

MUSLIM VIEWPOINT(S) ON CURRENT AFFAIRS

# impact

international fortnightly

WHAT ALTERNATIVE TO ARAB OIL?  
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## KASHMIR: OPERATION FINAL SOLUTION

Kashmir is another sad, long story of colonialism. But significantly this colonialism is not the proverbial white or European colonialism; it is brown and it is Asian.

It began in March 1846, when Sardar Gulab Singh, a Dogra (Hindu) chieftain, bought from the British the occupancy of Jammu and Kashmir for a sum of Rs 2.5 million (£125,000). When independence came the position of the princely states, in the words of Lord Mountbatten, British India's last and independent India's first Governor-General, was that they were "theoretically free to link their future with whichever dominion they may care." "But", Mountbatten warned, "there are certain geographical compulsions which cannot be evaded. You cannot run away from the Dominion Government which is your neighbour anymore than you can run away from the subjects for whose welfare you are responsible." On this "principle", India forcibly annexed the states of Hyderabad (which wanted to stay independent) and Junagadh, Manavadar and Mangrol (which actually and legally had acceded to Pakistan).

Kashmir, with over 75% Muslim population, and historical, cultural, economic and geographical links, had a different fate altogether. The Hindu Maharaja bought time by signing a "standstill agreement" with Pakistan. India's first Prime Minister, Nehru, a Kashmiri himself, coveted Kashmir but had no excuse to intervene. The Maharaja had neither the means nor the guts to defy the overwhelming and logical demand of his Muslim "subjects" to accede to Pakistan. Pakistan, it may be noted, was established in recognition of the right of self-determination for the Muslims in the subcontinent and with the agreement of the parties concerned: the British, Indian National Congress, and All India Muslim League.

An All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference convention on 9 July '47, had "keeping in view the geographical conditions, the eighty percent Muslim majority... the language and the cultural, racial and economic connections of the people" already declared "that the Jammu and Kashmir State should accede to Pakistan." The second political party in the state, the pro-Indian National Conference led by Sheikh Abdullah is not known to have made any public and formal commitment on the subject at that stage. Sheikh Abdullah himself was in prison, but it is now known that he too favoured accession to Pakistan provided Pakistan assured him the state's chief ministership.

The Maharaja in the meantime was following a policy of suppressing and disarming the Muslims and importing and arming at the same time Indian "volunteers" from the Mahasabha and extremist Hindu RSS. There were large scale massacres of Muslims in Mirpur and Poonch districts until finally the Kashmiris rebelled and setup an Azad (Independent) Government of Jammu and Kashmir on 24 Oct. '47. Simultaneously there was a movement of "volunteers" from the adjacent tribal areas of Pakistan. Inexplicably the "liberators" reached within five miles of, and waited at the doors of the state capital until India had been able to airlift her army to Srinagar. On the request of the Maharaja, Nehru and Mountbatten had "provisionally" accepted Kashmir's accession without prejudice to the Kashmiris right to determine their future status, on the condition that Sh. Abdullah was asked to form a popular government. The fuller story remains unresearched, but it can be put on record that the dispatch of the untrained and unprepared "liberators" was against the plans of Pakistan's founder, Jinnah. Having won Pakistan constitutionally and against the wishes of the mighty British and the Hindus, Jinnah was confident that no matter how much the Maharaja played for time, he had but to bow ultimately to the demand of the Kashmiri Muslims. It was this confidence in the inevitable that explained his refusal to enter into any bargain with Sh. Abdullah. By whom and how this liberation war came to be launched is a subject Pakistanis might even now research with profit, but two things are obvious. First, it frustrated Jinnah's plan to seek a constitutional and inevitably pre-Pakistan solution to the problem and second, it provided the needed/manipulated excuse for India to intervene militarily.

While bilateral talks went on between India and Pakistan, India went on to consolidate her military presence in Kashmir. Having achieved that but being unable to push back the Kashmiris (who were now led and supported by cadres from the Pakistan army), India on 1 January 1948 moved the Security Council against Pakistani "aggression" in Kashmir. After months of long and dilatory debates, the Council adopted two resolutions on 13 August 1948 and 5 January 1949. A ceasefire took place and it was agreed that "the question of accession... will be decided through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite."

Needless to point out that no plebiscite has since taken place. In the earlier years India dodged the question by creating issues on modality and peripheral matters. In 1948, it was India's assertion that "Sheikh Abdullah's administration is based upon the will of the people" but in 1953, Abdullah was dismissed and imprisoned because "he wanted an independent state... (and) was pressing the government of India for an early settlement with Pakistan." In January 1959 Pakistan entered into a Military Aid Agreement with the U.S. and "in the circumstances," said Nehru, "there was no scope left... for the settlement of the dispute."

Came 1956. "All this talk of a plebiscite," said Nehru, is now "completely besides the point." Because, (1) Pakistan had entered into SEATO, (2) India had undertaken the economic development of Kashmir (3) and a Constituent Assembly of the State had already ratified Kashmir's accession to India. When this Constituent Assembly was created India had told the Security Council that although it "cannot be physically prevented from expressing its opinion if it so chooses. But this opinion will not bind the government or prejudice the position of this Council."

Soon after, with Russia coming out openly in favour of India, the issue got caught up in the cold war. Theoretically, the UN remained committed to holding a plebiscite but the Russian veto deadlocked the Security Council. At times the Security Council did make a polite protest but India went on to integrate the occupied territories in Kashmir.

The failure of the CIA-goaded misadventure of sending armed and trained infiltrators in Kashmir, in September 1965, brought Ayub Khan to sign the well-known agreement with India at Tashkent. At Tashkent, as summarised by Mr. Bhutto, "the question of Jammu and Kashmir was discussed (in) the background that there must be peace... and under no circumstances must we resort to war and settle all our problems/disputes by peaceful means and in this background Jammu and Kashmir were discussed." In the words of Mr. Bhutto: "You can draw your own conclusions from this."

The conclusion is that at Tashkent, Pakistan signed a moratorium over Kashmir, for never after that did it even talk about a plebiscite in Kashmir. This was so at a time when "if Pakistan did not have an upperhand, certainly it was not in a weaker position than India." That was Mr. Bhutto. "But in Simla agreement the situation was slightly different."

At Simla, Bhutto and Indira Gandhi agreed that: "In Jammu and Kashmir, the line of control resulting from the ceasefire of December 17, 1971, shall be respected by both sides without prejudice to the recognised position of either side. Neither side shall seek to alter it unilaterally, irrespective of mutual differences and interpretations." In face of criticisms and accusation of a self-out over Kashmir, Mr. Bhutto came out with the interpretation that "respect" of "the recognised position" did not refer to the 17 December 1971 line of control but to "a point that is internationally accepted... The recognised position lies in the principle of self-determination." As to the other criticism that by agreeing to a bilateral settlement, Pakistan had closed upon itself the doors of the UN, Mr. Bhutto said it "really does not mean anything."

The need to summarise a long, frozen history has been occasioned by Mr. Bhutto's certain recent utterances about Kashmir.

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## Kashmir: Operation Final Solution

Visiting Azad Kashmir early this month, Mr. Bhutto hinted the possibility of talks with India under the Simla Accord. This could be after the completion of repatriation which he hoped might be over by February or March. If this aroused too much hope, he cautioned; but "we can only plead your case." Not that Bhutto was "afraid of war" but he asked his audience whether they thought war would solve problems. Anyway such issues, said the Pakistan Prime Minister, cannot be settled within a day. Lest it was too much of disappointment, he hoped Kashmir would be free in his lifetime, in their lifetime. "In such a free Kashmir he would like to visit Srinagar... see those flowers in Shalimar Gardens... and drink water from Shahi Chashma." One could have said in Mr. Bhutto's own words "it really does not mean anything", but there seems more to it.

Mr. Bhutto said subject to the people's decision and pending final decision of the dispute, Azad Kashmir could have provincial status, parliamentary system of government and representation of the whole of Jammu and Kashmir state in Pakistan's Federal legislature. Azad Kashmir is now the only "part" of Pakistan which is beyond Mr. Bhutto's absolute writ. Although there has been an unwritten agreement between the Pakistani political parties not to have their branches in Azad Kashmir lest it may divide the Kashmiris, Mr. Bhutto's People's Party was the first to break this

convention. Last May there was crisis when the central government wanted to bully the Azad Kashmir President, Sardar Qayyum into resigning. Mr. Bhutto's present "offer" of a provincial status would seem to fit in the frame of an old desire. But this had more far-reaching and grievous implications than perhaps not realised. It would be a violation of the UN resolution on the status of Kashmir, something which Pakistan has been accusing India of doing so. Also Azad Kashmir's integration into Pakistan would have the effect of ratifying an already *de facto* division of Kashmir along the "line of control". Credence to such doubt is provided by Mr. Bhutto's own devaluation of the UN resolutions. He admitted that it would be a violation of the UN resolutions but asked the crowds mockingly "what these sheets of paper have meant to the Kashmiri people?" In fact he was confusing the sanctity of international consensus on the Kashmiri right to self-determination with the hypocrisy or insensibility of the world Powers. Meaningfully he also said that there could be different modes of ascertaining the wishes of the people. "Election or plebiscite could not be the only means". What does he mean?

Certainly no sensible Kashmiri expected the present Pakistani leadership to be able to deliver Kashmir. But common sense demands that if one cannot solve a problem, he should at least not complicate it?

## Survey

### ● THE MIDDLE EAST

### "The beginning of the Peace Plot"

With the signing on 11 November by Israel and Egypt of a Six-Point Ceasefire Agreement and a subsequent exchange of PoWs, the Middle East seems edging now to a proposed peace conference to be held in Geneva next month. The question of peace itself remains as chancy as ever.

On the Arab side, perhaps there is none as desperate and keen for a settlement with Israel as is Sadat. Besides Jordan, the six year-old no war and no peace stalemate and the closure of the canal has told most severely on Egypt. It not only suffered in its Arab leadership status, it also became dependent on the subsidy of its richer brothers. When Sadat took the plunge last Ramadan (October) without preparing the country for a real war and without an adequate consultation and understanding between the Arab states, he was relying on "assurances" that as soon as he was able to activate the Sinai front, the super Powers would intervene and impose a settlement on Israel. It was also a war of exasperation. However, things might not have been that pressing for Sadat had the Israelis not been able to cross over to the West bank of Suez and virtually encircle the Third Army. That this could happen simply pointed to the pre-arranged and limited-objective nature of the exercise. It was incomprehensible that the Egyptian armed forces who had otherwise fought well and heroically would let the Israelis sneak in, in such numbers and with virtual impunity. The unforeseen happened because it had not been foreseen. Any stalemate now and any stabilisation of the ceasefire would mean a new Israeli presence west of Suez and a continued closure of the Canal, and any question of throwing them back would involve facing not the Israelis but the American might. All this should be seen in appreciation of the Egyptian compunctions earlier to sign a "very loose and ambiguous ceasefire agreement in the classic style of Dr. Kissinger" (according to General Herzog) and now to seek a peace mandate from the Arab summit to be held in Algiers from 26 November.

Not improbably some of the militant disclaimer in the Arab Camp is meant also for domestic consumption, yet what they say was otherwise plausible. Qadhafi's open telegram last week to

Sadat expressed both sense and bewilderment. "The ability and courage of the Arab soldier... did not need confirmation and the war did not break out to prove it. The war broke out to liberate the land occupied in 1967... (but) we accepted the ceasefire and thus gave the enemy to make up for his losses in arms and manpower. We recognised Israel in principle and accepted direct negotiations. Thus we will naturally conclude peace with Israel. These things have been clear to the whole world... although it is not comprehended by the Arabs."

