family planning

information with food gifts. In Mauritius mothers get "the family planning advice when they receive flour and milk rations at the maternal and child health clinics". Even literacy projects are encouraged "because of a successful correlation between literacy and fertility control".

There are some anomalies though, that worry the population programmers. They are distributing the pill in the Third World like candy. But difficulty arises when people of these backward areas on whom the pill and loops are benevolently showered, ask as to why these population programmers are following a certain double standard. Why are they not equally kind to the people in their home-countries. Dr. Fred Sai, Assistant Secretary-General of the Federation reported to the conference that the "cautious attitude" of doctors in Western countries where the pill is not freely accessible and in some of whom it is even necessary to obtain only on a doctor's prescription, is a hindrance to the popularisation of contraceptive pills in the Third World. Dr. Sai said that although there were "small possible associated risks" with the pill, the doctors here are too cautious. This hampered the acceptance for the pill particularly in rural areas of the developing countries.

In the West the medical profession has not thrown all caution overboard. Human life and dignity are deemed to have some value of their own. In France, for example, it is a criminal offence to provide contraceptives except through appropriate medical channels. Abortion-seekers have to fly from one European city to another to seek facilities for easier abortion. But the Third World is getting flooded with the pill. Anyone can use them with no caution of any sort. People in the Third World have, however, started asking questions. That is why the doctors in the West are being asked not to be overtly cautious. It may not be professional ethics but the population explosion in the non-Western world is too big a threat. Besides, it is no small market either!

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In the Philippines, the Muslim problem is not the same as the Communist problem. The Communists are out to grab political power in the Philippines in order to re-structure the political, social and economic organisation of society for ideological reasons. On the other hand, all that the Muslims want is a just and equal position under the Philippine sun. The Communists and the rightists as well covet Malacanang; the Muslims have no such ambitions. Essentially, they only as that whoever is in Malacanang be a *pater familia* to all Filipinos, irrespective of their religious convictions.

During his conference with over 200 Muslim leaders in Malacanang recently, the President said, "I will consider myself a failure if I cannot unify the Christians and Muslims in this country." However, while martial law has muted the sounds of the Ilaga-Muslim confrontation, the prospect of Christian-Muslim unity remains largely a mirage and an illusion, as it has been since General Pershing, General Wood and up to the present.

The so-called Muslim problem in the Philippines remains unresolved, because all previous administrations have failed to erase from the minds of the Muslims four latent psychological fears which are stumbling blocks to their wholehearted support of government policy. These fears and misgivings are common to all Filipino Muslims, from the simple unlettered man up to those who have had the benefit of Western education. In fact, the more perceptive he becomes the more deeply he feels these fears, which are:

- (i) Fear that they will be alienated from their religion;
- (ii) Fear that they are being displaced from their ancestral homes;
- (iii) Fear that they have no future in this country because they really do not participate in their government nor share in the economic benefits derived from the exploitation of the natural resources of the country;
- (iv) Fear of losing cherished values, customs and traditions.

Under martial law, the President has the singular opportunity to effect a lasting solution to the Muslim problem by means of bold and imaginative programmes. Now is the hour to discard halfhearted solutions, token compliance, and attitudes which merely sweep the dust under the carpet.

In addition to on-going projects of the President, such as the recently announced limited free trade between Borneo and Sulu, a trader's bank for the Muslims, etc., it is our sincere conviction that the recommendations we make here, if implemented soon enough, will eventually banish from the minds of the Muslims these psychological road-blocks we have mentioned and consequently make them more receptive to becoming willing partners in nation-building.

Fear of Religious Alienation

To a Muslim, his religion is more than a mere ritual; it is a way of life. But while religious freedom is a basic constitutional guarantee in this country, the Muslim finds that there are many subtle encroachments on his way of life and, therefore, his religious freedom.

Why should the Muslims be forced to adhere to personal laws which are based on Christian concept of morality? What is the inherent justice of requiring them to be governed by the New Civil Code which is



Muslim Refugees; Welfare but not rights

The Muslim Problem in the Philippines

Maimantal A. Tamano

essentially the Spanish Civil Code and the Code Napoleon? Putting the shoe on the other foot, how would our Christian brothers feel if they were required to be governed in their personal and family relations and in the transmission of their inheritance by laws based on the Koran?

Another legal discrimination which the Muslims feel is with respect to their enjoyment of three all-important Muslim holidays, namely *Eidul-Fitr*, *Maulid-ul-Nabi*, and *Eidul Adha*.

Eidul-Fitr is a Muslim holiday which commemorates the end of *Ramadan*, the fasting season. During the month of *Ramadan*, the Holy Qur'an was revealed to the Prophet Mohammad (May the peace and blessings of Allah be upon him). *Maulid-ul-Nabi* commemorates the birthday of the Prophet. *Eidul Adha* or "Day of Sacrifice" is celebrated throughout the Muslim world in remembrance of the Prophet Abraham who was willing to sacrifice even his dearly beloved son, Ismael, in obedience to God's commandment.

The Muslims are seasonal mendicants to Malacanang, because every year they have to beg for the proclamation of these days as special public holidays in the predominantly Muslim areas. Usually the mendicancy is the job of the Commissioner of National Integration when he happens to be a Muslim, but when the Commissioner is either neglectful or ignorant of his religion, then to the disappointment of the Muslims no proclamation comes out of Malacanang, as happened this year.

Other instances of legal discrimination against Muslims should also be expunged from our statute books.

Pilgrimage to Mecca is one of the five pillars of Islam and cannot be compared to the Christian concept of a pilgrimage to Rome or to Lourdes or even to Jerusalem. Therefore, the government should never restrict it nor interfere with its conduct except to look after the safety of the pilgrims and the orderly con-

duct of the pilgrimage. Reasonable regulations pertaining to the pilgrimage must be made by the Muslims themselves through a Presidential Committee of civilians.

Fear of Displacement from their Ancestral Lands

Where once the Muslims occupied most of the lands areas in Mindanao, Palawan, and the Sulu archipelago, now they occupy only 17% of its land area and are concentrated mainly in the provinces of the two Lanaos, Sulu, Basilan and North Cotabato.

The rapid contraction of Muslim land was brought about by organised government programmes like the NARRA, LASEDECO, EDCOR, Land Authority, and now the Department of Agrarian Reforms. Therefore, as Dr. Cesar Adib Majul says, "It is very difficult to erase from the minds of Muslims that the government is party to having more and more Christian settlers enter their ancestral homes to eventually displace them".

It is recognised that land conflict is the major though not the only cause of the Ilaga-Muslim confrontation prior to the proclamation of martial law. That is why I filed Senate Bill No. 601, whose rationale is to erect a statutory fence in the areas where the Muslims predominate. If the Philippines eagle can be given a sanctuary, why not the Muslims? The idea is not to fence in the Muslims into reservations like the American Indians, nor to segregate the Muslims from the Christians. Neither do we seek to erect a wall of separation between Filipinos. What is intended is to contain the flow of immigration to the Muslim areas or to deflect the course of flood to other areas in Mindanao which are also sparsely settled and where the possibility of a cultural or religious clash does not exist. I think that it is a proper form of social engineering for the government to discourage settlers from going into the predominantly Muslim areas and to encourage settlement in the still virgin areas in Agusan, the two Surigaos, Davao, Palawan and other areas of Mindanao not peopled by the Muslims.

