

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

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ISLAMIC ASSOCIATION OF AFGHAN STUDENTS

*** MUHAJIR ***

وَلَا تَتَّبِعُوا مَنَافِعَ الدُّنْيَا
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براستی کاینکه ایمان آورده
و آنانیکه هجرت کرده و در راه
خدا جهاد نموده اند همینها
امید دارند رحمت خدا را و خدا
بس آمرزنده و مهربان است.

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Follow (O men !) the revelation
Given unto you from your Lord,
And follow not, as friends
Or protectors, other than Him.
Little it is ye remember
Of admonition.

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DOWN-FALL OF DOUD'S "REPUBLIC"

A year and a half ago a coup d'etat took place in Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan. The Muslim Afghans who always took pride in the fact that they had Sharia as their law of the land, found themselves under a government whose leaders were known to be communists. Today this government is actively pursuing Communism by massacring the Muslims and trying to implant this imported ideology in their land.

The question arises as to how this situation came about and what were the factors that led to the toppling of the monarchy and later to the destruction of President Doud's government.

For the answers we must look at the economical, social and political factors.

We have to go back 29 years ago, to the year 1950, the beginning of trade relations between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union. Before 1950 there was very little trade between the two countries, but ten years later 50% of Afghanistan's trade was with the Soviet Union, including 90% of Afghanistan's petroleum imports and all of its military supplies and equipment.

Research indicates that several inter-related factors caused this shift in Afghan trade pattern:

- (1) Conflict between Afghanistan and Pakistan over the Pushtunistan issue.
- (2) Afghanistan's desire for modernization.
- (3) American arms aid to Pakistan and subsequent refusal to arm *Afghanistan*.

Three times, in 1950, 1955, and in 1962, in retaliation for Afghanistan's Pushtunistan effort, Pakistan blocked Afghanistan's in-transit goods. During the 1950 "blockade", Afghanistan found herself without any petroleum imports for three months. The Soviets offered to fill her needs and in July, 1950, a four year trade agreement was signed with the Soviet Union.

In 1953 when Mohammed Doud became Prime Minister, more agreements followed with the Soviets, such as:

- (1) Construction of large gasoline storage tanks and oil exploration in northern Afghanistan.
- (2) Free transit for Afghan goods through Soviet territory (later on Pakistan relaxed its blockade, but the swing to the north continued.)
- (3) Soviet trade office in Kabul was established, something that the previous governments never permitted.
- (4) Soviet engineers, technicians and geologists came to Afghanistan.
- (5) A cotton Factory was built in Kunduz and over 600 miles of telephone-telegraph lines were constructed.
- (6) The building of highways began.
- (7) Wheat silos were built.
- (8) Loans were given which were repaid by Afghan export of cotton, wool and other raw materials.

In 1954 when the United States and Pakistan signed the arms agreement, the Afghan government became very apprehensive, and made several requests for American arms, but was refused.

In 1956 the Afghan government began a 25 million dollar purchase of military hardware from the Soviets.

Any new technological equipment, be it military or agricultural, brings along a dependence on the system that developed the machines. Afghanistan became totally dependent on the Soviets for replacement items, spare parts, and military instructors. Afghan students were sent by hundreds every year to learn how to operate these machines, to become engineers, technicians, pilots and military officers. These students were also taught the Russian ideology.

Afghan-Soviet relations became very close during the ten years Mohammed Doud was Prime Minister (1953-1963). Doud wanted to develop and modernize Afghanistan. His acceptance of Soviet economic and military aid at the risk of Soviet domination was a big gamble.

This gamble seemed to pay off in the beginning, but eventually it turned against Afghanistan, not only because of the nature of the gamble, but because of the changes that were happening in the Afghan society, especially among the literate city-dwellers. Therefore, we must look at the sociological factors as well.

Prime Minister Doud, King Zahir Shah and the rest of the royal family were educated in the West, and had adopted Western ideas. It was his Western ideas that prompted Doud to begin his programs toward westernizing the society.