The Palestinians—the unacknowledged prince of the Hamlet—remain divided and at best perplexed. Their dilemma was summed up well by the Bagdad Palestinian newspaper "Al-Muqawamah" when it posed the question: "What is the Revolution's view on the end of the war and the beginning of the peace plot?"

The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Arab Liberation Front, the Popular Front—the General Command, and the Popular Struggle Front have declared a complete rejection of the peace plan. The Democratic Front is ambivalent and Fatah—the Palestine National Liberation Movement is divided between those who reject and those who hesitate. The Syrian based Saigah is too weak to express itself. The maximum that the Kissinger package offers to the Palestinians is a demilitarised Ghaza, Jordan's West Bank, an option to federate severally or jointly with Jordan or Egypt and a compensation for the properties "left" in Israel. On the other hand existing official stand according to the Palestinian National Charter was the demand for a democratic Arab state in all the soil of Palestine where the Arabs and the Jews who were in Palestine before the British occupation will enjoy equal rights.

Jerusalem and Al Khalil (Hebron) are yet another part of the Middle East problem which the peace planners would wish to sidetrack. When Kissinger arrived in Riyadh and reported to Faysal with pride and satisfaction that "everything" has been settled, Faysal enquired, "Everything?" "Yes, everything", replied Kissinger. Faysal calmly asked, "including Jerusalem?", and Kissinger settled in his seat like a deflated dummy.

## Survey

● IRAQ ● CYPRUS ● USSR & INDIA ● STATE & MORALITY

What Israel and the super Powers seem now to be offering is a sort of Muslim sovereignty over specific Islamic precincts, i.e., a kind of ecclesiastical authority. Something which Mrs. Meir claimed, the Muslims already enjoy. From Al-Khail, too, the Israelis do not visualise any withdrawal.

The overall Israeli position was that although it had no (firm) intention of staying on the west bank of the Suez Canal permanently, it was not prepared to withdraw to the "imaginary and fictitious" ceasefire line of 22 October. "Israel wanted peace", Mrs. Meir told the Israeli Knesset, but this would be achieved step by step, if the Arabs wanted it. But right now, as *al Ahrar* put it, the Israelis are "dragging the Arabs through endless mazes over the implementation" of the ceasefire with the purpose of stabilising the *status quo* and disruption of efforts to find a solution.

The steps to peace therefore remain dependent on many variables: the super Power interests, Arab summit and the Israeli elections.

In spite of the Israeli acquisitiveness and obstinacy, the manifest insincerity of the super Powers and the Egyptian military handicaps, the Arab position was not as difficult as it is imagined. The oil cutback seems to have worked to the extent that it has made the West aware of an Arab presence. But this recognition is of a negative value or to put it crudely, it is a cognition of their nuisance value—and *not* the moral and legal justness of their case. It is on the diplomatic and information front that the Arabs continue to be unequal and wanting. There seems to be an over-dependence on the super Powers and the oil-lever. There has been no effort really to inform the uncommitted nations and body of opinion. No thought has been given also to channelising the exemplary solidarity expressed by the Afro-Asian and non-aligned nations. Oil is too superficial a compulsion to make the super Powers behave.

### Iraq's "Nationalist sides"

Before Iraq sent its troops to Syria, it had the Kurdish assurance of complete peace but as the fighting has stopped in Golan Heights, it seems the Kurd-Arab front is going to be active again.

The Democratic Party of Kurdistan has alleged that the Iraqi forces which were withdrawn from Syria have now been sent to fight against the Kurds. They also allege use by the Iraqis of "napalm bomb, poison gas and other means of chemical warfare" and have appealed to the International Red Cross for gas masks, medicines against gas poisoning, etc. and "to call upon the Soviet Union to stop supplying the Iraqi army" with such means of warfare.

The Iraqis have also spoken about an "unjustifiable use of arms between the nationalist sides," but see "the crisis being created in this area" as "a pretext and excuse to depart from the line of the (National and Progressive) Front" established last March. They have accused the Kurds of not implementing their part of the March manifesto and called for a resumption of dialogue. The Kurds, however, maintain that Baghdad has failed to fulfil its promise to grant them autonomous rule.

There is no international Muslim forum which can either mediate or adjudicate in such or similar situations. Iraq for her part has so far refused to join the Islamic Conference, but it is not difficult to agree with the official Ba'ath *Arh-Thawra* when it says that such struggle in the end will only benefit "imperialist quarters and forces hostile to our people's interests and their ambition for freedom, progress and stability."

### Inflexibility In Cyprus

While intercommunal talks in Cyprus (seeking to solve the festering problem of Turkish-Greek relationship in that small island) proceed with a stop-go pace, the relationship itself shows no qualitative improvement. This is borne out by the vehemence and persistence of mutual accusations

as well as the manifest distrust between the two.

The Greek-Cypriots allege that Turkey has been nourishing the Turkish-Cypriot insurrection and supporting and instigating the Turkish-Cypriots: it has been despatching arms, ammunition and troops to the Turkish areas in Cyprus by ships, helicopters and submarines. The Turkish-Cypriots reply that if one were to add the Greek-Cypriot statistics about Turkey's clandestine despatch of arms and troops, it would "constitute a force that would dwarf Hitler's shock troops which occupied Greece." On the other hand the Turks say the Greek-Cypriots were actually camouflaging their own rearmaments by blaming and accusing Turkey. Earlier this month the Executive Council of the Turkish-Cypriot administration held an extraordinary meeting and decided to present a report to the UN Security Council on the policy of discrimination being pursued by the "Markarios administration" against the Turkish-Cypriot minority.

As the Turkish-Cypriots say, the present state of affairs could undoubtedly lead Cyprus to the brink of war as it happened in November 1967. In any case, Cyprus remains as another monument to the imbecility and insensibility of the world organisation.

### Brezhnev's Delhi pilgrimage

The U.S.S.R. Communist Party Secretary, Brezhnev's five day visit to India, beginning 26 November, is more than a routine visit to a friendly nation. Brezhnev would be accompanied by Prime Minister Kosygin and Foreign Minister Gromyko.

Indo-Soviet friendship is now pretty old but relations became very warm in August 1971 when the two signed a treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation and later went to a joint shooting and political war against Pakistan. Politically there has been a certain cooling of the 1971-72 warmth because unlike other subservient allies and aid-receiving clients, India's diplomacy has, over the years, shown both the desire and ability to deal with bigger powers at a level of dignity. Besides in Bangladesh too, the separation having been achieved, the interests of the two were no more exactly congruent. Brezhnev's current visit will provide an obvious opportunity to review the working of the relationship but it had more to it than a mere review.

The recent developments in the Middle East have contributed a great deal in validating the Chinese hypothesis of a super Powers' condominium. The plausibility and forcefulness of Peking's propaganda has now started biting into the traditional areas of Russian influence. From time to time India, too, has been making overtures to China though for the time being she is not interested as much in an actual rapprochement as publicising it as a future possibility. Brezhnev's visit is aimed not only at consolidating Russia's South Asian alliance but to activate it towards countering the "hostility of Mao's leadership." It is for this reason that Moscow commentators have predicted "that this visit to India by the Soviet leader will prove just as important as his summit meetings earlier this year." The visit, they say, "should be considered from the international angle." It will "consolidate the peace in Asia and the rest of the world." And in talking about "friendship and comprehensive co-operation" the emphasis in Moscow is on "co-operation between two of the world's biggest Powers with a combined population of more than 800,000,000." The Chinese are said to number a little less, 732,000,000.

### Zambia — a morality problem

President Kaunda of Zambia appears to have run into a host of moral problems.

Addressing last week a reception attended by

more than 300 guests, he criticised Zambians who copy useless fashions from other countries. Kaunda condemned dressing of tight trousers, mini-skirts and bell-bottoms, and said he felt ashamed "to see a 16 year-old girl exposing her body before another man or parent." In another meeting he came on corrupt practises in the election campaigns. In some areas the candidates were bribing the voters and making appeals on the basis of "colour pigmentation, race, creed, religion or tribe." He emphasised that Zambians do not want corrupt MPs.

The more serious matter which has invited the concern of President Kaunda is the drinking habit of the Zambians so much so that he is prepared even to stake his political future. Kaunda said that since independence drinking has considerably increased and if this was not stopped "Zambia would be finished as a nation." He was not a puritan, he apologised, but what he wanted then was to "drink with dignity and honour" and not cause "slaughter on our roads" and "breed fears". "When you make beer your master, it drinks you instead of you drinking it." While saying this Kaunda broke down and declared that he will resign the Presidency if Zambians did not change their drinking habits over the next five years.

## People

Kegnazmach Abdulaziz Ahmad Muhammad elected, Vice-President, Ethiopian Chamber of Deputies. Bulgaria's George Dimitrov Medal to Jordan C.P. Secretary, Fuad Nassar.

### DIPLOMATS

Oladele Akderi, new Nigerian ambassador to Senegal. Hermann F. Eilts, first U.S. ambassador since June 1967, arrived in Cairo. M. Inayatullah, new Pakistan ambassador in Nepal. Ashraf Ghorbal, new Egyptian ambassador to USA.

### VISITS

An Iranian delegation led by Senator Alam Vahidi paid a two-week visit to the USSR at the invitation of Mufti Babakhanov. Tunku Abdul Rahman to Cairo.

### DIED

Malik Bennabi, 68, eminent Algerian Islamic scholar, on 31 Oct. Lord Patrick Spens, Chief Justice in India 1943-47 and former Conservative MP, on 15 Nov. Prof. A. S. Tritton, 92, orientalist, author and teacher: Friends' School Broumana, Lebanon; Arabic at Aligarh Muslim University finally Professor Emeritus, London University. Divan Chaman Lal, 80, veteran Indian parliamentarian. Husan al-Hodaily, 80, Murshid al-A'm of the banned Muslim Brotherhood movement, a former Judicial Adviser, he was elected to head the movement after the assassination of its founder in 1949, off and on spent 20 years in Egyptian prisons, released in 1972.

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# The Middle East File

Impact close-up

## WHAT ABOUT PALESTINE?

### After Rogers, Kissinger!

The Voice of Palestine (Algiers), commenting on Kissinger's Middle East trip said, that the object of the visit is to make some Arab and Muslim countries neutral on the Palestine issue, especially the Arab oil-producing countries. If he succeeds he would have achieved a great part of his conspiratorial task which is to fragment Arab ranks and take them back to the situation prior to the 6 October. If Rogers brought with him to the Middle East horrible massacres of the Palestinian Revolution and its people in the wake of the Arab acceptance of his initiative, Kissinger may not carry set massacres this time. He carries a massacre of a different kind. He will try at the outset to make the Arab countries convince the Palestinians that they must recognise the Zionist entity in Palestine and establish a State of Palestine in some part of Palestine. If he can convince the Arabs of these projects, the Arabs will then put pressure on the Palestinians to give up war against the Zionist entity. If the Palestinians do not accept it, woe to them in the end!

● The Arab Liberation Front Executive Committee said, the attendance of any Palestinian Arab at a peace conference would constitute a serious precedent. The recognition of Israel had not only political and legal dangers but would also give Israel an imperialism an opportunity to loot and exploit Arab wealth to the utmost. □ The Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine rejected the US-sponsored peace plan.

### Preserving revolutionary gains

A Fatah statement issued from Cairo defined the principles governing any decision which it might take on the present situation as being: to preserve the Palestinian people's national interest and legitimate rights, their revolutionary gains and unity within the resistance; and to assert the perpetuation of the armed struggle. The *Jerusalem Post* said, the Fatah statement implied "recognition of the ceasefire" and readiness "now to political considerations."