As passed by the Senate, S. No. 601 reads in Section 1 as follows:—

"Any provision of law, executive order, rule or regulation to the contrary notwithstanding, all unoccupied, uncultivated and unappropriated agricultural lands as of the approval of this Act forming part of the public domain in the provinces of Lanao del Sur, Maranaw, Lanao del Norte, Cotabato, Sulu and City of Basilan that are alienable and disposable are hereby reserved for agricultural settlement to be distributed exclusively to the members of the national cultural minorities as defined in Republic Act Numbered Eighteen hundred eighty-one . . ."

Despite the appropriation of enough funds by the defunct Congress for the purpose of providing government assistance to enable refugees to return to their farmsteads, Muslim refugees have yet to return to their homes. I have interviewed some of them. Their reluctance to return to their farms is borne out of a lack of confidence in the sincerity of the local authorities to provide them protection. And so, with increasing bitterness and frustration, they watch helplessly their once prosperous farms abandoned or occupied by roving bands of Ilagas who despoil their coconut trees, harvesting even unripe nuts. Prior to martial law, I exposed on the floor of the Senate two instances of ultimate desperation on the part of the refugees. I refer to the sale of two young girls, barely 10 years old, by their

parents. It is no secret in Marawi City that many refugees have "sold" their own children, preferring that these children be in bondage than die of hunger.

So the refugees must be convinced of the sincerity of the government in desiring that they should return to their farms. To do this, the existing agencies created for this purpose must be prodded to act. The Muslim refugees are eager to return, but they must be given adequate protection and extended assistance by way of seeds, implements, etc.

We need not belabour the fact that while the government since the American regime down to the present has launched settlement programmes for the Christians, like LASEDECO, NARRA, and EDGOR. There is not a single fully organised effort for the Muslims. There are also thousands of landless Muslims, but because they have not been provided with the incentives given to Christian settlers these landless Muslims have not taken advantage of their proximity to virgin lands. Or many of them have engaged in "kaingin" farming.

Since the start of the Marcos administration, we have been agitating for the opening of the Rugnan Valley in Lanao Del Sur as an exclusive settlement for landless Muslims. I say "exclusive" because if it is a "mixed" settlement the Muslims will end up being the outsiders in a few years. Furthermore, we cannot afford strife or conflict between Muslims and Christians in a new settlement.

The Rughnan Valley area is a big tract of land. Perhaps about 50,000 hectares. It might be a good idea to set aside 10,000 hectares to be settled by Muslims under some government agency, like DAR. Then another 10,000 hectares should be given to some private agency, like Filipinas Foundation, to develop for the Muslims.

Up to the present, the output of land titles for Muslims is still small despite special efforts made by the late Director of Lands Valdellon who created a special unit in his bureau to take care of the titling of lands for minorities. Valdellon's units should be enlarged and the titling of lands for the Muslims speeded up.

Fear that they have no future in this country

The Senate Committee on National Minorities when investigating the Cotabato "war" found that the Muslims, refugees and non-refugees alike, are very pessimistic about their future and that of their children in the Philippines. They felt that the government was behind the Ilaga movement. They were convinced that justice and equal opportunity was being denied them by the "Christian government".

The feeling is not of recent vintage, although it has certainly been exacerbated by the secessionist movement of Udtog Matalam. In a mass meeting on March 18, 1935 at Densalam (now Marawi City) a declaration was read and forwarded to the American Congress through the President of the United States. In part, the declaration states with considerable prophetic insight:

"... we foresee what condition we will be in and our children when independence is granted these islands. This condition will be characterised by unrest, suffering and misery . . . Our Christian associates have for many years shown their desire to be the only ones blessed with leadership and with progressive towns without sharing with us the advantages of having good towns and cities . . . Their provinces progress by leaps and bounds and ours lay behind . . ."

True that since 1946 special laws have been

passed for the special benefit of the minorities, including the Muslims. Yet, more often than not, these laws, like Republic Act No. 1898 which created the Commission on National Integration are taken as the fulfilment of policy rather than more starting points for implementation. The law is there, but the gap between the law and the reality is a yawning abyss.

Take as a specific example the town of Lu-uk, Sulu, then the scene of Kamlon's defiance and now the cradle of Professor Nur Misuari's secessionist movement. Veterans who fought there twenty years ago say that there has been no tangible change in Lu-uk. Time has stood still for twenty years in Lu-uk. The road is just as bad, there has been no improvement in the livelihood of the people living there.

The old man, Udtog Matalam, now says that his Muslim Independence Movement was merely an "unorthodox way of calling attention to government neglect of the Muslim." Perhaps. But he certainly opened a Pandora's box.

Many Muslims feel that they are mere second class citizens in this country. They think there is indeed discrimination against them or, if at all, they have only taken participation in the government.

Muslims cannot understand why non-Muslims are being sent as Ambassadors and foreign service officers to Muslim countries. They feel that there is an unspoken conspiracy to keep them from contact with the leaders of the Muslim countries, particularly Indonesia, Malaysia, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia. It's a pity, indeed, because Philippine Muslims can play a unique role in our international relations and can be more effective than any non-Muslim in Muslim countries.

The Muslims also do not have a fair share in the economic benefits derived from the natural resources of the country. Although industries have burgeoned in proximity to the predominantly Muslim areas, it is ironical that the benefits of industrialisation and urbanisation have scarcely affected the lives of the Muslims.

For example, Iligan Integrated Steel Mills, Inc., (IISMI) is in Lanao del Norte, but it has practically no Muslim employee in the supervisory or even in the lower ranks. Private business like the carbide plant, the Marcelo fertiliser plant, three cement plants in the area, a flour mill, do not have Muslim employees. All these companies avail of government credit and they can be compelled to employ a definite number of Muslims. In the United States, fair employment practice laws compel private firms and industry to employ Negroes. Why can't it be done in the Philippines?

If there is an organisation to help find employment for the physically handicapped why not a programme for helping the culturally handicapped.

The timber concessions in the Muslim areas of Lanao del Sur, Sulu, Basilan and Cotabato should eventually be owned and run by Muslims. The same should hold true in the case of the pasture lease concessions.

On February 7, 1972, we delivered a privileged speech on the floor of the Senate showing how the Muslims were the victims of legal injustice when they were considered as "squatters" in their own lands and how they were deprived of their ancestral lands by settlers and immigrants backed by the authority and force of the government. I need not repeat the legal arguments we presented there. But as I said, since we cannot turn back

the hands of time, a special development fund can be set up to compensate the Muslims for the lands they have lost. This is similar to the compensation given to the American Indians for the lands they have lost, although in the case of the American Indians the amount set aside is a cash grant. We do not advocate an outright cash payment like the Indians, but it is a matter of justice that a special development fund be set up to develop the Muslim areas.

If this fund is set up, the Muslim countries particularly the oil-rich Arab countries can be called upon to set up a counterpart development fund that we can draw upon at minimal or no interest.