The Afghan society like the rest of the Muslim World was suffering from backwardness. Islam existed only in its outer form. The spirit of Islam was missing. Many of the pre-Islamic practices still existed and were taken as true Islam. The poor were being exploited by the rich. The women were oppressed. Illiteracy and disease were widespread. What the Afghan society needed was a reform to cleanse the society and the minds of the people from un-Islamic practices and beliefs, and to bring Islam into the society in its pure form.

But unfortunately the government leaders, trained in the West were also ignorant about Islam. Prime Minister Doud, having a secular Western society as his model, began his program of reform. Building the army first as his base of support he began his programs very gradually and cautiously, in a way not to antagonize the Muslims, especially the Ulema.

He began with the program of removal of the veil. During the celebration of independence the Afghans were offended and infuriated to see for the first time the royal family and the high-ranking military officers with their wives unveiled. The Ulema objected and started their campaign against the government, but soon some were persuaded and some were forced into silence. Afterwards, the minor officials, some voluntarily and some pressured, unveiled their wives.

Soon among the intelligentsia, a class of people were emerging who were Western oriented. They not only opposed Islamic ideals in words but also in their behaviors and way of life. Western movies and music, Western clothes and dancing and alcohol were introduced and encouraged by this class. This westernized class provided the government with another power base, and enabled it to continue its programs for westernization and secularization of the society.

Western banking system was introduced and usury became institutionalized. The Government gave loans to the officials who were desperate and in need of money, and charged them interest. This money and interest was to be deducted from their salary. It took some many years to pay back their loans. But some found illegal ways of obtaining money. Therefore, this helped promote graft and dishonesty in the government officials, and increased corruption in the system. Furthermore, to lead a westernized life in a poor country, one had to be corrupt and dishonest.

This corruption in the government system produced discontent among the people, especially the young generation, the university and high school students who were aware of the backwardness of their country. In the meantime, the government was undertaking various reforms to lead Afghanistan further into the path of westernization. One such reform was a drive for democracy which began in 1963 when Prime Minister Doud was forced by the King and the royal family to resign his post.

From 1963 to 1973 Afghanistan went through a period of so-called democracy, which was a step towards further secularization. The constitution, though, referred to Islam as the religion of Afghanistan, contained various articles which would almost replace Sharia by secular laws. But this constitution and some measure of democracy was welcomed by the people who were hoping that this will wipe out the corruption and would stop the abuse of the poor by the government officials.

The new freedom was also welcomed by the students who quickly formed political groups. Three communist groups were formed and began publishing weekly papers, propagating their socialist ideologies. Because of the activities of these groups and student demonstrations which became bloody at times, within the period of ten years, five different prime ministers came to office.

The anti-government agitations continued until 1973 when the monarchy became very weak and the people grew disenchanted with it. At this time rumors were spreading about the different coups that were in the making. Finally Mohammed Doud proclaimed the Afghan Republic, abolishing the monarchy. During the five years of his presidency, the leftists continued their activities, some getting the top

government posts. They also continued to infiltrate the army, and thus, preparing the stage for their 1978 coup.

During the period of "democracy", students who were imbued with the teachings of Islam also appeared, and attracted a great number of students on their side. They formed a party and challenged the leftist groups in every front, debates as well as fights, and soon became very powerful. But in the period of Mohammed Doud's presidency, the leftists had a great deal of influence in the government. President Doud took strong measures against the Muslims. He jailed many and executed their leaders. By doing so he further strengthened the position of the leftists.

In 1977 President Doud realized his mistakes. How much power the leftists had obtained and how dependent Afghanistan had become on the Soviets, militarily and economically. Since the conflict with Pakistan over the issue of Pushtunistan was one reason for this dependence, he changed his tone toward Pakistan and soon the two governments became friendly, stopping all their propagandas. He also approached the other Muslim countries and extended friendly gestures towards the Muslim students, many of whom were in exile.

This change of attitude was too drastic for Moscow and their friends and disciples in Kabul. The bloody coup of 1978 took place.

Mohammed Doud as a leader wanted to bring Afghanistan into the path of western secular democracy. His plans and policies were all aimed towards that end. Unfortunately for him and for Afghanistan, he was not brought up in the light of Islamic Ideology. Though late in his period of presidency he referred to Islam as the only ideology on which the republic was based. He may have meant it then, but it was too late. His government had already come too close to the brink of destruction from which there was no return.