### But the super Powers?

*Al Hayat*, Beirut, reported that the Soviet Union and the US have approved King Hussain's plan to set up a united kingdom on both banks of the Jordan.

## PEACE POSITIONS

### The Syrian terms

The Syrian National Front indicated that its

possible peace terms might be: (1) Complete Israeli withdrawal from the Arab territories; (2) Official participation of the Palestinian representatives; (3) Restoration of the rights of the Palestinians; (4) Approval of the peace treaty by the Palestinians.

### The Six Point Plan Implementing a Middle East Cease-fire

- (1) Egypt and Israel agree to observe scrupulously the cease-fire called for by the Security Council.
- (2) Both sides agree that discussions between them will begin immediately to settle the question of the return to the 22nd October positions within the framework of agreement on the separation of forces under the auspices of the United Nations.
- (3) The town of Suez will receive daily supplies of food, water and medicine. All wounded civilians in the town of Suez will be evacuated.
- (4) There shall be no impediment to the movement of non-military supplies to the eastern bank of the Suez.
- (5) The Israeli checkpoints on the Cairo-Suez road will be replaced by UN checkpoints. At the Suez end of the road, Israeli officers can participate with the United Nations to supervise the non-military nature of the cargo.
- (6) As soon as the UN checkpoints are established on the Cairo Suez Road, there will be an exchange of all prisoners of war, including wounded (Agreement signed on 11 November).

### Authority to speak

The Arab Foreign Ministers are to meet in Cairo on 24 November. The heads of Arab states will meet later in Algiers on 28 November. Sadat and Assad are reported to be seeking authority to speak in the name of the Arab nation on the international Peace Conference expected to be held in Geneva on 10 December.

### In the meanwhile

The Ministerial Committee for Settlement Affairs will soon discuss a plan for doubling the Jewish population of the Golan Heights at a cost of £0.25 billion.

### Dayan confident on interpretation

Moshe Dayan told a graduation ceremony for new pilots he held a new possibility for a genuine peace settlement "between us and the Arabs was perhaps now being created for the first time. To achieve this we will have passed from a military and political struggle—a struggle of faith and strength. We cannot do this by shedding tears." He said, "Thanks to the strength and superiority of the IDF, all interpretations of formulae such as Resolution 242 and the rights of the Palestinians whose purpose was the ruin of Israel, would not hold."

## THE OIL CUTBACK

### OAPEC continues the cutback

OAPEC Ministerial Council announced that production cutback will continue in December by 5% of the November production.

### "Making capital out of the situation"

Soviet academician, Nikolay Nekrasov, said the day might come "when with Soviet-US economic co-operation in the development of Siberia when the liquefied (Siberian) gas will heat New York". Another commentator emphasised Soviet achievements in controlled nuclear fission and said, combining the efforts of both countries could well bring about the solution of world power problems. Boris Borisov, chairman of the USSR Chamber of Trade and Industry, explained, the idea is to export to the USA Tyumen and Yakut gas in payment for deliveries by American firms, on credit, of industrial equipment to the USSR,

including pipes for gaslines. □ Radio Moscow said the Arab cuts in oil production had caused a deep shock in the West but there were people who were trying to make capital out of this situation. For instance, the West German NP had called for investment in the North Sea oil.

### "Neither increase nor decrease"

The Shah said Iran will neither increase nor decrease the oil production and shall continue to carry out the previously formulated plan. ● Abdul Issifu, Acting Secretary-General of the Ghana Trade Union Congress urged African oil-producing countries to sell their products direct to sister Arab countries. Nigeria announced an increase in the posted price of oil from \$4.287 to \$8.310. □ Indonesia denied reports that she is ready to increase oil production to meet the US oil needs. □ Saudi Arabia has refuted reports about cutting oil supplies to India.

### Eban realism

Abba Eban said, the negotiations between Israel and the Arab states for the establishment of a permanent peace are expected to begin before the end of the year. He said, Egypt's agreement to Resolution 338 was achieved "after it had been made clear to Egypt that the war had actually achieved nothing and that it did not solve the problems of our side."

● Chaim Herzog said, one of the reasons why Sadat agreed to the ceasefire was the extent of the influence of US intervention on our side. This meant, he said, that both real and psychological importance of US aid to Israel must not be underestimated.

## IN RETROSPECT

### Bourguiba: You didn't listen to me

President Bourguiba, opening the new legislative year, explained that the Middle East issue had become a tragedy and that the Ramadan war had begun without the knowledge of the majority of the Arab countries. "I was not consulted about it. I had a solution for the issue (which I declared in 1965), . . . but they went back to war without consulting anybody. As a result the Israeli army is now on the West Bank (of the Canal). This behaviour does not indicate any serious solidarity amongst the leaders."

Bourguiba said Egypt seemed to have been forced to stop fighting because it believed it was fighting an American army . . . "If we had consulted (each other) before entering war, I would have emphasised to them that entering war would have meant fighting America."

Bourguiba went on to say that although Israel had shown to be a fascist, terrorist state which wanted to occupy the lands of others by force, the Israeli Foreign Minister had said that the 1947 UN Resolution on the partition of Palestine had been cancelled by the passage of time, in fact such an opinion cancelled Israel itself.

### Qadhafi asks Western Jews to return to their homelands

President Qadhafi said we have always lived with the Jews of the East and the problem would be solved if the Western Jews returned to their homelands.

### Has the war reached its end?

King Hussain told the Beirut newspaper, *Al-Anwar*, that considering the reason for its outbreak on the one hand and the ending of the situation regarding the territory on the other, he believed war has not reached its end. If these battles do not end in the way we wish and we do not acquire what we want, then other battles will take place. "We, here, were surprised by the outbreak of military operations at a time when we consider ourselves at the heart of the issue and more attached to it than other Arabs . . ."

With respect to Jerusalem, Hussain said, we demand sovereignty over all the territory occupied in 1967. As regards the United Kingdom plan, the King said, the plan is still in force but the people concerned can decide only after the territory is restored.

### Soldiers and Politics in Israel

Chief-of-Staff Gen. Elazar expressed regret over the publication of one sided descriptions and interviews of the war. The tasks of the IDF in war, he said, are not private undertakings but inter-branch and intercorps efforts and that the achievements were the fruit of the fighting and sacrifices of tens of thousands of soldiers and commanders of all ranks. Following the interview of Major General Sharon claiming credit for the Israeli counter-offensive in the West Bank, General Dayan ordered the Chief-of Staff to treat such incidences in accordance with the directions of the governments Legal Adviser.

In Pakistan, as no where else, a good deal of journalism is an attempt to meet the wish of the authority. But as there are grey areas, awkward decisions, obvious blunders, there are brave and honest people too.

## Saga of a Chained Press

Sho'aib Subhani

What sort of change an administration is likely to bring about if its policymakers and functionaries persistently refuse to countenance any critical appreciation of its avowed policies, programmes and their constitutional propriety vis-a-vis the welfare and fundamental rights of the governed?

Before one refers to such a delicate issue in the context of Pakistan, it is both fair and pertinent to recall that Mr. Bhutto's dramatically-installed cabinet inherited several serious and tricky problems which any government, however strong and popular, would find quite difficult to resolve in a short period of, say, two or three years. There may be arguments and counter-arguments about the way these problems should have been dealt with. However, the least that could be expected from the new regime was that it would try to adhere to its declared principles, maintain rule of law and impartiality of authority and help promote a climate of cooperation, criticism and confidence.

As things crystallized, the expectations began to wither away. Considering what was essential in terms of organisation, effort and, above all, statesmanship to rejuvenate the sick Republic, it is a sad observation that many of the new regime's actions have contravened its party manifesto, generated group and provincial rivalries and created disaffection among the people, including its own supporters.

The effects and consequences of a war are mostly agonizing and, the December 1971 war was no exception. For the new government, the "disaster theme" and the pressing question of clearing up of the "war debris" might well have served (as indeed they did) as effective and useful propaganda items, but reasons, which remain to be fully examined, prompted restraint, and it was preferred not to capitulate on these sensitive matters beyond a certain limit.

All that the People's Party high command seemed to be interested in was consolidating its position as the ruling clique, without arousing the suspicion of the people as to the nature and meaning of the changed situation. It was a clever exercise, and the regime, after allowing some emotional and grotesque performance in the National Assembly, succeeded in extending the period of Martial Law.

The ambivalent development—Martial Law getting a new lease of life from an elected representative who had ostensibly worked for unimpeded civil liberties and vigorous democratic activity—was yet another major setback to the struggle for the restoration of democracy in Pakistan. One feels bewildered to suggest that it was diabolism at its best.

Those who uphold authoritarianism (and there are such people in every society) may think that it is not an unbiased view, but can popular rule, or even freedom, survive without the right to criticise? The second of the last 23 months clearly shows that this right has been in jeopardy: the most important target of the present regime, first working under the umbrella of Martial Law and then an unending

state of emergency, not to speak of other devices of repression, has been the freedom of press.

In Pakistan, as nowhere else, a good deal of journalism is an attempt to meet the wish of the authority. But as there are grey areas, awkward decisions, obvious blunders, there are brave and honest people too. So whenever the press got a chance, things were exposed, sometimes threadbare and in detail.

Apparently the government considered itself insecure due to frank and bold discussion of its policies and programmes in the national press, and therefore ignored the promises which were held out lavishly during the 1970 general elections that newspapers would enjoy the position of barometers of their age and be respected as critics of government activity. Now under Mr. Bhutto's own tutelage papers and periodicals which offended ruling views or refused to tow the power line have off and on been penalized, restrained, seized, banned subject to all sorts of draconian severe restrictions.

The government's punitive operation against the press started only a few months after Mr. Bhutto took over from General Yahya Khan as President and Chief Martial Law Administrator. Mr. Bhutto's version of the events and developments that led to the adoption on his part of an attitude towards the press more in line with autocrats is not yet available. However, he is believed to have told prominent opposition leaders that "undue" and repeated criticism and denunciation of his administration was not what he deserved and that he would not tolerate incessant attacks from newspapers.

Among the early victims of the regime's vengeance were a number of popular newspapers with nation-wide circulations, e.g. *Dawn*, an English daily published from Karachi, which was founded by the father of the nation, Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah; *Zindagi* (Lahore), a respectable political weekly; *The Punjab Punch* (Lahore), an English weekly with many readers among young Bhuttoites; and *Urdu Digest* (Lahore), a colourful and sophisticated monthly magazine.

In February 1972, the editor-in-chief of the *Dawn* group of newspapers, Mr. Altaf Gauhar, was arrested under the Defence of Pakistan Rules and, despite several release orders from the High Court, kept under detention for about ten months. He was again arrested on 15 February 1973 and finally forced to give up his appointment. As an additional punishment, the newsprint quota of the paper was also reduced by 25 percent.

Action against the three Lahore publications was taken simultaneously in April 1972. *Zindagi*, *Urdu Digest* and *The Punjab Punch* were banned and their editors and publishers arrested and sentenced to one year imprisonment. Huge fines were also imposed on all three of them. These punishments were awarded by a military tribunal after a summary trial allowing no defence.

Three months later, the daily *Sun* (Karachi) was banned and its printing press seized. It was restored only after promising to tow the



FREE TO SPEAK (Zindagi, Lahore)

official line. On 17 August, 1972, the editor of *Chaton*, Agha Shorish Kashmiri, a veteran journalist of great repute, was arrested under the Defence of Pakistan Rules. Although he was a patient of blood pressure and piles, he was detained for five months without trial.