Fear of Losing Cherished Values, Customs and Traditions

For more than four hundred years the Muslims managed to maintain their own political and social organisation even in the face of foreign onslaught . . . Muslims traditional government is quite democratic in the best sense of the term. And within the framework of their traditional government, the Muslims have built an elaborate set of customs and traditions called "adat" or "taritib". These customs and traditions enabled the friction. Disputes were settled by the *datu* through arbitration courts, using a mixture of Islamic laws and customs sanctified by immemorial usage. It was a satisfactory judicial system, giving quick and inexpensive justice that people could understand, more often, it was based on compromise; a delicate balancing of factors wherein both litigants gave up something to the other.

These values, customs and traditions are now being undermined by Western and non-indigenous institutions backed by the force of the government. Naturally, such cultural aggression would be resented.

The Muslims want to keep their values, customs and traditions because they are familiar with them and because they believe it to be just as good if not better than the Western institutions that seek to supplant it. They also realise that these cultural values are basic to their identity as a people.

These values, customs and traditions are not to be found as a set of books or in a single volume. It must be patiently collected from old manuscripts, the *Sharia* or Islamic laws, from the mouths of wise, old men of the village, etc. Hence, arises the necessity of forming a committee of scholars, religious leaders or *ulamas* and *kadis* to update and codify these customs and traditions.

Concluding Remarks

President Marcos has offered amnesty to the Muslim rebels. Many will take advantage of the President's magnanimity, but amnesty will not bring back to the fold of the law Professor Nur Misuari and his followers.

Nur Misuari and his hard-core followers, composed of young college-educated Muslims, are convinced that they have no future in a Christian dominated society and that, therefore the only way to assure their future is an independent Republic of Sulu.

It is my considered opinion that while the secessionist movement in Sulu cannot be stamped outright, it will gradually peter out if the conditions which fan its flames are eliminated. The recommendations we have made here, if followed and applied judiciously, will surely isolate the secessionists from the general mass of the Muslims and thus isolate

... The Muslim Problem in the Philippines ...

ted, the movement will surely wither away.

But the movement will certainly grow stronger unless timely efforts are made to sterilise the ideas of the rebels by eliminating the fears which the Muslims rightly or wrongly, entertain and which colour their perception of government policy.

We, therefore, make the following recommendations

- (1) Issue a Decree that the Muslims shall be governed by Islamic Laws with respect to marriage, legal separation, the rights and obligations between husband and wife, the property relations between them, the family, paternity and filiation, support, funerals, parental authority, succession and inheritance and that The Civil Code Provisions in these respects should no longer be applicable to them.
- (2) Issue a Decree proclaiming as permanent special public holidays in the predominantly Muslim areas the holidays of *Eidul Fitr*, *Eidul Adha* and *Maulid-Ul-Nabi*, as well as excusing the attendance of Muslim employees in other parts of the country on the occasion of these holidays.
- (3) Issue a Decree repealing the provision of Commonwealth Act No. 473, as amended, pertaining to Polygamy and believers in Polygamy in so far as it pertains to Muslims.
- (4) Issue a Decree eliminating all forms of taxation on pilgrims to Mecca.
- (5) Create a new Presidential Committee on Pilgrimage composed of outstanding Muslim religious leaders from the provinces of Lanao del Sur, Sulu, Cotabato, Basilan, Zamboanga del Sur, and Lanao del Norte.
- (6) Issue as a Decree Senate Bill No. 601 and thereby reserve all alienable and disposable public lands in the provinces of Lanao del Sur, Maranaw, Lanao del Norte, Cotabato, Sulu and City of Basilan for members of The National Cultural Minorities and particularly the Muslims.
- (7) Require "SPARE" and other government agencies involved in the return of Muslim refugees to submit reports at least once a month direct to the President or Executive Secretary about the number of refugees who have been actually restored to their farms and the kind of assistance that is being rendered to them.
- (8) Embark on a massive Land Settlement Programme for landless Muslims, making the Rugnan Valley in Lanao del Sur as the pilot project and assigning two areas thereof to the Department of Agrarian Reforms and to Filipinas Foundation.
- (9) Additional funds, if necessary, should be provided to the Bureau of Forestry to speed up its Land Classifications Teams in the Muslim areas and more co-ordination should be made between the Bureau of Lands and the Bureau of Forestry.
- (10) Muslims should be appointed as Ambassadors to Muslim countries.
- (11) Promising young Muslim professionals should be selected and integrated into the Career Foreign Service Corps. For this purpose, a Special Screening Committee should be created to select say thirty young Muslim professionals.
- (12) Muslims should be represented in the Supreme Court, the Court of Appeals, Elections Commission, Civil Service Commission, Development Bank, The Philippine National Bank, The Government Service Insurance system, The Social Security System, The Cabinet, other Government Corporations, The Armed Forces, Textbooks Board, Board of Censors, National Historical Commission, Tourism Board, etc.
- (13) Some sort of quota system should be adopted as a matter of policy whereby all Departments of the Government should employ at all levels a Definite proportion of Muslims. Civil Service Qualifications should be relaxed and Muslims be given a certain period within which to qualify.
- (14) More Muslims should be taken into the Military Service, particularly the Navy and the Coast Guard. The Merchant Navy should also be required to take in more Muslims.
- (15) Foreign Scholarships such as the Colombo Plan, A.I.D., United Nations Development Programme, should be made available also to Muslims and other qualifications being equal Muslims should be given preference.
- (16) Promulgate a National Policy calling upon private industry to go out of their ways to employ Muslims and members of the National Cultural Communities.
- (17) Convene a meeting in Malacanang with the managers or heads of industries, industrial plants, big commercial establishments and agricultural corporations and urge them to employ a definite proportionate number of Muslims. The following companies should be particularly invited because they operate in the Muslim areas: IISMI, Maria Cristina Carbide and Chemical Plant, Marcelo Fertiliser, Mindanao Portland Cement, Floro Cement, Mindanao Pillsbury Flour Mill, Rustan, National Power Corporation Hydro-Electric Plant (all located in the environs of Lanao del Sur and Lanao del Norte), Dole Plantation in South Cotabato, Sarmiento Vener and Plywood Plant in Landasan, Parang, Cotabato.
- (18) A Special Manpower Training Programme should be set up by the Department of Labour for the Muslims which must be co-ordinated with existing industrial plants in the Muslim areas, so that those who finish the training are immediately absorbed in industry.
- (19) The Commission on National Integration should be restructured and reorganised.
- (20) A Muslim Development Bank should be set up to be the vehicle whereby the Muslims can buy existing Timber and Pasture Lease Concessions in the Muslim areas.
- (21) A Presidential Decree should be issued announcing that henceforth no new timber concessions will be issued in the Muslim areas and that existing timber concessions of non-Muslims in the Muslim areas will not be renewed.
- (22) Marawi City should be proclaimed as a priority area for development under the Tourist Programme and the "See the Philippines First" programme of the Government.
- (23) Organise Maranaw Province and make it a pilot programme for Community Development. Only college-educated Maranaws, irrespective of political affiliation, should be appointed to positions of leadership in the new Province.
- (24) Build a concrete road around Lake Lanao.
- (25) Require Mindanao State University to put up an Hotel and Tourist Schools similar to the Cornell University School of Hotel Administration.
- (26) Locate the Regional Hospital of the Veterans Hospital in Marawi City and possibly set up there also a branch of Quezon Institute.
- (27) Set up a Special Development Fund of 500 million Pesos to be spent in a crash programme of five years duration and particularly to set up large-scale settlement projects for the Muslims, build Infra-Structure like irrigation, roads, electrification, port facilities, etc., in planning how this fund should be spent, the Muslim leaders should be involved.
- (28) Send a top-level mission of Muslim leaders to enlist the assistance of Arab countries in the development programme for the Muslim areas after such plans have been drawn up.
- (29) Invite leading Muslim scholars, *Ulamas* and religious leaders from Mindanao and Sulu and ask them to form a Codification Committee to collate and codify Muslim Customs, Traditions, and Usages. Through ASEAN the co-operation of neighbouring Muslim countries should be sought to help out in the project because of their experience in this regard.
- (30) Require the Department of Education to formulate some courses of study on Muslim Culture and Traditions which should be offered by our colleges and universities as part of the Liberal Arts Education of Filipino students. Seminars should be offered for teachers so that while teaching loyalty to the National Community they do not attack local homes of the Muslims and other minorities.
- (31) Require all those non-Muslims in the Government Service, including the Military, who are being assigned to Muslim Communities to take a two-week orientation course at Mindanao State University on Muslim Culture, Customs and Traditions. ●

