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[ HUMANITIES ]

*Edited by*  
**SIRAJ-UD-DIN**



UNIVERSITY OF THE PUNJAB  
LAHORE



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## CULTURAL AND SOCIAL FACTORS RELEVANT TO FAMILY PLANNING

By

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### I. Introduction

The fundamental problem that world faces today is the present and prospective rapid increase in population. It is particularly important in Pakistan, where efforts are being made to improve the socio-economic conditions of the people. The population growth rate is over 3 per cent per annum which will double the country's population in the next 24 years. Thus requiring double the facilities in food, shelter, clothing, health, education and employment, to keep even the same standard with no improvement.

In order to develop an effective and meaningful family planning programme one needs to understand the population or people of a particular community, society or a nation, their values and aspirations. Thus the inclusion of the subject cultural and social factors relevant to family planning is of special of value in a seminar on "Population Dynamics and Population Control". It is essentially important to collect data and understand the nature of the population variables in a particular economy before ways and means to control these variations are agreed upon and implemented.

In this paper I intend to outline some of the cultural and social factors and future trends affecting family planning programmes.

### II. Cultural and Social Factors

A. 87 per cent of the Pakistanis live in the rural areas and 70 per cent earn their livelihood from agriculture. In agrarian societies the tendencies



are to have large families for free labour on the farms. Pakistan is the exception.

In most rural communities "joint family system" prevails. In the 'joint household' the young married couple is expected to live with their in-laws, be part of the extended family and share and contribute to the joint economy. The age of marriage is generally quite young as under this system there is no implications that the husband must be able to support a wife and family before or after he gets married. The bride joins the household of the in-laws and provides a helping hand in the house. The young wife is motivated to have children as early as possible, and in considerable number, as they are the blessings of God and an economic asset. The financial implications of having children is the responsibility of the elders and is no problem for the young couple. The parents have no strain on bringing up the child either as he is looked after by the wider kinship group of the joint household. Thus the mother's maternal functions do not compete with her economic functions. Under such circumstances young married women have little incentive to avoid children. In fact joint household with wider kinship group tends to provide situations which are conducive to having large families.

B. In many families decisions are made by mother-in-laws regarding health, child birth, child rearing, socialization and use of family planning techniques. Even if the "Target couple" is quite convinced it may not be possible to practice family planning without the approval of their elders. Therefore, it is essential to locate the "decision making power" and convince that person or persons.<sup>1</sup>

C. Segregation of male and female roles in the rural societies often encourages indirectly large families. Women in such societies are required to look after the household and produce children. Thus their lives revolve around house and children. Female education is not encouraged. Therefore women have little knowledge or independence. They are to obey and serve elders and their husbands. They also remain economically dependent<sup>2</sup>.

D. Not only in Pakistan, but in all agricultural societies all over the world, children are considered an economic asset. This concept is closely related to the societies which are primarily dependent on traditional farming. Therefore, all agriculture societies have high fertility. Sons are more valued than daughters as they are expected to continue the family line and land ownership, uphold the family traditions, protect the family and tribe, be an additional help on the land and provide security and support in old age. Many women consider children to be the product of husbands expressed love. This provides prestige to them in and around the family.

The joint family system in many societies has customs that helped to protect the health of young mother. For example a mother of first or second baby returns to her father's house for child birth and remains there for a long period, separated from her husband, to regain her health and to avoid pregnancy. Such customs are dying out. New customs need to be developed to protect the health of the young mother. Family planning may be considered one such new custom.

E. The attitude of Fatalism is perhaps one of the strongest deterrents to the adoption of any new idea, be it a use of new type of plough or family planning. Fatalism is generally found in static societies, where most people live at subsistence level and seem to have no desire to improve or change their conditions. In Pakistan the standard of living is very low, but people are becoming socially aware and conscious of their problems. They are dissatisfied and are keen to improve and change their conditions. These are positive signs. One still finds fatalistic tendencies and also antifatalistic attitudes. Family planning workers can help them realise the individuals role in changing this condition.