In March 1973, one of the most popular Urdu newspapers and a recognised organ of the opposition, the daily *Jasarat* (Karachi) was banned and its editor, Mr. Salahuddin, and the printer and publisher were arrested for no justifiable reason whatsoever. The newspaper remained suspended for two months. The first act of the regime after the promulgation of the constitution in April 1973 was to suspend the fundamental rights and extend the stage of emergency. The first juggernaut took away the daily *Jasarat* (Karachi), the daily *Hurriyat* (Karachi) and the daily *Mehran* (Hyderabad), the last being a Sindhi newspaper representing Muslim League. Further the editor and publisher of *Jasarat*, the editor of *Mehran* and a working journalist were taken into custody.

Nearly half a dozen more newspapers were banned within a month, and this operation continues unabated. The daily *Shahbaz*, the weekly *Frontier Guardian*, and the fortnightly *Nageeb*, all three published from Peshawar, have been closed down and the press where the *Frontier Guardian* was published has been locked and its keeper arrested. The daily *Jamhoor*, Lahore, was stopped and allowed to be republished after a change in policy. Two newspapers from Hyderabad have also met the same fate. The latest galling of the axe has resulted in the discontinuance of government advertisements for the daily *Khyber Mail* (Peshawar), the monthly *Pakistan Economist* (Karachi), the fortnightly *Insurance Times* ((Karachi), the fortnightly *Association Times* (Karachi) and the monthly *Diplomat* (Karachi).

While the daily *Jasarat's* editor and publisher are languishing in prison, the government is determined to "fix up" the paper for all times to come. The paper had filed a writ in the High Court, but before the case was taken up for final hearing the ban was lifted. No sooner than its supplement appeared the paper's declaration was cancelled without assigning any reason.

## Moving On

# Morocco: Ferment in Space

George Hoyt

What is symbol for Morocco is in a larger sense, symbol for all Islam. Islam was born immigrant in its "hijra" from Mecca to Medina. Its goal is not a ghetto but a whole one world. For such a "takbir", such a large and long voyage, you have to be very selective in the baggage you carry. A sharp eye and a stout heart are essential.

From the point of view of an Arab compass, Morocco is "al Maghrib"—The West. Only a thin blue slice of Mediterranean separates the high clean slab of Gibraltar (Jabal at-Tariq) from its corresponding chunk of Rif mountains at Tangier. In the dim past the continents of Europe and Africa were connected by a land corridor. Today, the two continents are bridged by a few miles of Mediterranean.

On a clear day at Tangier, from a stone patio half way up the hill to the Grand Socco—the bazaar—you can see both ends of the bridge. Over this bridge there flows a tremendous two-way traffic—tourists, students, merchants from the West, Moroccan workers and students heading for European factories and universities.

When a Westerner steps off the Moroccan end of the bridge at Tangier, he is hit head-on by "cultural shock". The first shock symptom is that, after a few days, he forgets the day of the week, the date of the month. He has crossed over from a "square" land of time where everything, like graphpaper, is split in little squares into a land of space, round and smooth as the dome of a mosque. The shock is, to say the least, refreshing.

Unlike the West, Morocco is not yet all "set up" like cement. There is still a chance to stretch limbs and spirit. To track down the source of this space, you have to go back to the desert-born heart of Islam: "La illaha illallah!" Like a new broom it sweeps clean still a lot of clutter—I almost said "Christian" clutter. This simple healthy space is clearly reflected in the easy smiling open faces of the poor and the young. The French call it "ambiance"—a sort of smiling through one's environment. Western faces, chewed by competition and anxiety, come off poorly in comparison. And drugs, alcohol, dissipation make poor substitutes for space.

But the traffic in the bridge is by no means all one-way. Morocco badly needs some of the social justice, the time-saving technology of the West. Most workmen sweat away 10 or 12 hours a day, seven days a week, for a pittance. The European and American tourist with camera slung at port-arms, sees the "Kasbah" as an exotic place. But those who have to live there cramped miserably would gladly swap the "Ancienne Medina" for the "Ville Nouvelle".

Moroccan University graduates, and there are many of them, know full well

the ingredients, the chemistry needed for social change. But till now, there has been little chance of changing the social structure. But the ferment is there waiting. Morocco's neighbours, Algeria, Tunis, Libya, bubble over with change, Morocco's day cannot long be delayed.

It would be a repulsive mistake to transplant "western system" here "whole hog". Only the ingredients that revitalise, and enrich its own distinctive direction and culture should be utilized. No need to smother the very heart of the country—which is Islam. Without it Morocco would soon find itself in the same "buck-fevered" sick mess as the West.

There is a tendency of Moroccan young to mimic America's fads—American college T-shirts, platform shoes, squawking transistors everywhere, etc. Morocco has also its "flip-outs" who have rejected their whole culture. One young collegiate in Meknes told me, "You know, the young are not interested in religion any more". "Perhaps not as a system", I replied, "but as a 'direction to move in' you need it badly". Without it, the "flip-outs" wander willy-nilly, speaking softly in French, but without heart.

There are others here who have sifted through western philosophies with a fine toothed comb and come out even stronger, more simply Muslim than ever. Hamid at Tangier was such a man. He could profoundly discuss Plato, Kant, Zen, etc. And yet at the end of our chat on the beach, he was silent for a bit, then cross-legged in the sand and began beautifully to chant the "Ayat el Kursi". Philosophy seems pale in comparison.

"And they encompass nothing of His Knowledge except what He pleases. His Seat (of Knowledge and Authority) extends over the heavens and the earth, and the preservation of them both tires Him not!" (Al-Baqarah, 2:255).

The first summer I spent in Morocco (1971) was an experiencing of space—the environment of Islam that clears away so much clutter and fussiness. The second summer I felt the effect of this environment on the people: their disarming ability to communicate directly. An ambiance of warmth and brotherhood.

The third summer, the two, space and people, came together as "symbol". A clash of celebration! Symbol, from its Greek root, means "thrown together". In Islam the cosmos, the earth, sun, stars, desert and stream is seen, not as a mere cold statistic, but as a warm living symbol. Each verse of the Quran is called "Ayat"

symbol. And man himself is symbol.

"We shall show them Our potents on the horizon and within themselves until it will be manifest to them that it is the Truth". (Fusilat, 41:53).

A symbol is a road sign for moving on. When you stop, sit down on a symbol you kill both it and yourself.

More than ever at high speed, world communications, commerce, tourism is throwing East and West together. Like marriage, for better and for worse. This is the ferment in space. A seething cauldron of diverse elements. It is terribly important that the nations of the East be selective, choose only those western ingredients that speed up, enrich its main thrust and direction. It must explore all roads but choose only those roads to travel on that have heart, the Heart of Islam. For without heart, without vision no nation can move on.

Again I see and hear my young Moroccan brother Hamid squatting upright in the sand and singing the "Ayat al Kursi"—  
"The right way is indeed clearly distinct from error. So whoever casts aside false deities and believes in Allah, he indeed has on the firmest hand-hold which shall never break". (Al Baqarh, 2:256).

Is there any better criterion for change?

\* George Hoyt is an American Muslim, author and traveller.

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*In the short run the industrial nations have hardly any alternatives to Arab oil. In no case it is possible to switch rapidly to a different power source. It seems, therefore, that the future of industrial societies is inseparably linked with the Arab world, and from now on the quality of life in the West will depend largely on the cost of and the efficiency with which fuel can be used.*

## What alternatives to Arab Oil?

Zia Sardar

The current panic over crude oil, caused by the Middle East oil cuts, has forced the consuming countries to take a fresh look at the way they obtain and use their energy. Experts on energy in America, Europe and Japan have started a serious study of the question: What are the practical alternatives to Arab oil? Some nineteen consuming nations, attending a three-day symposium in Tokyo held at the end of October, agreed that they must pay greater attention to the development of new or revised energy sources to take the place of Arab oil, especially coal, nuclear power and solar heat. In recent interviews officials responsible for European energy policy reported that they are examining such techniques as windmills, compressed-air energy storage, power from sunlight and the derivation of gas from coal or plant crops. President Nixon has repeatedly called for explorations of other forms of energy and has forbade industries fuelled by coal to switch to oil, as many have lately been doing. Those already converted to oil, he urged, to return to coal.

In the short run, coal can indeed fill the energy gap created in the West by Arab oil cuts. But extraction and use of coal present such persistent ecological and environmental problems that it is difficult to see coal as the main source of world energy in the foreseeable future. President Nixon, realising that the US is sitting on more than half the world's supply of coal—1,550,000 million tons, enough to last for 300 to 600 years—has already begun taking such measures as relaxation of the Clean Air Act because a strict application would prevent the development and utilisation of US coal resources. He has ordered increased spending on research and development into the use of coal, with special emphasis on technology for the removal of sulphur and the development of smokeless forms of coal.

In Europe the use of coal has been dropping steadily over the last decade. In France, for example, coal provided 55 per cent of energy

in 1960, whereas in 1970 the coal sector had fallen to 26 per cent. In Britain and West Germany too a similar trend in the use of coal can be seen. Europe has abandoned coal remains beneath the ground and, in general, coal mining has been kept alive, in most places by government subsidy, to alleviate unemployment. But a switch of power source from oil to coal, cannot be envisaged.

Coal mining is costly, and in booming economies of Western nations coal miners are hard to find. In contrast, oil is so versatile and cheap a fuel that the search for new oil deposits outside the Middle East has claimed a high priority in energy policies of all consuming countries.

Although the oil deposits in Alaska will not reduce the dependence of the US on Arab oil completely, Alaskan oil will go some way in meeting the energy needs of one of the world's biggest energy-hungry nation. In a few months, after the Interior Department has given approval to certain permits, construction will begin on the long overdue and infamous 800-mile North-South trans-Alaska pipeline. Three years later the pipeline will begin transporting up to two million barrels of oil a day to be loaded in tankers at the pipeline terminals in Valdez.

Britain's search for oil in the North Sea has paid off handsomely. The Department of Trade and Industry estimated that by 1980 the North Sea could be producing two million barrels of oil a day—the equivalent of 100 million tons a year. Current crude oil consumption in Britain is slightly over 100 million tons and by 1980 it is estimated to rise to about 150 million tons. By 1985, the forecasters say, Britain should be self-sufficient.

Japan too has started search for oil outside the Middle East. An intensive search for oil on the continental shelf of the east China Sea, the area of the Pacific Ocean between Taiwan and Japan, is at present being carried out by Japanese experts. Mr. Kakuei Tanaka, the Japanese Prime Minister, is trying to set up a huge multi-national oil search in China Sea.

While the search for oil outside the Middle East intensifies, Latin American oil sales are expected to go up. With new discoveries of crude oil in Peru, the region is expected to become increasingly large exporter of oil.

Nuclear power still offers the brightest hope as an alternative to oil, although it is nothing like as promising as it was a decade ago. Although it is much cheaper than coal, nuclear power has just as many problems. They include the mundane but stubborn problems connected with the construction and operation of present-day fission reactors; safety and environmental hazards of a magnitude up to now unassociated with any industrial process; fear and anxiety about the next generation of reactors, the so-called fast-breeders, which may never be perfected; and the doubts that the fusion reactor which would be the ultimate answer, can never be made to produce electricity at all. At present only the so-called light water reactors can be firmly relied upon to be built and produce power at a precise cost and within a precise time scale. The Common Market countries are now looking at two nuclear power systems that could provide a domestic supply for Europe: the gas diffusion method, promoted by the French-led consortium, Eurodif, and the much newer centrifuge technique, developed by the German, Dutch and British Troika, Urenco.