Maimantal A. Tamano was a member of the Philippines' pre-martial Law Senate. This memorandum was sent to President Marcos on 17 February early this year. What progress has since been made on the demands, the Philippine Embassy in London is yet to reply to our query.

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Letters

Qurani Takatifu

I was most interested to read Mr. Mufassir's commentary on 'Qurani Takatifu' (The Holy Qur'an in KiSwahili) *Impact*, 3: 8). As he says it is impossible to praise this translation too highly but I do feel, as he does, that 'Allah' should be used in the text. I base my view on the following grounds.

My personal knowledge of both, the area and KiSwahili, and I take into account the three old dialects, Kiamu (of Lamu), Kimvita (of Mombasa) and Kiunguja (of Zanzibar) must cause me to say that 'Allah' is 'Allah' whereas the word 'Mungu' or 'Muungu' as it is sometimes spelt meaning 'God' is often used in such general terms that I cannot believe it conveys the true essence of 'Allah'.

Grammatically 'Mungu' on its own can mean 'God' or 'The God' or even 'a god'. Mungu is also sometimes used to mean luck or to describe an unexpected occurrence. Furthermore it has a plural 'Miungu' meaning 'Gods'. Surely such a word is not sufficiently specific to describe the attributes of 'Allah'.

One must agree that when used in the form of 'Mwenyezi Mungu' (Almighty God) it must immediately refer to one God—the God; but on the other hand I have heard this form spoken by pagans and something very different was being referred to. Incidentally the term 'Mwenyezi Mungu' comes from 'Mwenye ezi Mungu' (Mwenye: owning, possessing; Ezi: might, power).

But why does the word 'Mungu' have to be used at all in any form when 'Allah' is quite acceptable in KiSwahili and can only mean 'Allah'. If it is, in part, an attempt to de-arabize KiSwahili then much of the language will have to be changed and the Swahili speaking nations will lose a great heritage. And what then will the language be called since the word 'Swahili' is itself of Arabic origin.

I must submit that not only is 'Allah' a Swahili word in use today but that it has been in use since the earliest times. Early KiSwahili poems show that it was in use and this usage continues till the present day. For example an extract from a quite recent poem by, I believe, Bin Rashid al Mazrui 1840 C.E. reads (emphasis mine)

Ukata na ushitaki, *Illahi* nimeonao,
Hujua sitununuki no Kazi nizitendao.
X Uso wangu sifunuki kwa wivu nilio nao.
Ya *Rabbi*, nipa kikao! Ewe kin fayakunu
Rabbi, kikao unipe iyongoke kazi wangu.

Early writings tend to show that 'Allah', 'Rabi' or 'Mola' were used far more often than 'Mungu'.

STEPHEN E. NAPIER BAX
Chertsey, Surrey, England

The U.S. Influence Problem

I am dismayed at the hollow rattlings of the Arab politicians over the oil cutbacks to the U.S.A. without taking any effective action really to eliminate the U.S. influence from the Arab lands.

Both public opinion and politics in the U.S.A. are under Zionist control. Practically every politician here is equating the security of Israel with the U.S. national security. Worse still, is the deep animosity towards the Arabs and the Muslims. Thus we find the same characters Kennedy, Humphrey and the notorious Henry Jackson accusing the Nixon regime of being slow on the arms deliveries to

Israel. These are the same people who were fervently denouncing the hypocritical Nixonian 'tilt' towards Pakistan during the Indian aggression of 1971.

What is needed, is a co-ordinated effort on the part of the Arab and Muslim governments to eliminate all traces of the U.S./Western interests from their respective lands. Specifically, all U.S. military bases in Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Morocco, Tunisia, etc. should be removed; all American and Western companies, and interests should be nationalized and all Western personnel should be replaced by Arabs/Muslims. Western 'brokers' and middlemen in the oil business should be replaced and there should be a greater involvement of the Arabs in the lucrative oil market at the consumer/pump level. In the importation of technologies and related items, preference should be given to Afro-Asians (Japanese, etc.) wherever possible. Hopefully, this will not only give the Arabs a complete control over their resources but will strengthen their economies and enhance their international stature.

MUHAMMAD AFZAL
Altadena, California, USA.

Fatir

I am very distressed that through a well-meaning editorial insertion into my letter (*Impact*, 3: 9, p. 14) Surah 35 was called *al-Fatir*. It is, of course, *Fatir*, without the Arabic definite article.

Dr. A. L. TIBAWI
Esher, Surrey, U.K.

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Books

The family's dead, long live the Superman!

The Death of the Family by David Cooper, *Vintage Books*, New York, 1970, 145 pages, \$1.65

The Death of the Family makes a, by now, not unconventional statement on the meaning of the family: the family is a "mendacious structure" that promotes a social conditioning antithetical to wholeness of personality, it imposes a complex system of taboos the violation of which produces a guilty conscious. This is why, says David Cooper, the family is undesirable. This is why the family is dead. A vast majority of existing families consist of people who are psychologically incomplete, who have to be "glued" to others to feel alive—the mother who needs her son, the son who is economically dependent on the father . . . The result is a group whose members live according to sterile roles, rather than as free, autonomous beings.

According to Cooper the family only reflects the outlook of the First World as a whole: the First World, with its eyes firmly fixed on profit, has sacrificed freedom-to-be for freedom-to-consume. The family is an integral part of social control that the First World requires in order to continue to operate exploitively. But the external power structure of the First World—which is represented in miniature by the internal structure of people's minds, the inner family—is doomed. Imperialism will no longer be tenable in either interpersonal or international relations; the structure of the family will crumble with imperialism.

While it is true that the family system, and in particular the 'nuclear family' structure, in the West is showing signs of breakdown, there is no reason to believe that the family is dead. Cooper certainly does not offer any argument or evidence to support his assertion. Indeed throughout the book he simply makes statements and proceeds to treat them as facts. His language is deliberately

ambiguous: much of the time he seems to be engaged in verbal juggling, probably to impress the reader with his unconventional approach to the concept of family. Be that as it may, Cooper fails to point out the real cause of the failure of the family structure in the West.