F. Last but not the least is the lack of sufficient opportunities for rural people, to obtain proper understanding of the necessity for family planning and its methods. Government and family planning association have established projects and clinics in rural areas but this needs to be



expanded. Special efforts are needed to change the attitudes of the people towards family expectations and their role.

Having dealt with the cultural and social factors, let us now examine the new trends affecting family planning. Some significant observations based on various researches around the world and in Pakistan indicate the following :

### III. New Trends Affecting Family Planning Programme

A. Effective farming methods which are being introduced in Pakistan will stress quality of manpower rather than quantity. Healthy, literate and trained youth will be more valued. Improved net work of media for mass communication will spread urban experiences and aspirations to the villages. All these have its effects on the social values and customs of the area.

Research in Group Dynamics has demonstrated that attitudes are subject to modifications. Change can be achieved in people through mass media, mass persuasion, personal contacts and exposing them to new knowledge and information. The five stages, family awareness information, evaluation, trial and adoption are encouraged as model for family planning programmes.<sup>3</sup>

B. The demographic and economic changes which have led to the massive migrations of rural people to the cities and big towns, have brought people into a new relationships with each other. Urbanization in Pakistan is quite rapid; 12 per cent of our nation is estimated to be living in urban areas as against 8 per cent<sup>4</sup> five years ago. City dweller depending for his family's living on his cash wages soon recognizes the need for limiting the family size. Thus one sees birth rate falling among the urbanized population. Most studies on attitudes, illiteracy, fatalism, traditionalism and resistance are significantly related to any dynamic change. The knowledge of family planning practice is also related with urban residence. Urban-rural differences stand out.

The rise in the status of women, although still encountering great resistance, is major factor in the desire for and the effectiveness of family planning programme. The insufficient income, higher education and ill health of the mother are significant contributing factors for accepting family planning in Urban areas.<sup>4</sup> Thus the trend seems towards small family model. It is expected that the demographic transition would be from uncontrolled high fertility in the rural areas to controlled fertility in the cities with the psycho socio-economic variations.<sup>5</sup>

C. Falling of mortality rate and particularly falling infant mortality should be a positive influence on families to reduce family size. It is no longer necessary to have half a dozen of children to have at least two grow to adulthood.

D. The change in the level of aspirations of the people for greater education, health, services, better housing and employment have been a mighty force for individual family decisions to have fewer children. This force needs to be utilized. Family planning may well take note of it.

E. The relationship between literacy and the desire for a small family and higher standard of living is well documented. There is considerable evidence that the availability of health services has an impact in favour of a declining birth rate not because family planning services are available but because families with healthier children have more hope for their future and would like to see them educated. More studies are needed to establish price the relationship with other factors in regard to standard of living particularly with population and employment.

F. Changes in age structure of population all over the world are having far reaching effects on attitudes towards family planning. The fact that many developing countries, including Pakistan, now have more than half their population under the age of 20 means that there is much more readiness to adopt new attitudes towards family size.

The movement of the young people from a subsistence economy to a monetized economy, has resulted in breaking away their strong ties with



their extended family system. The young couple often makes their own decisions on family size if information and services are available.<sup>6</sup>

G. The changing concept of social welfare emphasises the need for providing welfare service to the total community instead of the few in need, thus promoting the quality of life for all families. As a result family services with special emphasis on mother and child health services are getting more significant place in social welfare programmes.

H. All the national plans have stressed the need for population planning and have developed comprehensive programmes to implement the approved policies. Many researches have been conducted on the various cultural and social factors relating to family planning.

All these trends are indicative for the possibilities of effective family planning programmes.

### Conclusions

In conclusion it may be said that the cultural and social variables play a significant role in determining the fertility behaviour. It may be further stated that the small family model is associated with high social societies, urban residence, and high education. The success of a fertility control programme is substantially dependent on such factors as adult education, the extension of health and education services to rural areas and the utilization of scientific methods in administration. Family planning like all social action is not an independent variable. The success recorded in one end will determine the destiny of the other. For these reasons no effort should be spared to accelerate the transition from a traditional to a progressive society.