During fifteen years of his leadership, by blindly taking Afghanistan towards secularism, by bringing reforms which further bred corruption and immorality, by removing the power of Muslim Ulema, by killing and jailing hundreds of Muslim students, by directly and indirectly helping and supporting the leftist factions, by doing all these, he dug his own grave. He finally fell in the grave and many thousands of others also vanished with him.

In the career of Mohammed Doud as the leader and in the last 29 years of history in Afghanistan, there are great lessons to be learned. Lessons for the other Muslims of the world, and lessons for the present and future generations of Afghans.

Our well-being and happiness lies with Islam as a total system of life. We cannot follow an un-Islamic system of life and remain Muslims at the same time. We cannot follow leaders who are alienated from the principles of Islam. We must not take the unbelievers as friends and helpers rather than the believers.

These points have clearly been warned to us in the Quran al-Majid and for failure to see and apply them in our lives, we will have to pay and pay very dearly.

INTERVIEW WITH PROFESSOR RABBANI

The following excerpts are from an interview of Professor Burhanuddin Rabbani who is the secretary-general of Jamiat-e-Islami of Afghanistan. Jamiat-e-Islami of Afghanistan is one of the two leading components of the Islamic movement in Afghanistan - the other being Hezb-e-Islami of Afghanistan.

Q: Prof. Rabbani, why this armed rebellion in Afghanistan? Granting your rights to full dissent and dispute, don't you think that it was a very extreme way of expressing it?

- A: Prof. Rabbani: We are facing an extremist and fanatically atheistic communist regime. It is not we who have rebelled. It is this small and unrepresentative coterie of lumpen Marxists which has rebelled against Islam and all those cherished values that the proud Afghan millat stands for. It wants to uproot Islam and transform Afghanistan into a Russian satellite. We Afghans are only trying to end a rebellion and defend our freedom.
- Q: Are you not being too harsh in branding the present rulers of Afghanistan as atheists and 'kafirs'?
- A: No, not in the least. While the communists in motherland Russia may have mellowed in their enmity towards religion, our 'comrades' are mere upstarts. Would you believe that before a person is finally admitted to the membership of the Khalqi communist party he is put to test by being required to walk over a copy of the Qur'an and bow before a statue of Lenin? But this happens to be so. All that they stand for is Scientific Socialism and dialectical materialism. This is there in their writings and we have documents which show that they want to impose and enforce a crude communist regime.
- Q: Don't they say that they respect Islam?
- A: This is precisely the point. They don't say that they believe in Islam. They respect it as it is respected in the Soviet Union. Lately there has been a change in tune. Taraki now says that they never opposed Islam. They want to belittle their own writings and documents, but people know for a fact that they are far from any belief in Islam.
- Q: But doesn't the regime enjoy the support of the council of the 'Ulama?
- A: In Afghanistan there is no such thing as the council of 'Ulama. There are six or seven very old people employed in the ministry of justice. They are there to announce the beginning of Ramadan or the 'Id, etc. They have no independent existence or public influence. After Daud all these people have disappeared, except one gentleman, Maulvi Abdulaziz. He is rejected by all reputable 'Ulama. It is he who issues his support to the regime and is presented by the latter as the chairman of the non-existent council of 'Ulama. Even Maulvi Abdulaziz's own deputy has come over to the side of the Islamic liberation movement. So no real 'alim now supports the regime. Some who are presented as 'Ulama are fake. They are either members of the police apparatus or the Khalq party. The regime has started a three-month course to award certificates to people to call themselves an 'alim and support the Kabul coterie, but they have no credibility.
- Q: What were the causes of Sardar Daud's fall?
- A: These were both natural and conspiratorial. The regime was undemocratic and corrupt and Sardar Daud conceited and power-hungry. He did not trust anyone. Under the circumstances, he was surrounded by a group of sycophants who were not loyal to him. On the other hand he could not also be popular with Islamic elements either in the services or society. The situation was ideal for international intrigue. As for the Afghan communists, Daud only represented a stage in their designs. They used him to infiltrate the armed forces and the various sectors of power, and having used him to the full, threw him away like a tissue paper.
- Q: Was there anything which actually precipitated the coup in April, 1978?
- A: We guess so but we don't know precisely. Clearly Daud was trying to get rid of the reds under his bed. He had some time ago sacked his pro-Soviet ministers of education, agriculture and interior.
- Q: Do you see any foreign involvement in the coup?
- A: We think the Russians were behind the conspiracy to overthrow Daud. Even before the putsch, the Russian ambassador and embassy staff were in close contact with certain elements in the armed forces. Since the Russians were also involved in