One of the main functions of the family is to transmit to a newcomer the common values and moral norms of the society. These exist, of course, before the new member appears on the scene and simply have to be transmitted with love and affection. However, this is not a matter of objective, rational teaching, but the values and norms have to become a part of conscience, which is to say that they have to be incorporated in the self. If the new member only knows what is the standard of conduct but does not feel any devotion to it, he will obey it as long as he sees some immediate gain in doing so. He will become an expedient rather than a genuine adherent. Here lies the failure of the modern family system: it fails to transmit successfully the ethics and morals of society.

What if common values and norms do not exist in a society? The situation is, of course, very much complicated if the newcomer does not know what is the standard of conduct; this is the present state of affairs in the Western society. In the last analysis, then, the death of the family results from the death of the moral fabric of the society which in turn leads to disintegration of the society as a whole.

Although Cooper does not fully realise the contribution of the family in stabilizing a society, he does, however, think that the death of the family has created a vacuum; and nothing short of "Madness Revolution" can result from this vacuum. The alternative Cooper suggests, is the creation of a Superman—a type of being who loves himself and others and has given up the "illusion of quantifiability of love". Cooper equates self-love with "the full realisation of one's body", narcissistically, heterosexually, homosexually. But the essential characteristic of the Superman is what he calls "primary control" or "discipline". This involves a change of bearing in the outlook of the First World and its families and the commitment "to stay wholly and holy in the world".

Cooper admits that his Superman cannot exist in the First World at present; but the times are changing. The book, intellectually stagnant, is an excellent example of the chaotic and confused state of contemporary sociology.

Z.S.

Briefing

Poisoned Power: The Case Against Nuclear Power Plants by John F. Gofman and Arthur R. Tamplin, *Chatto and Windus*, £2.60

Poisoned Power is an attempt to check the great rush to switch from coal and oil to nuclear power. The book draws attention to the dangers associated with nuclear energy and bases its arguments on the studies of the survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, radiotherapy patients and others who have received doses of radiation for various reasons. The authors warn about a future when "trucks will roam the crowded highways carrying radioactive cargoes" and calculate that if the entire population of the United States were exposed to radiation allowed for by the establishment scientists as a result of the nuclear power programme, there will be an annual increase of 32,000 cancer cases. A useful study in the current energy-crisis debate.

Yearbook on International Communist Affairs, 1970, edited by Richard F. Staar, Stanford, California: *Hoover Institution Press*, \$25.00

An authoritative and comprehensive digest of the Communist movements of the world. The *Yearbook* provides profiles of the activities in 1969 of all the communist parties of the world and also gives some detail coverage of the activities of the organisations associated with the communist movement. Also included are proceedings of the International Communist Conferences convened during 1969 and the major documents adopted by these conferences.

No Easy Answers by Enoch Powell, *Sheldon Press*, £1.95

A collection of short articles, sermons and debates by one of the most enigmatic politicians of the current British political scene. Mr. Powell argues that the immigrants to Britain will increase and will not assimilate with the host community and because they will not assimilate they would not stay. This Mr. Powell argues with Anglican communicants and British politicians, with Bishop Trevor Huddleston, Douglas Brown, Joseph McCulloch, Malcolm Muggeridge and Prof. Dennis Nineham. As a practising Christian Mr. Powell faces a dichotomy between the teachings of Christianity and the modern day practical politics. But this is nothing strange. What is difficult to understand—and those in discussion with Mr. Powell certainly find it difficult to understand—is how an intelligent man, can provoke racial tension and still claim to be a true Christian. Certainly there is no easy answer here but one thing is clear: racial provocation, such as practiced by Mr. Powell, will not improve neither the race relations nor the manpower problem in Britain.

The Death of White Sociology, edited by Joyce A. Ladner, *Vintage Books* (Random House), \$2.45

A radical attack on the establishment social science from the viewpoint of the Afro-American: "Black sociologists must act as advocates of the demands the masses are making for freedom, justice and the right to determine their destinies."

Inequality by Christopher Jencks, *Allen Lane*, £5

The well trodden controversial ground of the relationship of genes to IQ, the relative intelligence of whites and blacks and relationship of economic success with social class is looked at from a new angle by Prof. Jencks. He draws on a wide range of surveys carried out in Western Europe and America since 1960 and argues that reformers have paid too much emphasis on education as a tool for social engineering. There is no evidence to suggest that school reforms can reduce cognitive inequalities. Prof. Jencks further argues that

equating IQ to economic success would not have any significant effect on economic and social inequality. Economic success depends very much on luck and on-the-job expertise and is not learned at school. Nor does an individual's income have anything to do with cognitive skills as measured by IQ tests.

Brazza of the Congo—Exploration and Exploitation in French Equatorial Africa by Richard West, *Jonathan Cape*, £3.95

Pierra Savorgnan de Brazza, explorer and coloniser of Africa, brought the vast stretch of land from the right bank of the lower Congo to the Libyan desert under French rule—an area which encompasses today the states of Chad, Gabon, the Central African Republic and the People's Republic of the Congo. Brazza's achievements, however, have been overshadowed by a better-known explorer operating in the area at this time: Stanley. Stanley won the left bank of the Congo for the Belgians. Between them, Brazza and Stanley set the scene for colonial exploitation which was to follow. Richard West's book throws much light on the life and work of a largely forgotten explorer and administrator whose name is still enshrined in the Congos, capital, Brazzaville.

One Hundred Countries: Two Billion People by Robert S. McNamara, *Pall Mall*, £1

A collection of speeches by the President of World Bank on the problems of underdevelopment. Mr. McNamara pin points population growth as the chief source of all headaches: it is the main contributing factor to severe malnutrition and chronic urban and rural unemployment. He also attacks the developed world for not maintaining adequate over-all aid programme and says that this is an indication of their greed and blindness. It is this combination of exponential population growth and inadequate aid programmes which will continue to further degrade the poor countries of the world, says Mr. McNamara.

The House of Life: Rachael Carson at Work by Paul Brooks, *Allen and Unwin*, £4.75

Life of Rachael Carson. Before 1962, Rachael Carson was an unknown author of charming and quite popular books on sea, fish and the sea shore. Then came *Silent Spring*, a cool and calculated attack on modern pesticides. Although not particularly well written the book brought Miss Carson in direct confrontation with the American Chemical industry; and the environment debate was triggered off. *Silent Spring* started a chain reaction which continues even today when the environment debate has reached a new high.

PO: Beyond Yes and No by Edward de Bono, *Pelican*, 40p

Some years ago, says Dr. Bono, we came to the end of an intellectual era. This end was brought about by the traditional Yes/No thinking system which could not take our intellect any further. For more advanced development of human intellect a new method of thinking is necessary: PO—a mode of thinking which involves use of perception, creating new ideas and developing new ways of looking at things. Dr. Bono offers, in a very graceful and easy flowing style, thought provoking experiments, games and puzzles to help the reader develop his capacity to use PO.