The other alternative sources of power vary widely in their importance and technical feasibility. Geo-thermal power, in many ways, is an ideal source since it is clean and its 'fuel' constantly renews itself. However, there are relatively few places in the world where hot springs bubble to the surface of the earth or can be trapped with conventional drilling. Wind power is another cheap source of power. However, wind is unpredictable in its short and medium-term behaviour and, as a result it can only be used in areas where strong wind is the rule and not the exception. Much the same can be said about translation of tide and solar energy. Building dams to harness the tides is expensive and only applicable in regions where the tides rise and fall enough to make such projects economic. Solar furnaces also can only be located in areas where they can furnish enough power for industrial uses. It is, therefore, difficult to see sun, wind and tides, although the most natural source of power, playing a major role in the world's energy supply.

In the short run the industrial nations have hardly any alternatives to Arab oil. In no case is it possible to switch rapidly to a different power source. It seems, therefore, that the future of industrial societies is inescapably linked with the Arab world, and from now on the quality of life in the West will depend largely on the cost of and the efficiency with which fuel can be used. The producing states can maintain revenue while reducing supplies but there is a limit beyond which this process becomes destructive. The continuing rise in the cost of oil and cutbacks in production will eventually make some, if not all, alternatives to Arab oil economically feasible. So far, the use of oil as a political lever has worked in favour of the producing countries. However, it is to be remembered that strong levers have been known to snap under too heavy pressure.

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**IMPACT**

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The transformation of the Caliphate and Sultanate by the Kemalist regime into a secular national state was the result of a long process of change. The first stage in the westernising change began with the fall of Byzantium when the Ottoman State rose to an empire status, and the sultans obtained capitulation from the southeast European governments. The arrival of the European wives in the sultans' harems led also to the gradual development of a certain Europhile attitude among the Ottoman rulers.

The next stage came after the failure of the second Siege of Vienna (1683) leading to the Treaty of Carlowitz (1699). This treaty and the Treaty of Passarowitz (1718) were signed after the defeat of the Ottomans by Austria and Russia. The defeat proved to the Ottoman rulers the superiority of Western arms and techniques to those of their own, and thus the need to borrow ideas and techniques from the Western countries. Half a century later, another set-back and another Treaty of Kucuk Kaynarca (1774) confirmed the Ottoman view that their survival depended only on their adopting Western ideas and techniques. This Treaty also marks the beginning of the "Eastern Question", a Western term for the European problem of liquidating the Ottoman State and its division among themselves.

The third stage in the metamorphosis was the era of Western reforms, generally known as *Tanzimat* (1839-1876). Western reforms introduced by Sultan Mahmud II (1808-1839) were followed up by his successors. He cut down on the influence of the 'ulama by ruling that Western reforms were outside the jurisdiction of the Shari'ah. It was Sultan Mahmud II who ordered a wholesale massacre of the *Janissaries* in 1826, and replaced it with a modern army trained on European lines. He also introduced Western laws, legal procedure, as well as secular educational institutions. Western cultural institutions gained greater influence through European diplomatic missions established during the reign of Sultan Selim III towards the end of the 18th Century, and through the Western educated elite. Muslim educational institutions and the influence of the Shari'ah courts continued to decline on account of the overwhelming importance given now to the Western institutions. The situation continued until the advent of the Kemalist regime in 1920.

The fourth and the final stage in the process of change is discernible between the Balkan Wars and the Turkish War of Independence (1919-1923). The Turks felt that having been betrayed and left alone, they had to count on themselves alone and their own resources. Ziya Gokalp, a member of the Young Turk Movement who became Professor of Sociology at the University of Istanbul, articulated the principles of Turkish nationalism. In his essays entitled "The Foundations of Turkish Nationalism", Ziya Gokalp advocated the establishment of a secular national State in Turkey. Ziya wielded a strong influence over Turkish intellectuals through his writings which appeared in the various literary journals like *Kucuk Mecma* and *Genç Kalemler*. He tried to present a synthesis of Turkism, Islam and Modernism. "I belong to the Turkish nation. I belong to the *Ummah* of Islam. I belong to the Western civilization."

Mustafa Kemal founded the Turkish national State according to the principles formulated by Gokalp, but he coloured them

## Aspects of Turkey's Secular Evolution

M. Rashid Feroz

with his own doctrines. According to Kemal, Turkey was henceforward to be considered as an integral part of the Western civilization. He said: "We shall march along with the Western civilization, and would even try to march ahead of it." (Tarik Zafar Tunaya, *Turkiyenin Siyasi Hayatinda Batillasma Hareketleri*, (Westernization Movements in the Political Life of Turkey), Istanbul, 1960, pp. 109-111). Although the first Constitution of the national State established by Kemal in April, 1920 was written by Ziya Gokalp, sharp differences soon arose between Gokalp and Kemal. Gokalp died young on 25 October, 1924. He was then a member of the Grand National Assembly as well as of the Assembly Committee for Public Instruction.

Kemal implemented his plan for the secularization of Turkey in several phases. He abolished the Sultanate and Caliphate in 1922 and 1924 respectively for reasons of political expediency and under heavy pressure by the British and the French. The European powers had openly threatened to wipe out Turkey from the map of Europe. The Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916 between England and France (the agreement also had the Russian support) could not be implemented mainly because of the rivalries among the three powers, and the Turkish nationalist movement. The revolts in Albania and the Arab Provinces led not only to the dissolution of the Ottoman State, but also its inevitable substitution by a national secular State.

The Grand National Assembly inaugurated by Kemal in Ankara on 23 April, 1920 with the customary religious ceremony and fanfare (recitation of the Qur'an and the *Bukhari*, and sacrifice of goats, etc.) declared Turkey a republic on 29 October, 1923, and elected Mustafa Kemal as its first President. The Turkish Civil Code was promulgated in 1926. It was based on the Swiss Civil Code. Gradually all the laws and procedures were Westernized, and the laws of the Shari'ah were abolished. The Constitution of 1923 had the provision that Islam was the religion of the State. With the abolition of this clause in June, 1928, Turkey became fully secular.

Soon after this constitutional amendment, the Turkish script was changed from Arabic to Latin. After the abolition of the Arabic script, Kemal introduced legislation for the adoption of Western dress, including the European hat. He undertook extensive journeys in Anatolia in order to convince the people of the benefits of adopting Western dress and the Latin script. The conventional dress worn by the 'ulama was banned for the ordinary Turks, and the 'ulama too were forbidden from wearing this dress outside the precincts of the mosques. Contrary to the popular view, Kemal did not introduce

any legislation for the prohibition of the veil by Muslim women, but he urged them to give it up and become an equal member of the society. These reforms, no doubt, had to be enforced and the strength of the opposition can be felt in Kemal's *Nutuk*—the Great speech—from 15 to 20 October 1927.

The Faculty of Islamiyat, University of Istanbul under the chairmanship of Fuad Koprulu was given the project of preparing "scientific 'ulama" who could draw up a modern version of Islam. The project, however, fell through at the very outset, and even its sponsors backed out. Following the ban on all religious education, and the teaching of Oriental languages, particularly Arabic and Persian, the Faculty of Islamiyat too was closed down. An Institute of Islamic Research was established at the University of Istanbul in 1933 when the *adhan* (call to prayer) was rendered into Turkish. Perhaps this single reform caused far greater resentment among the Turks than any other Kemalist reform. In practice, however, Turkish *adhan* remained confined only to the large cities and towns. During the same period a Directorate of Religious Affairs was also established with the object of training Imams and preachers.

The Kemalist reforms were enshrined as a political creed in the six points of the Republican People's Party: nationalism, secularism, republicanism, populism, etatism and revolutionism. These were represented by six arrows on the Party's flag. Ismet Inonu who succeeded Ataturk at his death on 10 November, 1938, was a more ardent secularist, but he too had to introduce optional religious education for Muslim children in schools in 1946 due to heavy pressure of public opinion.

The Democratic Party came into power with a landslide victory at the general election of May, 1950, and this brought the restoration of the Arabic *adhan*, compulsory religious education in Turkish schools, the opening of new Islamic institutes and a general expansion in Islamic cultural and academic studies. Menderes held the view that while some Kemalist reforms had been accepted and assimilated by the Turkish people, some others remained unacceptable. He blamed the Republicans of misusing secularism in order to suppress Islam. The ban, however, on forming political parties based on an Islamic programme, remained unaffected.

The military *coup d'etat* of 29 May 1960 was meant also to be an anti-trend, but evidently the Turkish "reaction" to a forced secularisation remains unabated. The subsequent emergence of the Justice Party (on the basis of the banned Democratic Party's appeal to the religious and conservative sentiments of the electorate) and the recent successes registered by the revived Democratic Party and the newly formed Milli Nejat Party seem to support such a view.

Parallel to the re-assertion by the Turks of their Islamic identity, one could also note the phenomenon of a passing nationalistic secularism and an emerging left-wing spectrum ranging from democratic socialism to both orthodox and revised Marxism-Leninism. Lipservice and sloganism apart, secularism in so far as it would mean a rigid orthodoxy has long since ceased to be a significant factor in the Turkish situation.

As Toynbee puts it, it had all begun with the need and the desire to borrow techniques rather than ideas from the West.

● Dr. M. R. Feroz is an author and broadcaster on Turkish affairs.



A Letter from London

# Marx, Money and Marriage

Kalim Siddiqui

From his vantage point high up in the Highgate cemetery in North London old man Marx must be having a quiet chuckle over the state of the British economy. He undoubtedly has reason for at least partial satisfaction over his own predictions about over production in the capitalist system and its many contradictions. So far so good. But Marx cannot be pleased with the "gravediggers" of capitalism whose revolutionary zeal is now confined to overtime ban, work-to-rule and the occasional "official" strike. He must be more pleased with the British Government—the "executive committee of the bourgeoisie"—which is handling the crisis of capitalism in much the same way as Marx said they would.

What is the British economic crisis all about? The answer has to be sought at three levels—in the philosophical quagmire of capitalism, in the labyrinthine structure of Western economic system, and in the monetary and fiscal policies dictated and sanctified by the demands of democratic government.

At the philosophical level capitalism is still deeply rooted in the idea that each man — including each company — must maximise its own profit and the sum total of all individually maximised profits would add up to the collective good of the nation. This in turn is based on the Church's doctrinal view of man that man is by nature born selfish. In this sense capitalism is nothing but institutionalised selfishness. The opposite proposition that the collective good is something over and above the sum total of all individual goods (or profits) is anathema to *laissez faire* theories of economics. It is true of course that in these days of massive government intervention in the economic process—including the post-war "mixed economy" and more recently incomes policies, industrial relations acts, and price controls—the *laissez faire* system now exists only in text books. But the net result is that no comprehensive planning of the economy is possible and economic management is conducted on an *ad hoc* basis. Besides, the legal measures to regulate the economy suffer from the same weakness as all man-

made laws, i.e., legal draftmanship is still so primitive that there are always loopholes to be found by those determined to maximise their profits. Nor can Western economic philosophy be expected to produce that vital breakthrough essential for preventive measures. This is because the capitalist system is largely an accident of history and its philosophy has always been a *post facto* rationalisation trailing behind events.

The British economy is also part of the Western economic system. This international capitalism is beyond the control of any single government within the system. Its most outstanding feature is that it provides avenues of escape for capital which might be threatened in any one part of it. Thus, in order to keep liquid funds in London, the British Government is always forced to put up the "Bank rate." Otherwise the capital would flow out. This brings up a basic characteristic of capital—that it is unpatriotic. While capital is always available in fair weather, at the slightest sign of trouble it leaves. Thus any country which gets into any trouble — economic or political — would soon be drained of its capital as well. The rich man's world is so organised that even if private capital leaves the money is returned by the banking system through "special drawing rights." Poor countries lose their capital usually for good.