It is further recognized that more studies are needed to determine the ways and means for promoting family planning programmes which are acceptable to the people.

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## SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242 ABOUT THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT: A MASTERPIECE OF AMBIVALENCE

By

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In the Chronology of Arab-Israeli Conflict November 22, 1967 occupies an important place. The Security Council of U.N. on this day adopted Resolution 242 by a unanimous vote, aimed at clearing the debris of June, 1967 Arab-Israeli War and achieving the goal of a just and permanent solution of this conflict.

The Charter of the U.N. enjoins upon the Security Council the "primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security". While discharging its duties for the preservation of world peace the Council has acted to effect ceasefires of armed conflicts and recommended to the belligerents procedures or methods of peaceful settlement of their disputes. To facilitate the peace process it has provided the services of mediators to the conflicting parties.

Security Council's *modus operandi* is to adopt resolutions calling upon the disputants to rescind the use of force and advising them to have recourse to negotiated settlement of their conflict. Lacking the authority to enforce its decisions on the sovereign disputing parties and moved by the desire to make its resolutions acceptable to the conflicting sides to attain the goal of peace, it has adopted resolutions deficient in content and ambiguous about the procedures recommended for making peace. This approach to a conflict situation, although has been helpful in managing the conflict in the short run, mostly proved disastrous in so far as the goal of achieving a final and lasting peace is concerned. The Security Resolution 242 about the Arab-Israeli Conflict is a glaring example of this type.



The Third Arab-Israeli War started on June 5, 1967, with the Israeli pre-emptive air strikes on the Egyptian and Syrian airfields. The war lasted six days and ended in defeat for the Arabs. The Arab armed power was almost completely destroyed. As a consequence of this war the Israelis captured from the Arabs the West Bank, the Golan Heights, the Gaza Strip and the Sinai Peninsula.

Having effected ceasefire the Security Council engaged itself in efforts to devise some formula, acceptable to the belligerents and their superpower patrons, whereby a recurrence of the June, 1967 events could be avoided through some compromise settlement or the dispute. Several months parleys in the alleys of the U.N. Headquarter fruited in the unanimous adoption of British sponsored resolution, on November 22, 1967.<sup>1</sup>

Emphasizing in the preamble the principle of "unadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war" the resolution combined a call for "a withdrawal of Israeli forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict" with the termination of all claims of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and political independence of every state in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries, free from threats or acts of force. The resolution affirmed the necessity of freedom of navigation through international waterways, a just settlement of the refugee problem and the establishment of demilitarized zones. It called for the appointment of a Special Representative "to establish and maintain contacts with the states concerned in order to promote and assist efforts to achieve a peaceful and accepted settlement", a task that fell to Dr. Gunnar Jarring a Swedish diplomat with considerable diplomatic experience in the Middle East.

Resolution 242 is an important document pertaining to the Middle East conflict and has figured prominently in all subsequent peace talks about the Arab-Israeli problem. The product of a compromise, it is a master-piece of ambivalence. Varying interpretations have been imposed on its terms by the different parties. Each side has read into it what suited

its policy goals. The resolution was aptly described by the Foreign Minister of Israel, Abba Eban, as an "expanding suitcase" into which "everyone packs his own national policy".<sup>2</sup> On another occasion, he called it a "constructive ambiguity".<sup>3</sup>

Differences over crucial provisions of the resolution soon emerged between the parties. These related to the withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from the occupied territories, the definition of peace and the format of negotiations. First, the resolution did not clearly spell out whether the word "withdrawal" used in reference to Israeli armed forces meant total or partial withdrawal from "territories occupied in recent conflict". Second, it did not give any guidelines for the form of settlement between the Arabs and the Israelis that would help attain the goal of a just and lasting peace. Finally the directive provided for "contacts" without clarifying and elaborating the role of the Special Representative of the U.N. Much of the diplomatic efforts in the subsequent years have been spent in making these points more clear and precise.