Arms and Strategy by Laurence Martin, *Weidenfeld and Nicolson*, £4.75

Prof. Martin has established a modest 'coup' by his un-muddled, non-technical treatment of the nuclear balance, non-nuclear weapons and tactics, tactical nuclear weapons, military confrontation and world conflict and finally the economic aspect of arms and arms trade. The book is particularly notable for its down to earth approach and lack of any ostentatious military theories from the author.

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A West German Transit

The Bilal Mosque, Muslim Students and Turkish Workers

Muhammad Rashid Feroze

Thousands of Muslim students come to West Germany every year because the educational institutions in the country enjoy a very high reputation. I had a chance to stay at the students' hostel in Aachen, the capital of Charlemagne, the Emperor of Europe who was a contemporary of the Abbasid caliph Haroon al-Rashid of Bagdad. The city has a special significance in the political and religious history of the European continent. For example, it has sacred relics of Jesus Christ and Mary, and a number of famous historic buildings and archaeological remains of the Celtic and Roman periods. Aachen, besides being a health resort with its famous mineral waters, is a city known for its educational institutions too. The Westphalia and Rhineland Technical University attracts students from about 90 countries every year.

It was in the early 1960's that Muslim students from the Arab countries, Pakistan and Iran launched a project to build a mosque. Several Muslim governments contributed funds and material for the construction of the mosque which is called Masjid-i-Bilal. It has an ideal situation in the neighbourhood of *Studenten Dorf* (Students' Village), and has seminar rooms and a library. The mosque has become a pioneering institution in the organisation of cultural activities of the Muslim student community in Western Germany. There is no salaried *Imam*, but there is a resident housekeeper. Prayers are held five times daily in the mosque, and the Friday congregation is particularly important. A seminar is held on the last Saturday of every month, where papers are read on various Islamic topics by students and research

scholars who come from other parts of West Germany and even Europe. The seminar continues for two days, followed by an outing which provides an opportunity to the members of the centre to go out for sight-seeing and social contacts.

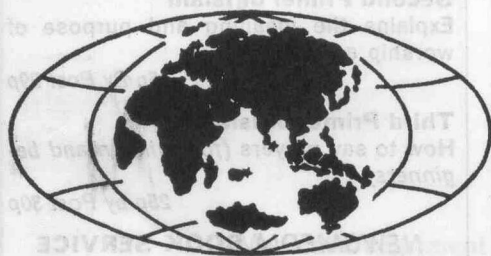
I attended the monthly seminar held in the last week of July, and was impressed by the enthusiasm among the student community and even mature researchers and their clear understanding of Islam. I met Mr. 'Isam al-Attar, an ex-M.P. of Syria who is also an Islamic scholar and has done pioneering work for organising the religious and cultural activities of the Aachen centre. "We are fighting against heavy odds", said Mr. 'Isam al-Attar with the sincere humility of a worker in the cause of Islam. "We are publishing an Arabic monthly, *Alwa'y al-Islami* which is circulated throughout Europe. I am greatly encouraged by the fact that our Muslim students are taking an active part in our religious and cultural activities". Among Mr. al-Attar's colleagues at the Islamic Centre I found many Arabs, Turkish, Iranian and some Pakistani students.

I had occasion to speak to an informal gathering of Turkish students at the Islamic Centre of Aachen on the interaction of Islam and secularism in Turkey and was struck by their spirit of inquiry and a deep attachment to the principles and ideals of Islam. The Iranians too have a sizeable community in Aachen, and their meetings and seminars are also held at the Islamic Centre of Masjid-i-Bilal almost every week.

Several Arab students explained to me their difficulties in getting admission to the West German universities. Muslim students in general complained about the length of time required to obtain a degree from a West German university. I was told that some Muslim students obtained their Diplomas in Engineering in about twelve years. Nine to ten years seemed to be an average time required by an Afro-Asian student to complete his engineering course for a Diploma. Students who take longer than the *normal* are usually those who have no fellowship or financial support and have to do odd jobs in between.

Apart from the students, there are more than a million Turkish Muslims working in West German factories. There are workers also from Pakistan and Arab countries, but the Turks predominate. The Turkish workers are reasonably organised but their main problem is the education of their children and the problems involved in living in a non-Muslim milieu. The Turks, nonetheless, have made a positive contribution to the cultural life of Muslims living in Europe. They have not only set-up mosques, but have also made *halal* meat available throughout West Germany and several other European countries. Turks working in West German industries are noted for their hardwork and honesty. The seamy side to all this is the problem of national immigration control, the consequent evil of illegal immigration, and the vastly consequential evil of a flourishing trade in human-smuggling and its recurring social and human costs.

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Annual Convention of the World Islamic Conference

Impact Report

The World Islamic Conference, U.S.A., is holding its annual convention in New York City on 17-18 November at The Interchurch Centre, 475 Riverside Drive (at 120th Street), New York. The Conference will consider the problems, difficulties and achievements of Muslims in North America and will be presided by Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra, Secretary-General of the Islamic Secretariat. The Conference organisers have extended an open invitation to all Muslim organisations in North America in particular, and the western hemisphere in general.

The Programme includes talks by Prof. Hameed Algar (Islam and the West), Dr. Ahmad Sakr (Muslims in the U.S.A.) and Prof. T. B. Irving (Selections from Contemporary Translations of the Qur'an). Also on the programme are two talks under the general title "Muslims as known by others" one by Father Daniel Lyons and the other by Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum. There will also be talks on Muslims in Canada and West Indies.

Islamic Centre, Washington Appeals for Muslim Relief Fund

In an Emergency Bulletin, Dr. Abdul Rauf, Director of the Islamic Centre, Washington, has launched an appeal for donation to the Muslim Relief Fund. This fund has been opened to collect money for the victims of "outrageous injustices leading to deprivation, suffering and humiliation of Muslims" in the Middle East. The money collected will be used to buy medical equipment and other amenities for the Muslim victims of the war. (Impact News)

DIC Sends Doctors to Syria

The Doctors Islamic Society, U.K., is sending six doctors to Syria. One doctor has already been sent. These doctors have placed themselves at the disposal of the Syrian Medical authorities and will work in Syria as long as their services are needed. (Impact News)

FOSIS Winter Gathering

The Eleventh Winter Gathering of the FOSIS will be held at the Hayes Conference Centre, Swanwick, Derbyshire on 21-23 December. The theme of the Gathering is *Ibadah* and in addition to talks, seminars and discussions the programme will also contain film shows and book exhibition. The Gathering fee is £5.50; the applications forms can be obtained from the General Secretary, FOSIS, 38 Mapesbury Road, London, NW2 4JD. (Impact News)

UKIM Training Camp

The London Branch of the U.K. Islamic Mission held its training programme on Sunday 20 October at the East London Mosque. Members of the mission took part in talks and discussions on *tarbiyah* and *tazkiyah*. (Impact News)

Day of Badr Celebrations

The Islamic Society of University College of North Wales, Bangor,

held a meeting to celebrate the Day of Badr. Two members of the society gave lucid talks on "The significance of the Battle of Badr in the Islamic History". Members of the society have submitted, as first installment, £50 and £36 for the Pakistan Relief Fund and the Middle East War Fund, respectively. (Impact News)

Eid Get-Together at the Muslim Students' Hostel

The residents of the Muslim Students' Centre and Hostel held an Eid Get-Together on Sunday, 28 October. Many members of the FOSIS and the community attended the party. Members of the Habiyya Zawiya attended on an especial invitation. (Impact News)

The Parent's Manual—A Guide for Muslim Parents in North America

by the Women's Committee of MSA of US and Canada, Crescent, Unpriced. Although written especially for the Muslim parents in North America, *The Parent's Manual* provides advice, hints and information for all Muslim parents in the Western hemisphere as a whole. The Manual is divided into two sections: theoretical and practical. The theoretical section deals with such essentials as building Islamic attitudes and foundations of Islamic personality. The practical section provides guidelines to achieve them.