A high rate of interest—13 per cent in Britain now—might keep the liquid funds in London, but it narrows the margin to be gained by investment. In order to restore the profit margin over the rate of interest to be had from idle money prices have to be pushed up. When prices go up, wages have to be put up to enable the people to buy the goods and services produced at such high monetary cost. And so the inflationary spiral. Only a few weeks ago prices in Britain were rising at the rate of 12 per cent a year. The latest figure is that they are rising at 18 per cent—a 5 per cent margin over the new interest rate.

Lastly, the monetary and fiscal policies demanded by the needs of a democratic government. Nowhere is Marx's economic determinism more in evidence than in the electoral process. Votes are to be had not through moral rectitude, but through putting more and more money in the pockets of the government's supporters. In the case of the Conservative party in Britain this means in the pockets of income tax payers or the better off sections of the community, including the better paid among the working classes. So the government has cut tax by nearly 5 per cent since coming to office in 1970. All this money is inflationary buying power in the pockets of those who need it least. And with another election due within the next 18 months there is no question of putting up taxes. The Conservative party is more important than the British economy or the people. Similarly, the banking system's profits last year rose by 90 per cent while

the actual output of goods and service went up by less than 4 per cent.

Government of the people, by the people for the people is a long way away

\* \* \*

Opium is the dried juice of the white poppy. It is banned in Britain and therefore kept out of sight of the innocent world-famous British police to prevent them from coming under its influence. It would, therefore, be hard to find a connection between opium and the respectable British monarchy were it not for some wisecrack who once described the monarchy as the "opium of the masses." Royal weddings are of course designed to hook back to the drug any wavering British who might be showing unhealthy signs of getting along without it.

Thus the Princess in white—like the white poppy—was perfectly dressed to perform the opium function on her wedding day. And, as chance would have it, white is still the best colour even in these days of colour television. Red poppy has no such mystifying qualities and therefore the shocking red of Captain Mark Phillip's uniform helped to make the white appear whiter than white. The prudent British have long discarded the old-fashioned idea that white depicts the innocence of the bride.

But it would be wrong to suggest that old-fashioned fashion no longer plays a part. Not for nothing was the bride's dress a closely guarded secret until the model drove out of Buckingham Palace in her mother's gleaming glass carriage. But of course the dress was white and traditional with a high neckline—perhaps a concession to the London weather in November. Less modest brides without the advantage of a glass carriage and Westminster Abbey will nevertheless be getting into white bridal dresses of the Anne vintage for years to come—the fashion industry has got work to keep it going for quite a while.

And the horses on the green and lovely fields of Warfield in Berkshire—near Windsor Castle—where the couple did their courting, have been put out to pasture until the bride's brother, the future King, decides to take the future Queen there. More opium in the making in the muddy fields only to reappear in white.

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## Bangladesh Letter

## Fighting the Middle East War

From A Correspondent

The role of Bangladesh in the last Arab-Israeli war deserves a special note. Bangladesh is a secular state with strong ties of friendship with India and Soviet Russia. Her present relations with the United States of America are also cordial. During its struggle for secession from Pakistan, Bangladesh received powerful support from the international Zionist lobby. Israel herself supported the Bangladesh movement and offered technical assistance and diplomatic recognition which remained unfulfilled. The Arab states on the other hand were opposed to the break-up of Pakistan and until recently a majority of them did not recognise Bangladesh.

The Arab-Israeli war provided an opportunity to Bangladesh to demonstrate to the Arabs that despite secession from Pakistan and despite its secular constitution the people of Bangladesh—an overwhelming majority of them Muslims—remain concerned with the justness of the Arab/Muslim cause. On the very first day of the war, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, sent separate messages to the Presidents of Egypt, Syria and Libya pledging full support to and solidarity with the Arab people in their just war with Israel. The following day Dr. Kamal Hossain, the Foreign Minister, reiterated the support of his government to the Arabs and strongly condemned Israeli expansionism.

The governing party in Bangladesh, the Awami League, in a joint statement issued on the second day of the war, by six leading party men, including the party General Secretary, condemned the Israeli aggression and appealed to the international community to put pressure upon Israel to come to a peaceful settlement with the Arabs. The statement branded Israel as an agent of imperialism and castigated the Zionist state for its war-mongering and for disturbing peace in the Middle East.

Both the Bangladesh government and the Awami League continued reiterating this stance of support to the Arabs through various channels until the ceasefire. Mujibur Rahman's first message of support was repeated in several other messages including one from the President of Bangladesh to the Arab heads of states.

Arab diplomats in Dacca were cordially received by ministers and officials. The pledges for support were also backed up with some material help. The Bangladesh government despatched 100,000 lbs. of tea to Egypt and Syria as a token of love of the people of Bangladesh for their Arab brethren who introduced tea rationing as a part of their war effort against the Israeli aggressor. This was followed by the decision to send a 32-member medical mission drawn from the army medical corps to Syria. The medical team consisting of seven doctors, general duty assistants, nurses and laboratory technicians, was headed by Colonel Khurshiduddin Ahmad. On the eve of their departure the members of the medical team were received by the Prime Minister at his official residence. Felicitating the team and wishing success to it, Sheikh Mujib once again reiterated his pledge to do whatever was possible for them to help the Arab war of liberation. He also hoped that

the medical team would return home with the laurels of victory.

The allies of the government party in Bangladesh — the pro-Moscow National Awami Party and the Communist Party of Bangladesh—fully sympathised with the government's policy of support to the Arabs by issuing statements jointly with the Awami League leaders as well as from their respective platforms. The N.A.P. and the Communist leaders, however, went one step further, and condemned the United States of America for supplying arms to Israel. These pro-Moscow parties also warned America of the grave consequences of its continued support to Israel.

Among the Bangladeshi political parties the most unequivocal support came from Maulana Bhashani's National Awami Party. Indeed, the pro-Arab policy of the Bangladesh government and the ruling alliance was put to a severe test by Maulana Bhashani. Bhashani considered the Israeli aggression as a war against the Muslims rather than the Arabs alone. He too criticised the American role in the war but went another step by castigating India for her pro-Israel role. He demanded that the government implements promises of help by sending troops, arms, ammunition and other necessary supplies including food and medicine. He appealed to the people of Bangladesh, particularly the "Bangali Muslims" to pray for the Arab success and to join a proposed *Mujahid bahini* (volunteers for holy war) to be sent under his personal guidance to the war front. He also urged upon all the democratic forces in the country to demonstrate their solidarity with the Arabs and to *hartal* (strike) on October 12.

Bhashani's extremist position, particularly his reference to India-Israel friendship and above all his appeal to the religious feelings of the Muslims of Bangladesh seem to have unnerved the government. The government, however, tackled the situation astutely though not without some show of force. While subsequent public announcements regarding the tea gift and the medical mission took most of the winds out of Bhashani's sails, his proposed strike was actively opposed by the government and its allies. The pro-government parties condemned the call for strike as detrimental to the national economy. They further alleged that the proposed strike was politically motivated and that it would "serve the cause of Israel"—Bhashani and his supporters replied that since the Suez crisis of 1956 when the British Council premises in Dacca were burnt and until recently, the Awami League had always considered strike and demonstrations as legitimate methods of protest. However, Bhashani did not seriously persist with the call for strike.

Nevertheless all the other political parties in Bangladesh including the Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal, the National League, the Jatiya League, the Jatiya Gantantrik Dal and the Communist Party of Bangladesh (Leninist) vied with each other in expressing support to the Arab cause. The tide of public opinion in favour of the Arabs was overwhelming and joined by representatives of almost all classes, creeds, races and professions in the country,

The various cultural, social, professional and students' bodies in Bangladesh continued to voice their support for the Arabs and condemnation of Israel until the last day of the war. Foremost among the organisations which actively worked for the Arab cause were the Bangladesh-Arab Sahayak (Assistance) Samity, the Muktiyoddha (freedom fighters) Association, the Dacca University Central Students' Union, the Central Students' Action Committee, the Chhatra (Students) League, the Chhatra (Students) Union, the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organisation of Bangladesh, the Federation of Journalists Union, the National Press Club, the Dacca University Teachers Association, Majdoor Federation, Sramik (Labour) Federation, Krishak (Peasants) Samity, the Bangladesh Teachers' Association, the Engineers Association, and the Bangladesh Arab Youth Friendship Society.

This support was given wide publicity in the Bangladesh press and radio which too joined their voice on the side of the Arabs. Newspapers, however, differed among themselves over the extent and nature of condemnation of Israel and its allies. The government and pro-government newspapers published scathing criticism of both the US and Russia along with Israel: while the US was condemned for its continued support and arms supplies to the Israeli aggressors, Russia came under fire for its soft line on Israel as well as for its refusal to supply more sophisticated arms to the Arabs.

In view of the strength of the public feelings the government too became more and more vocal in its pro-Arab position. It, however, steered clear of any criticism of either of the super Powers and persisted in its opposition to any mass demonstrations and strikes in support of the Arab cause.

Within a week of the war "in gratitude for Dacca's support for the Arab war effort and opposition to Israeli aggression", Jordan, Kuwait and North Yemen decided to establish diplomatic relations with Bangladesh. The war brought not only a diplomatic bonus to the Bangladesh government, it helped the Muslim masses re-discover and re-assert their Muslim (otherwise communal) ethos.

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## Letters

### "Time" effrontery

The 5 November issue of *Time* magazine carries an imaginary picture of Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) in its section on religion on page 76. For Muslims a picture of the Messenger of Allah is in itself a serious insult (a fact not unknown to the editors of *Time*) but a gross misrepresentation of the best of men as a sword-wielding fanatic is surely a calculated affront in pure bad taste.

*Time* magazine's timing is worth consideration: the article is offered as background material to the 4th mid-east war. Wealth hides many sins but this issue of *Time* has left no doubt about the mental level at which it operates.

Apart from snide comments about Islam and the way it is practised by Muslims, the article even indulges in righteous indignation about how the Muslims have violated the law of their own Book about war. Do the people who publish *Time* really believe that the Arabs committed aggression or do they take their readers to be

absolute morons who cannot understand that occupation by force of one's land entitles him to try and take it back whenever he can?

*Time's* Zionist backing is well known and it has done its utmost to confuse its readers about Palestine and other Muslim causes. Perhaps the editors of *Time* had a hard time swallowing their claims in the 15 October issue that in the first three days of the war Israel would destroy the Egyptian and Syrian armies.

I wish to appeal to your readers not to remain untouched by this gratuitous insult offered to the Messenger of Allah. Muslim organizations all over the world should organise a boycott of *Time* and every Muslim who buys it should cancel his subscription. A campaign should be launched to obtain such cancellations and its results should be published. This is the least we can do to remind *Time* that it cannot attack the timeless Faith with impunity.  
Halifax, N.S., Canada **KAUKAB SIDDIQUE**

### "Index" reply on 'bias'

We were rather astonished by some of the statements made by your reviewer in the little piece on INDEX in *Impact*, 3:10 ('Briefing', p. 13). For one thing, it seems to me that he based his judgement solely on the current issue, but even then it is hard to see how he could reach the conclusion that we are biased in favour of 'those who lean towards the left'. We certainly do our best to be absolutely impartial and non-partisan, the terms 'Left' and 'Right' being quite meaningless where INDEX is concerned. Our aim is to expose and criticise oppression and censorship, the suppression of free thought and expression wherever they occur, whether in the Communist or 'Western' countries, in Israel or the Arab States, under regimes of any and every political hue.

I must say that this is the first time we have been charged with any kind of bias: the numerous cuttings we have from the world's press praising INDEX for its impartiality and objectivity include those from *The Times*, *The Observer*, *The Times Literary Supplement*, the *Sydney Morning Herald*, *Combat*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, the *Stockholm Expressen*, as well as

Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe, who could hardly be accused of being leftist. On the other hand, I have yet to hear of, say, *Pravda* or the *Morning Star* singing our praises.