Dr. Jarring's assignment proved to be "mission impossible". Israel asserted that Resolution 242 did not call for immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal. She regarded the resolution as a framework within which the parties were to negotiate peace. The withdrawal of armed forces, in Israeli view, was to take place only after a final settlement had been secured and recognized borders had been established through direct negotiations between the parties. The role of Dr. Jarring, according to them, was no more than one of paving the way to bring the parties together for negotiations.

Conversely, Egypt and Jordan<sup>4</sup> demanded that the Israeli forces be withdrawn from all the Arab territories captured in the June, 1967 war. They refused to negotiate directly with Israel and insisted that the termination of belligerency would follow the Israeli withdrawal to pre-June 1967 lines, according to a timetable worked out through the U.N. Special Representative. They wanted a close involvement of Dr. Jarring in the peace



negotiations. Both sides not only continued affirming their adherence to their respective interpretation of the Resolution, but also remained adamant on the sequence of steps leading to its implementation: Israel—negotiations first; Egypt and Jordan—withdrawal first.<sup>5</sup>

The ambiguity of Resolution 242 has been both a boon and a bane. It made the resolution acceptable to the Arabs and the Israelis and their superpower patrons—the Soviet Union and the United States—at the time of its adoption. Further, it has allowed ample flexibility in positions and sufficient space for diplomatic maneuverings to the sides to respond to the changing political and military situations while maintaining a semblance of consistency and appearing to be resistant to outside pressures. At the same time it has been detrimental to the establishment of peace in the Middle East, “for it papered over differences instead of facing their frank appraisal; it was diplomacy when the need was for realpolitik”.<sup>6</sup> Consequently, the conflict remained simmering when the sides continued differing and re-erupted into the most destructive of the Arab Israeli wars in October, 1973.

## NOTES

1. See for text of the Security Council Resolution 242, November 22, 1967, John Norton Moore (ed.). *The Arab-Israeli Conflict Documents*, Vol. III (Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1974), p. 788.
2. Quoted by Eric Rouleau, “Hawks and Doves in Israel’s Foreign Policy”, *World Today*, Vol. 25, December, 1968, p. 500.
3. Quoted by the Insight Team of the London’s Sunday Times *The Yom Kippur War* (New York Doubleday and Co., Inc., Garden City, 1974), p. 17.
4. On December 12, 1967, Syria announced her boycott of Dr. Jarring’s mission, which was limited to the framework of the Security Council Resolution 242, rejected by Damascus.
5. See for details Lawrence L. Whetten, *The Canal War : Four Power Conflict in the Middle East*. (Cambridge, Mass ; The MIT Press, 1974), pp. 55-59.
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## CULTURAL CONCEPT OF HUMAN BEHAVIOUR AND MOTIVATION

By

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In recent years social scientists and cultural anthropologists have pressed forward the concept of culture so convincingly and vigorously that it gives one the impression that in shaping and moulding human character and destiny, culture is perhaps the greatest force to reckon with. This new and dynamic approach, based on painstaking researches into diverse patterns of culture, particularly the old ones, is quite enthralling because it gives a big jerk to many of our preconceived, long-cherished and deeprooted notions concerning human behaviour and motivation. By analysing the role of culture in the life of various groups and communities and supplementing their views with wide range of facts and figures and statistical data, the social scientists have ventured to give a cultural definition and interpretation to many of the phenomena in human existence as contrasted with previously advanced biological, psychological and spiritual interpretations. A great many facts about man's many sided life when viewed from a cultural perspective, take on a new meaning.