various military and other training programmes, they were able to push up and station their agents and stooges in many sensitive positions.

Q: Even so, the communists were only a tiny minority. How could they mount a coup on their own?

A: As I said earlier, the regime had been digging its own grave. The discontent was general and universal. The communists masterminded the coup and used the disorganized but discontented Muslim and nationalist elements in the armed forces. Even some of the pilots who bombed Daud's palace were ordinary patriotic Afghans and far from communism. The plan was however executed with great finesse.

Q: How?

A: A clever trick was played on Daud. Captain Aslam Watanjar informed Daud that a big communist procession was coming out and suggested that it would be useful both as a deterrent and security measure to bring out some tanks and armoured cars and station them around the palace. Watanjar is now defence minister in Taraki regime.

The air force commander Abdul Qadir, who was not exactly a communist but was more ambitious for power, similarly approached Daud and obtained his permission to use some planes to frighten away the communists. Daud agreed.

In actual fact the communist demonstration, if any, presented no threat at all. When the nationalist and Muslim elements saw the troops and tanks out on the streets of Kabul, they immediately contacted Daud and told him not to over-react to what was clearly a non-event. But Daud relied more on the report of his own men. He brushed aside the independent advice and told them angrily that he knew what he was doing. Very soon the tank guns were pointing against his own palace and we know what happened subsequently.

After Daud was done away with, the first or one of the first announcements by Kabul radio said that the overthrow had been led by Col. Abdul Shakoor. The Colonel was a popular and respected officer with pro-Islamic leanings. Also they announced the name of Abdul Qadir and there were quite a few people with that name and one of them was a good person and well respected in the army. These were aimed at assuring the patriotic elements in the army that the coup was not a communist affair. Without such a ploy the army would not have accepted the coup and in no time made short shrift of the whole affair.

Similarly when the names of the members of the revolutionary council were announced these included both Muslims and nationalists. But when the council met for the first time, a person called Moinullah who was a Muslim and who was present there discovered that there were some persons in the council whom he knew were communists. He asked how these people happened to be there. He was given no explanation and executed the next day together with a number of other nationalists. Obviously this small group of communists could not do the job on its own, but it was able to use quite a large number of other nationalist and Muslim elements, in order to seize power. Even the army was not aware that the communists were in charge of this coup, until when it was quite late.

Q: The US is supposed to have congenital hostility towards communism and is very allergic to any expansion of communist domination. What do you think has been their role in this affair?

A: Very odd. Whether it was a matter of policy or something else, since quite some time, the US hasn't been taking much interest in Afghanistan. The American ambassador in Kabul at the time, it is said, came to know of the coup only through the radio. In any case they were neither surprised nor concerned.

Some people feel that the regime has American connections. They suspect that whatever may be their global rivalries, the Americans and the Soviets have a secret compact with regard to the Muslim world. There appears a method in the Americans making way for the march of communism in Muslim countries. Otherwise it's very difficult to understand the US policies in this regard.

Q: But why do you think they assassinated ambassador Dubs of the USA?

A: Unlike his predecessor ambassador Dubs knew the area very well. It is believed the Russians were behind his killings. Why? We don't know. Presumably he had become too nosy and might have ventured outside the bounds of the compact. One clear objective the killers seemed to have had in view was to implicate and misdirect the Islamic liberation movement in violence against non-belligerent targets. They did not succeed however.

Q: Given the view that the people of Afghanistan were intensely Islamic and that the existing political order prevented any organised and articulate expression of this ethos, how do we identify the Islamic movement in Afghanistan?