More important than this, though, is the reproach that we ignore Bangladesh, Libya, and so on. In fact, an article on Bangladesh opened the very first number of INDEX (1/72), while No. 1/73 had as its main feature two articles on Turkey; and many of the countries in your 'sphere of interest' figure regularly in INDEX/ Index, the factual record of censorship and oppression which forms part of every issue. To take only this year's output, No. 1 had news items from Egypt, India, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco and Pakistan; No. 2 from Bangladesh, Egypt, Israel, Morocco, Pakistan, and Turkey; and the current issue from Cyprus, Egypt, India, Israel, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia and Turkey.

It is true—and we are very conscious of this ourselves—that, where major articles are concerned, there has hitherto been a preponderance of contributions on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe (that, surely, in itself demolishes the argument that INDEX has a left-wing slant), Greece, Spain, Portugal and South Africa. This is due simply to the fact that we receive a large amount of information about these areas and have acquired a number of reliable informants and correspondents who are experts on the countries concerned. We are, however, trying all the time to cast our net as far afield as possible (there have also been articles on Cuba, South Korea, Taiwan, the Caribbean islands, Brazil and Argentina; the forthcoming winter issue, apart from carrying complete texts of recent statements by Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn and a number of items about Czechoslovakia, will deal with the persecution of journalists in Malawi; and in our first issue next year we hope to print a long article on the press in the Philippines as well as a Letter from Indonesia).

The problem always is to find authors for such articles. That was indeed the reason I wrote to you two weeks ago, having read your piece on Bangladesh. We shall be most grateful if you put us in touch with people who could write about the very countries mentioned in your review: Bangladesh, Libya, Sudan, etc.

It is and always has been our intention to write about any country (regardless of its political system or affiliations) where censorship muzzles free expression and where people suffer because of their opinions. It is, I repeat, only a matter of getting hold of good, reliable and interesting writers who are acquainted with the local conditions.

London, WC2

**GEORGE THEINER**  
Assistant Editor, INDEX

### Mu'ammarr

While agreeing that the noun mu'ammarr occurs in the Qur'an in the sense of longevity, Dr. Tibawi insists (*Impact* 3:9) that various derivations from the same root have diverse meanings in classical and modern Arabic. This is not in the least surprising, even to those who have no pretensions to being Arabic scholars. But it is a matter of common sense that for centuries parents have been naming their sons Mu'ammarr with only the sense of longevity in mind. Rate of infant mortality being high, names of good omen for the survival of newly-born babies have been customary. For instance, the names Mu'ammarr and Yashar in Turkey; Jiwan, Buddhan/Buddhi in the Asian subcontinent; Javed/Javid in Persian-speaking countries; and Yahya in all Muslim lands—carrying the sense of longevity—are quite common. In Urdu, Persian and Turkish, mu'ammarr means a person blessed with old age and little else, which indicates the primacy of this connotation.

Mu'ammarr in the classical or modern sense of 'built' or 'developed' would apply to a place or an inanimate object but hardly to a person. Mr. Abbasi was not, therefore, far wrong in asserting (*Impact* 3:7) that the first name of the Libyan President Mu'ammarr Qaddafi cannot mean 'built' but only 'one blessed with old age'.

Dr. Secretary-General, **SHARIF al-HASAN**  
CENTO, Ankara

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## Books

### What technology for the "non-technical"?

**Technology, Man and the Environment** by David Hamilton, *Faber*, London, 357 pages, £4.75

**Science, Technology and Development**, edited by Charles Cooper, *Frank Cass*, London, 200 pages, £2.75

Economic development in the Third World, or for that matter anywhere else, requires technology: few would reject technology *per se*. But what type of technology is a requirement for economic development? Is the Third World in need of hardware, run-away technology whose triumphs are recapped by David Hamilton in breathless wonder: nuclear power, the petro-chemicals, space exploration? Great many products of the same technology are very harmful ecologically: pollution, urbanization, Taffler's "future shock" to mention a few. But Hamilton is little concerned with these and resource bases, cultural disunities, ecosystem stabilities and other implications of continuous growth are sketched very briefly. He spends most of his time discussing progress—every other page of his book carries experimental curves jumping to horizons marked 2000. Hamilton presents a picture of tomorrow with massive automation, electronic decentralization of office work, and nuclear-powered fully computerized industry. Such pictures of conventional technology are responsible for persuading the developing countries to drown themselves by adopting the careless technology of the developed countries, which is essentially profit-orientated and a direct product of market-orientated economics where maximisation of profits and price-free social costs are the determinants.

Hamilton has great admiration for the car and declares it to be "pillar of modern technological society". He devotes a few pages to show the environmental harm caused by the car but fails to point out that such ecologically faulty technologies can only be justified by inappropriate or distorted economic framework. It is industries like the car industry which have stifled the production of finished natural goods in the developing countries, created industrial pollution and forced the Third World to continue its dependency on the industrialized nations. Such industries and technologies can only help the multi-nationals and national elites to prosper at the cost of ecological deterioration and human degradation.

What other technologies has the Third World for development? To begin with, says Charles Cooper in his introductory

essay, *Science, Technology and Development*—a collection of papers first published in October 1972 as a special issue of the *Journal of Development Studies*—the Third World should seek a more diagnostic and analytical approach to science, technology and development. The Third World, if necessary, must create technologies to suit its own needs and requirements. His contributors concern themselves with seeking an understanding of social functions of science, and with the consequences of technological dependence and change in the underdeveloped countries.

Amilcar Herrera examines this aspect of conventional science policy in Latin America. Despite three decades of sustained effort, he charges, attempts at building modern scientific society have been a miserable failure. This is because research and development have no relevance to the basic problems of the area. Herrera claims that this crisis is not from some basic weakness in the Latin American system, but rather from "faults" in the western technology, and in the economic and social structures of the region. Take the example of Chile. Until fifty years ago more than half of Chile's exports was nitrate. The advent of synthetic fertilizers affected the nitrate industry seriously; now nitrate exports are in grave decline. Up to now no attempt has been made to meet the new situation: not a single technological innovation has been introduced to equip the industry to meet the challenge! A similar situation holds true of Chile's copper industry, in which, despite the fact that Chile is one of the world's biggest copper exporters, nothing is being spent on research and development. Thus in key fields of the exploitation of her resources and of meeting people's needs, there was no technology available to Chile.

To overcome situations like that of Chile, the developing countries are required to identify their problems and make a forthright definition of their objectives. Only then social instruments to secure them will be created. Fundamentally, the developing nations have two objectives: to meet the needs of the people and to secure some real measure of national independence through the development of socio-technology of self-sufficiency. Where they seek help from conventional technology it must be re-orientated to meet their needs and requirements. The concept of 'transfer of technology' must be rejected for it fails to consider the social and economic context in which decisions are made regarding the adaptation of technologies.

For real self-sufficiency, a humane technology tailor-made for their needs has to come out of the experience and efforts of the Third World. The new technology has to be based on a new concept of science. This requirement dictates the rejection of the false concept of neutrality of science.

Z.S.

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## Briefing

**Muslims in the Philippines** by Cesar Adib Majul, *University of Philippines Press*, \$5.75

The *moro-moros* are traditional, music-and-dance dramas of the Philippines. It is also traditional for these plays to portray the Muslims as crafty pagans, devious and completely untrustworthy. The Christian majority of these islands have come to accept this as the truth. Prof. Majul illustrates many other sidelights which are responsible for the continuation of the strife in this area. Sidelights apart, this very well written book provides a fascinating study of the role, the Dutch and British as well as the Germans and French played in Sulu. He brings to light the Sulu penetration of Borneo before the colonialists drew the present lines of demarcation. Today Sulu is a centre of power politics; a role it played many times before. For anyone concerned with the Muslim problem in the Philippines Prof. Majul's book is a must.

**The United Arab Emirates—An Economic and Social Survey** by K. G. Fenelon, *Longman*, £3

The United Arab Emirates is a federation of seven states in the Persian Gulf, namely: Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Sharjah, Ajman, Um al Quaiwain, Ras al Khaimah, and Fujairah. The title of Dr. Fenelon's book sums up the actual contents: the book provides the essential background information for both the student and the expert on this area. Fenelon's survey provides historical background and detailed notes on oil, agriculture, industry, trade, commerce, banking, transport, communication, health and housing in the federation. Two appendices tabulate much of the statistical information.

**Fat Sasha and the Urban Guerilla—Protest and Conformism in the Soviet Union** by David Bonavia, *Hamish Hamilton*, £3

David Bonavia was *The Times'* Moscow correspondent from 1969 to 1972 when he was expelled for "systematic activity incompatible with the status of a correspondent". The "activity" Mr. Bonavia engaged in was conversations with Russians who do not toe the official *Pravda* line. He applied a simple test to the Russian Communist system: "Does the system produce the kind of people we (the West) like and admire, or does it suppress the qualities which appeal to us in people?" and proceeds to tell us what most intellectuals in Russia think and under certain circumstances, actually say. Naturally Mr. Bonavia is forced to refrain from giving names and his readers have to be content with such dubbings as 'Fat Sasha', 'Pavel', 'Systems Analyst', 'Urban Guerilla' etc. But, on the whole the result is a fascinating and penetrating account of the intellectual dissent in Russia. The unabatable conclusion is that the KGB controls all of the people most of the time. Besides the central theme of protest and conformism, Mr. Bonavia's book also contains an illuminating

guide on the presentation of news in the Russian news media; and how the common folk have learned to read between the lines.

**The Anglo-Soviet Relations 1917-1921, Vol III The Anglo-Soviet Accord** by Richard H. Ullman, *OUP*, £7

After the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, Britain was the first world power to develop diplomatic contact with Russia. The present volume describes the relationship between the two countries with an accent on British policy. The central character of the book is Lloyd George who made various trade agreements with the Russians, thus recognising the Bolsheviks as the *de facto* rulers of Soviet Union. He once said: "We have failed to restore Russia by force. I believe we can save her by trade". Professor Ullman shows that Lloyd George's optimism was not shared by his contemporaries. The Russians too saw through him. The British had managed to break the Russian secret code and were thus able to intercept telegrams exchanged between Moscow and the Russian Embassy in London. One from Lenin reads: "That swine Lloyd George has no scruples or shame in the way he deceives: don't believe a word he says and gull him three times as much". According to Prof. Ullman Lloyd George misjudged the aims of the Russian rulers as much as any allied statesman.

**People, Quarterly, Published by International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF-18/20 Lower Regent Street, London SW1Y 4PW).**

*People* Aims to "cover developments of significance to contraception, population, health and welfare as well as social and economic development" presumably in the Third World. Published in English, French and Spanish, the first (October 73) issue carries a survey of world's unmet needs in family planning and reports that only one-tenth of the money necessary for adequate family planning services on a world wide scale is at present available. Dr. Halldon Mahler, the new Director General of WHO, in an interview to *People*, calls for health services to be made available to 80% of the world's population in the rural areas in such a way that no consumer "escapes the health message about family planning". Dr. Mahler thinks that birth rate can be brought down by ensuring that people everywhere have access to birth control. Brian Johnson in an article entitled 'The Planet-Eating Game' examines the different approaches to the population explosion and calls for a country-by-country inventory of prospective resources to establish 'realistic' target ranges for population and the optimum type and impact level for future technological development.

● The Muslim World League, Mecca, has resumed publication of the English edition of its journal, *Mujalla Rabita Al-Alam Al-Islami*.