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The Islamic Foundation

Towards a greater understanding of Islam

Impact Report

The Islamic Foundation describes itself as an organisation "devoted to improving human communications". It is a research and educational body, registered as a charitable trust, and is primarily engaged in producing Islamic literature in different languages and in their world wide distribution. The Foundation maintains regular contact with over fifty Islamic organisations, mostly in Europe, North America and Africa. The Head Office of the Foundation is at 3-7 Keythorpe Street, Leicester LE2 0AL, England and there are subsidiary branches in various parts of the globe.

During the last four months the Foundation has made arrangements to distribute eight thousand copies of *Comprendre L'Islam*, over two thousand of which have been distributed in French speaking Africa. Over 12,000 copies of *Weltanschauung und Leben im Islam* have been distributed to German speaking areas of the world. A new revised edition of this German translation of Abul A'la Maudoodi's *Towards Understanding Islam* is planned for the next year.

Between May and September 1973, over hundred books and pamphlets on Islam have been distributed to different organisations and individuals. Most requests received by the Foundation are for English translations of the Qur'an and for introductory Islamic literature.

The Director of the Foundation, Mr. Khurshid Ahmad, has had a busy summer addressing various conferences and gatherings. At the Conference of Islamic Cultural Centres and Bodies in Europe held in London (17-20 May) he presented a working paper on "Da'wat al-Islamiyyah: its principles, objects and methods in Europe". At the International Youth Conference held in Tripoli (2-12 July) Mr. Ahmad read a paper on 'Problems of Educational Reconstruction in the Muslim World'. At the XXIXth International Congress of Orientalists held in Paris (16-22 July) Mr. Ahmad presented a paper to the Arabic and Islamic Studies section of the Congress. The paper—"Some thoughts on a new Urdu Tafsir—Saiyyid Abul A'la Maudoodi's Tafsir al-Qur'an"—was well received and is expected to appear in some European journals. Mr. Ahmad also gave a lecture on "What is Man—the Islamic Perspective", to an international seminar organised by the Department of Extra-Mural Studies, University of Cambridge (25 July), as well as addressing the Tenth Annual Conference of the FOSIS, Islamic Youth Movement of the UK and many other Muslim organisations.

During the FOSIS Conference the Foundation made an appeal to the Muslim Social Scientists in the UK to develop some kind of forum for discussion and research. The Foundation has received a good response to the appeal and hopes to organise two groups: one for the Social Scientists and the other the Scientists and Engineers. A working session is

expected to meet in November at which the constitution and the relationship of the groups with the Foundation and other associations and organisations will be discussed.

In response to a debate on a Danish film on the alleged love life of the Prophet Jesus, the Director of the Foundation suggested, through the columns of *The Times* (5 September), the need to evolve a moral convention to deal with the lives of the prophets and the sages of mankind. There has been a lively response to this suggestion among both religious and secular circles.

At present, the Foundation has several projects in progress. A survey is being carried out about the number of Muslims and active Muslim organisations in Europe and the problems they face. An anthology of the verses of the Qur'an, giving a resume of its basic teachings, its concept of man and society and its essential message to the mankind is under preparation. Also under preparation is *A Hand book of Islam* which is being compiled to serve the needs of those who cannot avail from the original resources of Islam. Initially each chapter of the *Hand-book* will be published separately; when the series is completed it will appear in one volume. On the planning stage are a series of ten small brochures under the title *What is Islam?* which will precis the essentials of Islam in a compact and handy form. The life and mission of the blessed Prophet Muhammad is being presented in *An Introduction to the Life of the Prophet* which aims to cater for the needs of the Muslim youth in the West.

The Foundation has established a unit to produce translations of Islamic works from Arabic and Urdu to English. Presently a translation of Abul A'la Maudoodi's *Islami Tehzib-awr-uskai-usul-o-Mabadi* (Principles and Foundations of Islamic Culture) is being revised and edited for publication early next year.

In line with its policy to carry out research on various aspects of Islam, the Foundation has established a central library which, it is hoped, will develop into one of the best resource centres for Islamic studies in this country. At present, the library has over a thousand books and receives 38 periodicals in English, Urdu and Arabic.

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AFGHANISTAN. A new police act on the recruitment, training, graduation and service benefits enforced. A Soviet military delegation led by Marshal Moskaleiko paid a four-day visit to Kabul.

ALGERIA. The Council of Revolution noted that the current events affirmed once again Algeria's emphasis on close ties between security in Arabia, the Mediterranean and the Middle East issue. The military, economic and political fronts being indivisible, it appealed to the Arab countries to rally round Egypt, Syria and Palestine until their national objective are achieved. ● Romanian delegate to the World Peace Congress in Moscow protested strongly against interference in Romanian domestic policy when the Algerian delegate raised the question, how Romania, a socialist country, could maintain diplomatic relations with both the Arab countries and Israel.

ASIAN SECURITY. "Radio Peace and Progress" claimed, the Soviet initiative on creating a reliable system of collective security in Asia is receiving broad support among the Asian politicians and the public. The Peking thesis regarding China being surrounded is groundless but the Chinese leadership is guided by an entirely different concern that it would be obliged to abandon its claim on the territories of its neighbours.

BANGLADESH. Dahomey recognised Bangladesh. Radio Bangladesh introduced a daily 30 minute Arabic programme. Bangladesh recognised Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam. Reprieve announced for 1,600 persons held on charges of collaboration with Pakistan and other anti-social activities. The Home Minister said of the 32,022 persons charged under collaborator law, 3,000 were tried by the courts, 705 suspect extremists arrested in Jessore. Sh. Mujib said the Japanese had shown great interest in Bangladesh's first Five Year Plan.

CHINA. NCNA reported that Eid prayers were held in Peking's Tungsze mosque and the Chinese and foreign Muslims exchanged greetings after the prayer. ● "Radio Peace and Progress" alleged that millions of Chinese people and other nationalities in China were not given the right of self-determination. Instead they were given the status of national minority autonomy which meant nothing but sophistry, deception and hypocrisy. On Mao's orders, towards the end of 1958, there began the movement of mass torture and punishment of national cadres in Sinkiang and other minority regions in China, under the slogan "campaign against local nationalism". As a result of cultural revolution, the autonomy of national minority regions was eliminated. Mao Tse-tung is a Chinese ultra-nationalist and is pursuing the policy of forced assimilation of all national minorities in China.