The human personality structure, far from being permanently fixed at birth, at once erroneously believed, is now seen to be profoundly conditioned, shaped, moulded and modified by its experiences in a socio-cultural environment. The older view of the nineteenth century psychologists that 'human nature' is universal and a purely biological endowment is now being recognized as invalid. The present concept describes it :

"A complex array of attitudes, learned habits, behaviour patterns, and acquired aspirations that are not inborn but are the



result of culturally sanctioned learning and environmental conditioning."<sup>1</sup>

Indeed, it is all very interesting as well as revealing, how all-inclusive and all-embracing culture is : to what extent it takes the place of what used to be referred to as biological, psychological and spiritual 'Truths', to what extent it permeates, not only varieties of our action patterns but also motivational behaviour, sense perception, value judgement hopes and aspirations and even emotions such as love, jealousy, anger and hate.

Examples have been given of how differences or similarities arouse various reactions to the birth of male and female children, to death, to sex activity, to material wealth and amount of overt emotional behaviour.

Emotional expressions apparently common to all societies are the occurrences of tears in pain and sorrow, and of laughter as a sign of joy or happiness but Otto Kellinberg has cited an example, "how, among Samurai women of an American Indian tribe it was a moral offence to weep on the news that their husbands or sons have fallen in battle. They were required to show signs of joy on hearing the news. To betray any natural feelings under the circumstances was a grave breach of decorum."<sup>2</sup> The same author quotes another interesting example. Every culture inflicts punishment on murderers in one way or other, but among native Australian tribes, he tells us, the feelings of a mother when her son has been killed can be assuaged by adopting the murderer.<sup>3</sup>

The biological argument for racial superiority has been demonstrated as unsatisfactory because of the great variations in the cultural level of the same racial groups at different times in history, as well as of different sub-groups within the same race. The whole human race is one species, and all attributive labelling of races as 'inferior' 'barbaric', 'incapable of progress' or 'sinful', is fallacious. "No one item of man's tribal social organization, of his language, of his local religion is carried in the germ cell", says Ruth Benedict. "Man is not committed in detail by his biological constitution to any particular variety of behaviour."<sup>4</sup> It is a mistake to

regard any one people as any more or any less intelligent than another because high and low or mediocre intelligence may be shaped to fit any culture."<sup>5</sup>

Differences in the stages of the development of various societies and nations have been explained as due to historical economic and environmental factors. That one nation marched forward and the other was left behind is no proof of the latter's inferior intellect. It is merely an 'historical accident'. The existence of a great variety of customs and practices, beliefs and traditions are only "variant arrangements of human life"<sup>6</sup> grown out of convenience and the distinctive life experiences of different nations. To brand some nations 'barbaric' or 'uncivilized' on the basis of their different way of living is, "..... a sort of rationalization which may be employed in order to justify economic exploitation, to re-establish feelings of self-importance, and because there is something to be gained by it."<sup>7</sup>

The profundity with which culture influence the persons participating in it has been manifested in different ways. It is pointed out that it is from his cultural experiences that he acquires his needs and interests, his fears and hopes. He derives from it meanings of things; the definition of what is logical and natural, what is moral and immoral and what is normal and abnormal.

Many of our basic human needs which we take for granted as being innate or 'instinctive', when viewed in cultural context, make a revealing study. According to the social scientists culture pre-determines the direction and the patterns within which biological and instinctive needs or drives can be acceptable, met and expressed. Hunger and sex, for instance, (which are among the primary and basic human needs) when viewed in a cultural light, change their complexion. All human beings get hungry but an orthodox Pakistani Muslim will prefer to go hungry, even die of hunger, rather than eat pork ; but this is not true of North American people for whom pork is a delicacy.



Cultural influences have been found determining varying attitudes towards the importance of the sex relation, the emotions attached to it, the values attached to chastity, standards of attractiveness in the sex partner, the methods of acquiring a mate, the manner of rearing children and the need for having children. Sometimes sex may be entirely sub-ordinated to cultural requirements such as pursuit of religious asceticism.

Motherhood, or 'maternal drive' for which so much universality has been claimed has been repudiated by the customs of infanticide and by the examples that all women do not love their children.