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"Akbar has planned his message . . . in 12 chapters, and has offered interpretations of the Antichrist (Dajjal or Al-Masih-el-Dajjal in Arabic), Gog and Magog (Yajuj and Majuj in Arabic), 'Dhu al-Qarnayn' and his contact with Gog and Magog, the creature of the earth to be called 'Dabbah al-Ard', etc., but does not consider his interpretation to be the last word on the subject: "It is just possible that, as the time goes on, the future generations might find better answers for these complex prophecies" (p.107); and "as time goes by, more and more of its (i.e. Quran's) metaphorical meanings will come to light . . . As we can witness today, it is just a matter of time before we see the completion of these prophecies; for they must and will be fulfilled eventually" (p.108). Akbar's deep concern, interest, sincerity, and honesty can not be denied by even those who do not agree with all his interpretations . . .

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Islamic Law Texts

**Pakistan Rules on Error-free Qur'an**

*Impact Documentation*

The Federal Government on 22 Oct. issued rules governing the printing and publication of error-free copies of the Holy Quran in implementation of the Holy Quran (Elimination of Printing Errors) Act, 1973. These rules have been published in the Gazette of Pakistan and come into force at once.

The rules require every person, who had published a print of the Holy Quran before the commencement of the Holy Quran (Elimination of Printing Errors) Act, to get a copy of such print checked by a person competent to do so under the Act. A certificate will have to be recorded by such a person at the end of such copy to the effect that the text and references did not contain any error. This certificate would have to be rubber-stamped on all copies of such print available with the publisher or any of his agents.

The Federal Government may, if it considered that the errors in the copy of a print of the Holy Quran were such that they could not be corrected, prohibit the sale of that print. The printers and publishers shall also ensure that rough prints and waste papers of the Quranic text are not allowed to be thrown away carelessly and that such prints and waste papers are carefully collected and disposed off according to Islamic tenets.

Following is the text of the Gazette notification:

In exercise of the powers conferred by Section 8 of the Holy Quran (Elimination of Printing Errors) Act, 1973 (LIV of 1973), the Federal Government is pleased to make the following rules, namely:

1. Short title and commencement:—(1) These rules may be called the Holy Quran (Elimination of Printing Errors) Rules, 1973. (2) They shall come into force at once.

2. Definitions: In these rules, unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context:—(a) "Act" means the Publication of the Holy Quran (Elimination of Printing Errors) Act, 1973 (LIV of 1973); and (b) "Provincial Auqaf Department" includes the Member, Board of Revenue, in charge Auqaf, Baluchistan.

3. Registration of Publishers:—(1) Any person or association of persons or firm intending to get himself or itself registered as publishers shall make an application for registration to the Provincial Auqaf Department. (2) An application under sub-rule (1) shall be accompanied as a fee of Rs. 100.

4. Terms and conditions applicable to publishers:—(1) No publishers shall use for printing the Holy Quran paper the impression on one side or which becomes visible from the other side. (2) The printers and publishers shall ensure that rough prints and waste-papers of Quranic text are not allowed to be thrown away carelessly and are carefully collected and disposed of according to the tenets of Islam. (3) Every publisher shall forward two copies of each print of the Holy Quran to the Federal Government and one copy each to the Provincial Auqaf Department.

5. Power to prohibit sale:—The Federal Government may if it considers that the errors in the copy of a print of the Holy

Quran received under sub-rule (3) of rule 4 are such that they cannot be corrected, prohibit the sale of that print, and refer the matter to the Provincial Auqaf Department concerned.

6. Inspection of the prints of Holy Quran already printed:—(1) Every person who had published a print of the Holy Quran before the commencement of the Act shall get a copy of such print checked by a person competent to do so under sub-section (3) of section 5 of the Act and have a certificate recorded by such person at the end of such copy of the effect that the text and references do not contain any error and shall also have such certificate rubber-stamped on all copies of such print available with him or any of his agents. (2) If any errors be discovered in such copy, the person concerned shall get them corrected in such copy and in all the copies available with him or any of his agents, and get the certificate required by sub-rule (1) recorded on such copy and rubber-stamped on the other copies available as aforesaid. (3) The person concerned shall also have the year of printing rubber-stamped on the cover of all copies of each such print. (4) Before such date as the Federal Government may, by notification in the official Gazette, specify in this behalf, every person concerned shall forward to the Federal Government for inspection two copies of such print bearing the certificate referred to in sub-rule (1) or, as the case may be, sub-rule (2) and the year of printing referred to in sub-rule (3). (5) No person shall sell or offer for sale any copy of such print unless it contains the certificate referred to in sub-rule (1) or, as the case may be, sub-rule (2) and the year of printing referred to in sub-rule (3). (6) If any printing error in any such print is brought to the notice of the Federal Government or a Provincial Auqaf Department, that Government or, as the case may be, Department shall get a copy of such print checked by a person competent to do so under sub-section (3) of section 5 of the Act.

7. Scope of checking:—Checking of the Holy Quran shall be confined to the Arabic text only.

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## NEW SPECTRUM

SHAWWAL 27—18 DHU AL-QAADAH, 1393

## Rabita Delegation Visits Britain

A delegation from Rabita Alam al-Islami, (World Muslim League), Mecca visited London last week. Dr. Ali M. Kittani and Mr. Inamullah Khan, Secretary-General World Muslim Congress, Karachi, visited London on a goodwill and study mission. On 14 November, the Islamic Council of Europe gave a reception in the honour of the delegation at the Muslim Student Centre and Hostel which was attended by community leaders and pressmen. The visit of the delegation forms a part of a Rabita programme to study the needs and requirements, religious and educational, of the Muslim communities in the Western hemisphere. (Impact News.)

## Moon Sighting Committee

The UK Islamic Mission has established a special Moon Sighting Committee. The Committee, composed of experts and Islamic scholars, is assigned the task of preliminary research in the field to help avoid, in future, confusion on important Islamic occasions. The committee is expected to submit its report to the central executive of the Mission before Eid-ul-Adha. (Impact News.)

## Muslim Research Institute

Dr. Kalim Siddiqui, author of *Conflict, Crisis and War in Pakistan* (Macmillan), has proposed the establishment of a Muslim Research Institute. Dr. Siddiqui has been working on the idea for some years and has been discussing his proposals with Muslim intellectuals who attended the International Muslim Youth Conference held recently in Tripoli and the annual conferences of the FOSIS and the MSA. A meeting of the Preparatory Committee of the Institute was held last week at the Muslim Students' Centre and Hostel at which the draft prospectus of the Institute was discussed. (Impact News.)

## Ladies hold an Eid-Get-Together and an Exhibition

The Ladies' Islamic Circle organised an *Eid Milani* party on 4 November at the Muslim Students' Centre, London. An exhibition depicting the life and work of some heroes of Islam was also organised for the occasion. This consisted of Wall Charts containing short biographical sketches of personalities such as Caliph Omar, Caliph Ali, Imam Abu Hanifa, al-Khwarizmi—the famous mathematician, Omar Khayyam—the astronomer, and many other great sons of Islam. Members of the Circle meet regularly on Sundays at Malaysia Hall, 46 Bryanston Square, London W1. (Impact News.)

## CALENDAR

First of Dhu al-Qaadah on  
26 November

## National Days

Mauritania	28 November
Yugoslavia	29 November
Barbados	30 November
Thailand	5 December
Tanzania	9 December
Upper Volta	11 December
Kenya	12 December

## IMG Eighth Annual Conference

## Six New Islamic Centres proposed for the Caribbean

## Impact Report

Six new Islamic Centres in the main areas throughout the Caribbean have been proposed by the Islamic Missionaries Guild of the Caribbean and South America at its Eighth Annual Conference held recently in Port-of-Spain, Trinidad. The cost of the project is estimated to be \$346,000. The centres are to be located in Tobago, Guyana, Jamaica, Barbados and in Port-of-Spain and Chaguaramas in Trinidad.

The one week Conference of the Guild was formally opened by Dr. Othman Abdul Salam, Director of the Islamic Centre in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, USA. Speaking on "Muslim disunity, its causes and solutions, Dr. Salam said that back-biting is the main cause of the problem of Muslim disunity. He identified back-biting and lack of mutual trust as an important "Muslim" problem. Today's Muslims, he thought, have a lot to learn about Islam. Not just about the principles of Islam, or about fasting, or about *Taraweeh* but also about love and affection. We must learn to love each other. We must learn to trust and respect each other. This is exactly what we lack.

The Conference also discussed the problems in presenting Islam in the

Caribbean and South America. The political and economic situation in the region, being rather unstable, almost any attempt to speak about Islam is labelled from the conservative quarters as being radical, communist and subversive, and by leftists as being bourgeois and anti-revolutionary. One therefore has to work without igniting the political fuse. The social needs and the circumstances of the region, however, make it impelling that the Islamic option is also made available to its people. Almost any 'ism' claiming to offer a solution to the social, economic and political problems of the area is seized upon by many people in the hope that it would eradicate their misery. This may be a reason for the rise of various sects, cults and even strange forms of 'Islam' in the

region. The genuine need of these people has to be met, the challenges too are there: subtle, strong and increasing. It requires a tremendous amount of dedication and hard work to meet and overcome them.

Besides listening to various lectures under the general heading 'Towards Understanding Islam', the observers and delegates also made "An examination of Islam on the world scene" and discussed plans for activating the Muslim youth and students of the region. At the conclusion of the Conference the participants passed resolutions condemning (a) Israeli oppression and continued occupation of the Arab lands, (b) the victimization of Muslims in the Philippines and Thailand and (c) the continued oppression of Muslims in Ethiopia.

## How Holy is Palestine?

## Impact Report

"How Holy is Palestine to Muslims?" was the topic discussed at a recent Eid reunion meeting organised by the Union of Muslim Organisations of UK and Eire at the Commonwealth Institute, London. Dr. Syed A. Pasha, General Secretary of the UMO, told the participants that although Eid is a joyous occasion celebrated by Muslims throughout the world at the culmination of the fasting month of Ramadan, their happiness at present is greatly diminished due to the recent war in the Middle East. As the root cause of this war is Palestine it is vital that we realise the importance of Palestine to Muslims and appreciate that this is an Islamic issue which calls for a greater sense of involvement by Muslims in Britain.

Shaikh Gamal Manna, Imam of the Islamic Cultural Centre, London, discussed the subject of the holiness of Palestine. The Holy Qu'ran contains references about Mount Sinai and the Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem. There are also several hadith of the Prophet Muhammad to this effect. Imam Manna stressed the fact that the beloved Prophet during his night journey of *Ibra* and *Mi'raj*, prayed at the Aqsa mosque before ascending to the Heavens. When Bishop Sophronius handed over the city of Jerusalem to the Muslims, Caliph Omar, although head of State with several preoccupations, attached so much importance to this event that he travelled all the way to Jerusalem to accept the city's custody. Since then it has been continuously under Muslim care until the Zionist occupation, except for a short period of some eighty years when the Crusaders occupied it.

Many of the participants agreed that the Palestine problem was a Muslim problem and that it is the responsibility of the Muslim *ummah* as a whole to free the Holy Lands from Zionist occupation. It was also felt that the governments of Muslim countries must make all efforts to introduce Islamic Law (*Sharia*) in its

entirety in their respective states, as this is the only way to obtain the help of Allah in this critical hour facing the Islamic *ummah*.

## London Demo on Mrs. Meir's Visit

Over a thousand Arabs, Pakistanis, Bangladeshis and others marched from Hyde Park to the Churchill Hotel—where Mrs. Golda Meir was staying during her visit to attend the meeting of the Socialist International—to demonstrate their solidarity with the cause of Palestine. Around a hundred remained at the Hotel for a candle vigil after the march. The march had been called by the General Union of Arab Students and the Pakistan Solidarity Front. (Impact News.)



A Jewish Kosher shop in Paris advertising in Arabic, Zabeha Halal meat for Muslims. There is no Muslim anti-Jewishness as such.