A: The Jamiat-e-Islami (Islamic Association) of Afghanistan, with which I am associated, has been in existence since about 20 years. The movement began with some university teachers and 'ulama and soon spread among students, Imams and other educated sections of the society. There were also people in the armed forces and various other government departments, but the hard core of the movement was formed by the educated intelligentsia.

Its functions were mainly educational with a view to enable the young people to understand and live the Islamic way of life. We organised study circles and concentrated on writing and publishing Islamic literature. In this we benefited from Islamic movement literature published in Pakistan, Iran, Egypt and other parts of the Arab World. Our members also read contemporary literature on communism and other western secular ideologies.

This movement had begun to flourish when Zahir Shah was overthrown and Sardar Daud was brought to power. The movement went through a wave of persecution and terror and we could easily see that whoever had brought him into power had set a clear role for him. To smother Islam and pave the way for communism. Because of the persecution we were being subjected to and because of our prognosis of the situation, the Jamiat then introduced military training for its members and supporters.

The main object of the Jamiat is the establishment of an Islamic social, political and economic order in Afghanistan. We are Muslims and it is but natural that our society should be so organised.

Q: What assistance does the liberation movement receive from abroad? The Afghan regime has at various times said that the Afghan rebels are aided by Saudi Arabia, Iran, Pakistan, China and the US.

A: This is a load of rubbish. We receive no political, military training or equipment assistance from any of these or any other government. The point is that people who believe only in Marx or Mammon are unable to understand what strength and resources are generated simply if one has faith in God.

When we first started we had only five very old type rifles. In Nuristan, we sold everything we had, including ladies' jewelery and personal effects such as tape recorders, carpets, bedding and linen. Everything we had, we sold in order to get arms and ammunition. As against five we now have 10,000 rifles. We didn't have a single bazooka, we have 80 now. We had no heavy guns or cannons, now we have 20 cannons. We also have 18 aeroplanes, military aircraft. We don't have American, European or Chinese hardware. These are Russian make. Thus the source of our weapons and arms is the Soviet Union itself. We are fighting the enemy with his own guns.

Our help is providential and from our own Muslim people. China is opposed to Russian hegemony, but is no way involved with our struggle. Iran has expressed clear moral solidarity with our cause but there is no political interference. So is the case with our Saudi brothers.

Pakistan has given us over 80,000 of us, refuge and we are extremely grateful for this humanitarian and fraternal aid, particularly as we know their own constraints. We have no wish to add to their difficulties or complicate their relations with other powers. Recently we were asked not even to hold a press conference and we are abiding by it. Except for a few leftists, the people of

Pakistan and the country's Islamic parties have extended full moral support to our just cause. The Afghans are a grateful people and we shall repay this debt, Insha Allah.

Now if the Muslim countries are not helping us how could the US be helping us? With the liberation movement showing promise, the Americans now want to infiltrate and put their own men in leadership positions. All of a sudden the US press tells us that there is some one called Sayed Ahmad Gilani who is leading the struggle. Afghans know him well. He is nobody.

Q: What if Pakistan is forced to close the borders with Afghanistan or even to push back the refugees into Afghanistan? Pakistan seems to be under tremendous Russian pressure.

A: We are aware of the pressures on President Ziaul Haq. These are external as well as from some secular sections of the Pakistani Establishment. Needless to say the security and well-being of the fraternal and Islamic Pakistan is equally dear to us. We realise and appreciate the burden for Pakistan that the influx has created, but no one, of his own accord, wanted to be a refugee. The refugee problem has not been created by the liberation movement. It has been created by the bombing and destruction of Afghan homes and villages and the unprecedented massacre of 50,000 Afghan men, women and children. The leaders of the regime have said on more occasions than one that we do not need the 17 million people who live in Afghanistan, all we need is the land of Afghanistan. This is significant.

So while one cannot comment on a hypothetical situation, it is clear that a change of circumstances would not dampen our liberation struggle. It may, on the contrary, accelerate and intensify the struggle.

Q: You seem to be so critical of the Russians and the communists. Firstly, how do you hope to succeed in the face of open hostility of a superpower like the USSR? Secondly, in the event of success what would be your attitude towards the Soviet Union?