Parenthood is said to be determined mainly by the values which culture attaches to children rather than by innate biological factors.<sup>8</sup>

Even in regard to what is called 'conscience'—"The still small voice of God"—about which there is a conception that it is inherent and inborn, the evidence provided by social scientists has indicated that it is a culturally patterned behaviour. A comparative study of various ancient and modern cultures made to this effect testifies that their 'conscience' spoke in different voices at different times, and even at the same time by different sub-groups in the same culture. Though there are some striking uniformities in the moral creeds of all cultures.

Normality or abnormality of behaviour which sometimes was formally ascribed almost in all cases to organic or psychological disorders, is now being increasingly explained with reference to cultural factors. The concept of abnormality has been found varying from one society to another. Behaviour resembling paranoia is normal for the Kewakital tribe, withdrawal from reality is permitted to a Buddhist, homosexual and trance states are accepted in many communities.<sup>9</sup>

Explaining neurotic behaviour, Dr. Norney observes, "Neurosis are generated not only by incidental individual experiences, but also by the specific cultural conditions under which he lives. In fact the cultural conditions not only lend weight and colour to the individual experiences but in the last analysis determine their particular form."<sup>10</sup>

Crime and delinquency which are said to be the result of something inherently bad in man, have also been culturally defined. They are relative to the prevailing culture. An act regarded as a criminal offence in one society may be meritorious and even virtuous, in the other. Ethnological material rich in examples has been put forward to prove this. Patricide and matricide are among the most heinous crimes in society, but under the influence of certain religious beliefs Fujian notion of the virtue of an early mercy killing a parent may be a pious act. Homosexuality is no crime among the Siberian Chukchee, and what we would call stealing ceases to occur in a community with no notion of private property.<sup>11</sup>

The role of culture in regulating, controlling and determining human behaviour has been presented recently with a renewed stress. The cultural values by which a man lives and orders his life give meaning and consistency to his behaviour. Without them the individual will drift in a capricious and chaotic world. His behaviour will appear inexplicable and unpredictable. He will be a victim of conflicting loyalties not knowing what action or behaviour pattern is desirable or acceptable in a particular situation and in this welter of confusion, created by normative ambiguity, he will fail to distinguish between right and wrong.

The cultural values are "modes of organizing conduct", says Robin M. Williams "———meaningful, affectively invested principles that guide human action".<sup>12</sup> They are the criteria by which goals are chosen. They help to grow well-integrated and coherent personalities with a clear cut sense of identity and self-image. An individual faced with crises of evaluation might develop a split or pathological behaviour.

Boehm, in that volume of curriculum studies which deals with the teachings of values and ethics in social work education, speaks of two ways in which values function primarily in human life.<sup>13</sup>

1. The super-ego formation of the individual. The values with which the person selects, approves or disapproves his own behaviour and that of others are major components in



the psycho-analytic concept of super-ego or 'conscience' in religious terminology. Hence, guilt, self satisfaction and intra-personal conflicts are all dependent on values to which he has chosen to adhere, or among which he is trying to make a choice.

2. In group solidarity—the holding, cherishing and defending of values is one of the forces which bind people together in groups, communities and political states. In small groups, the development of informal codes; in primitive communities, formalized law and public opinion, all represent selected values which unite or activate people.

In the light of the above discussion one can well imagine how sweeping, all-embracing and dynamic is the influence of culture on all aspects of human character and destiny. But nonetheless it seems worthwhile to point out here that though there seems a good deal of wisdom in what the social scientists say, this does not contain the whole wisdom. As a matter of fact we need to be on our guard against 'cultural determinism' and over-stressing of cultural aspects of human development and behaviour at the expense of physical, intellectual, psychological and spiritual aspects. Teicher has aptly remarked :

"The discovery of the concept of culture may well be recognized as one of the greatest of all man's discoveries. But at the same time we should not forget that culture is not a cosmic creation—it is man-made. Man is not only the creature of his culture, he is also the creator of it."<sup>14</sup>

Margaret Mead who rather overstressed the significance of culture in determining sex roles (at the cost of biological factors) was once faced with an impertinent question, whether she ever found a human male delivering a baby.<sup>15</sup>

The Concept of culture presents only one aspect of the picture and it does not reflect the social worker's point of view who has before him the objective of understanding the whole man in his total environment.