CYPRUS. President Makarios said, the termination of war in the Middle East will have favourable repercussions on the Cyprus question, in

some way. The attitude of the Turkish-Cypriot leaders, he said, had, however, recently started becoming more inflexible and that the margins for agreement within the framework of the inter-Cypriot talks were not very large.

GUINEA BISSAU. The OAU Liberation Committee has recommended the establishment of a special fund in aid of Guinea Bissau.

INDIA. Mrs. Gandhi said India did not deny the existence of Israel but at the same time some problems created by Israel must be resolved. ● Defence Minister Jagjivan Ram said that subject to caution there are slight chances of India reducing the strength of her defence force. Mr. Bhutto's response, he said, continues to be ambiguous; there is little visible change in the Chinese attitude; and some parts of Asia will continue to be an area of tension. With Iran, Mr. Ram said, they had very good political and economic relations and these are not likely to be affected. ● The AEC is scrutinising an expert committee report for setting up a second atomic power plant. Another committee is examining sites for setting up another plant for the southern region. Drilling at an offshore oil project began in the Arabian Sea, about 120 km N-E of Bombay. The 5th Five-Year Plan envisages a total provision of £1,000 million for steel projects. India is to sell Indian textile machinery to Indonesia and establish a joint textile mill in Central Java. ● More than 1,000 underground Nagas who surrendered recently have been absorbed in the Border Security Force.

INDONESIA. Adm. Sudomo, Deputy Commander, Kopkamtib, invited the public to report any incident which it considered unusual and asked them not to resort to demonstrations because demonstrations would not solve the problem. He said a certificate of non-implication in the Gestapo-PKI was still necessary if a person moved from a town to a rural area. ● The youths arrested on 27 September for demonstrating inside parliament against the proposed unified Marriage Law were released on 25 October, but would be put later on trial.

IRAN. Iran sent four plane-loads of medical relief for the war victims in Syria and Egypt. ● Iran and Mauritania have agreed to establish diplomatic relations and exchange ambassadors. ● The Senate approved the Bill authorising the government to acquire a credit of up to 70,000m Riyals for strengthening the country's defences.

ISRAEL. Zambia, Nigeria, Tanzania, Ghana, Senegal, Ethiopia, Central African Republic, Malagasy, Gabon and Gambia broke diplomatic relations with Israel.

JAPAN. Deputy Foreign Minister told the Arab diplomats in Tokyo that Japan fully understood the Arab people's desire to regain their territories occupied by Israel and supported resolution 242. He said the Americans have denied British reports that US forces in Japan were transporting military weapons to Israel.

LIBYA. Tass said Qadhafi's excessively militant declarations indicate that he does not wish to reckon with either the lasting interest of the whole mankind or with what the Arab peoples are interested in at the present moment. Qadhafi, it said, was sitting back in safety and not directly involved in the Arab people's fight against the aggressor. ● The departments concerned with pension, zakat, charity and social insurance merged into a new Social Security Affairs Management, RCC explained that the recent nationalisation of four newspapers was undertaken because the papers had either deviated from the right lines or turned to purely commercial objectives.

MOROCCO. King Hassan said the Arabs needed more than ever before to consult and hold talks. Their victory must be exploited to the full and their internal problems, regional rivalries and what was likely to divide them should not be publicised. ● Bahrain, North Yemen and Sudan agreed to the convening of the conference of Arab Foreign and Defence Ministers proposed by King Hassan.

NIGERIA. In order to encourage the return from abroad of qualified Nigerians, the government will assist the returning Nigerians by paying the cost of their fare. Lagos radio said Nigeria broke diplomatic relations with Israel because by her post ceasefire incursion into Egyptian territory Israel had shown contempt for Africa and the world, and no African can take this lying down. Radio-TV Kaduna explained that the action should not in any way be misinterpreted as a punitive action against Israel but as an affirmation of the guiding principle behind this country's foreign policy. The OAU States should now sever relations with Israel to act as a bargaining point towards getting her to withdraw from the territories occupied in June 1967. While it is not a declared government policy the use of oil to help tighten the noose round the neck of Israeli patrons cannot be ruled out.

OIL CRISIS. OAPEC announced that the cut-back on oil production will continue until a total Israeli withdrawal from all Arab territories. The first US oil and gas exhibition opened in Moscow; the exhibition might be the first step in the investment of \$1,000m in the development of two large oil fields in Siberia. The 21 major US oil companies urged the administration to activate the Emergency Petroleum Supply Committee. The official Libyan daily, *Al Fajr*, criticised non-implementation of Petroleum Law No. 9 which nationalised Occidental Oil company four months ago. BP oil to be paid £35m as compensation. Mr. Vorster said South Africa was grateful for the agreement she had with Iran and for the giant South African oil-through-coal industry, Sasol, which guaranteed an oil supply. The Dutch announced a number of petrol-conservancy measures to meet the Arab oil embargo. The oil companies diverted tankers from Rotterdam to other European ports.

PAKISTAN. India and Bangladesh

asked Pakistan to streamline the process of repatriation of non-Bengalis from Bangladesh. Indian Foreign Minister said the pace was somewhat tardy, but Pakistan claimed the delay occurred in locating and assembling the Biharis in Bangladesh.

● *Jasarat*, the opposition daily banned. A day earlier the High Court dismissed as infructuous, the newspaper's writ petition challenging the previous temporary ban, when the Sind Government told the court that the order had been withdrawn. The editor and publisher remain under detention. Replying to criticism that because of her relationship with the US, the government has not given appropriate support to the Arabs, Mr. Bhutto said that Pakistan was unwaveringly committed to the Arab cause and that its support was tangible and more than political. ● The Armed Services Board reorganised with the PM as Chairman.

PALESTINE LIBERATION. The Voice of Palestine (Algiers) rejected the plan to establish a Palestinian State on the West Bank and said it wanted the setting up of a diplomatic Palestine State in the entire occupied Palestinian side.

PHILIPPINES. A consortium of four oil firms is to intensify exploratory oil drilling in the Sulu Sea. A preparatory committee of Muslim Mindanao Independence Movement, the Communist Party, Catholic and other non-Communist underground groups formed to work out a joint National Democratic Front against President Marcos' government.

SAUDI ARABIA. The Muslim World League is planning to establish an Islamic observatory at Mecca. The League sent a number of copies of its publication, *Al Qadianiah*, to Indonesia.

SOMALIA. A general amnesty announced for prisoners of various categories except those accused of misappropriation or imprisoned on grounds of state security.

SYRIA. President Asad said that if the political circle did not achieve what had been fought for on the battle field or if there was deception, manoeuvring or evasion in implementing ceasefire resolution we will have to return to the armed struggle.

TUNISA. Foreign Minister Masmudi said "we are fighting on a three-way military, political and economic front. The armed conflict is over but the other fronts are still active."

TURKEY. President Koruturk speaking on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Turkish Republic expressed his conviction that "we shall also successfully pass the test of fully establishing the role of a free parliamentary system within the existing democratic principles."

● Defence Minister denied reports that the Soviet Union was sending military forces to Arab countries via Turkish air-space. Moscow welcomed the RPP foreign policy of improving friendly relations with neighbouring countries and establishing state control over NATO installations. Another commentary lauded an increased Afro-Asian bias in Turkey's role in the UN.