A: Well, victory or success as you know does not depend on the grace of this or that super-power, it depends on the grace of the real Superpower, Almighty Allah. As long as we are striving in His way, there is no defeat, there is no descomfiture. As regards Russia, we are strongly critical of a certain policy, but do not suffer from any congenital hatred or hostility. If the people of Russia want to adopt communism as their way of life, it is their pleasure, but Islam and Islamic way of life are both a right and duty as far as we are concerned. In the past relations between the Afghan and Russian people have been friendly and cordial. They could be even more cordial and friendly if the Russian leadership stops trying to impose its ideology and its kind of economic and political order on the people of Afghanistan.

Q: Can you summarise your problems and your needs at this stage of your struggle?

A: Our main problem is to look after the needs of the refugees who have been completely destituted. They really are braving a very difficult situation. No reflection on the sacrifice which Pakistan is making in providing invaluable humanitarian aid, but the burden is very big and needs to be shared by the Muslim world as a whole.

As regards our needs, at the moment we need, in this order, ammunition, weapons, and funds, and we need wireless and broadcasting equipment. We also need media and political support from the Muslim world as well as other fair-minded sections of international opinion.

NEWS FROM THE BATTLE-FRONT

The following news have been received from Hizb-i-Islami of Afghanistan about the activities of the Mujahiddin against the communist government of Kabul and its Russian advisors.

Chall Eshkamish, Takhar Province 24 August, 1979

HIA mujahiddin and muslims of Chall district attacked the government of Chall. After a little resistance of governemtnal forces, the mujahiddin captured the district and killed all the communist officials. Soon after the happening, the heathen government sent some helicopter and Mig aircrafts for a raid attack, but the mujahiddin climbed the nearby mountains and built their fighting positions.

In this fighting the following weapons were captured: Two thousand (2000) Russian made Kalashnikov machine guns with their bullets, five (5) Papasha machine guns and one light machine gun with bullets, and a loudspeaker.

Asmar, 25 km east of Chagha Sarai, Kuner August 24, 1979

The brave muslim army officers in Asmar Brigade killed all the 35 Khalqis inside the headquarters and surrendered the brigade to Hezb-i-Islami² Afghanistan. The next day, Nezamuddin, the governor and commander of the armed forces of Kuner province, being unaware of the surrender, came to the brigade by helicopter. When he landed, he asked proudly for some Khalqi officers. He was told that they would come soon. When he started walking toward the office, Wasel Khan, a brave soldier shot him. He was instructed to do so.

The helicopter made four flights and brought many famous Khalqis and some other complements from Chagha Sarai to Asmar. All those communists were killed immediately. The same day late in the afternoon there was a telegram from Chagha Sarai asking for the governor. It was replied that the governor would remain in Asmar for a night having a party. In the morning of the following day the director of the political department of Chagha Sarai came by helicopter. He too was killed when he landed.

Then a Mig 17 was sent for investigation from the capital. It was shelled by anti aircraft and escaped from the region, being thought it was shot slightly.

The weapons captured:

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| 1. 27 Zegawik machine guns | 9. Tens of wireless sets |
| 2. Five 76mm guns | 10. 150 different kinds of vehicles |
| 3. Five Mountainous Haven cannons | 11. Two modern gunship helicopters |
| 4. Tens of Deh Shaka machine guns | 12. 6 armoured Personnel Cars |
| 5. 18 Medium size Havan cannons | 13. 30 tanks. |
| 6. 4000 (four thousand) Kalashnikov semi machine guns | |
| 7. 80000 (eighty thousand) Zekawik bullets | |
| 8. 500,000 (five hundred thousand) Kalashnikov bullets. | |

Sheirzad, Ningrahar 25 August, 1979

Mujahiddin of HIA and moslems of Sheirzad district attacked a governmental military post. In this collision a number of Khalqis were killed and six were captured. In addition the following weapons and ammunition were captured: eleven British made rifles, one pistol, one machine gun, three radios, and a number of bullets. On Mujahiddins' side one was martyred and two were slightly injured.

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