His concept of man is Holistic which stresses the essential unity and oneness of human personality, acting as a total organism, with bio-psycho-socio-spiritue and cultural elements so inter-linked and fused that can only be abstracted for purpose of scientific analysis." (This concept does not divide man into water-tight compartments. What happens to the 'Soma' also happens to the 'Psyche', and also to his social self.)

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The present Government is highly inclined towards rural development and even has launched a vigorous movement to achieve the targets laid down in the Five Year Plan.

## RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES IN PAKISTAN : AN ANALYTICAL STUDY

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### Introduction

During nineteen seventies, the G. N. P. of Pakistan, which is widely accepted indicator of national economic growth has been persistently low. The *per capita* income is estimated at about \$ 190 which is 42 times less than that of USA and 26 times less than that of Japan. It is estimated<sup>1</sup> that 13.00 per cent of its manpower resources are wasted in total or partial unemployment. In early stages of planning it was thought that, unemployment or underemployment is due to scarcity of necessary capital therefore foreign economic assistance to Pakistan was extended from 1950. The idea was to accelerate the economic growth with large investments for the development of infrastructure facilities. This aid created problems of debt burden on the one hand and dualistic development on the other hand, resulted high disparities of income between rural and urban population. It is against this background that the government of Pakistan initiated Rural Development Programmes, during its Second Five Year Plan period, and then in 1972. These programmes were designed<sup>2</sup> to finance among other things, to convert idle labour into capital, raise the level of amenities, curb unemployment and permit the stabilization of basic elements in the cost of living.



The present Government is highly inclined towards rural development and even has launched a vigorous movement to achieve the targets laid down in the Fifth Five Year Plan. The announcement of the local bodies elections is also a part of this move.

Prior to the implementation of any new programme it is necessary to review the previous experiments done in the same field. So the purpose statement is to present, how the Rural Development Programmes were launched by the previous regimes and to propose recommendations on the basis of past experience.

### **The Rural Economy of Pakistan**

Pakistan is predominantly an agricultural country, with 79% of its population living in rural areas and 58% of its labour force is engaged in agriculture sector. With this high employment in agriculture sector, the share of this sector in G. N. P. is 32.2% in 1977-78, compared with 13.4% share of manufacturing sector which employs 8.27% of labour force. This clearly indicates the low productivity. The 35% of the population are estimated to be below the poverty line.<sup>3</sup>

The agriculture sector is dominated with four major crops wheat, cotton, rice and sugar-cane. The area which produced a large surplus of food in 1966-67 was subject to green Revolution has now converted this surplus into a serious deficit. In 1977-78, country had imported 22 lakhs tons of wheat. The country which was an exporter of cotton is now facing shortages for its domestic use. Similarly the output of sugarcane has drastically reduced. The rice output however, has shown marked improvement and country exported 10 lakhs tons of rice during 1978-79. The growing pressure of population has forced the taking up of land unsuitable for cultivation under changing conditions of weather. The pressure of population has produced increasing fragmentation of holdings (present average 3.9 acres)<sup>4</sup> and increasing land-leases.

Though the country imports large amount of tractors every year, methods of cultivation are still primitive and yields are among the lowest

in the world. During transplanting, weeding and harvesting, temporary employment is provided for almost the entire labour force, but there is high unemployment during other seasons.

The deterioration of the rural economy has led to the social disintegration. The co-operative movements introduced after partition became ineffective due to lack of sound organization, meagre financial resources, illiteracy of farmers and unproductive use of loans.<sup>5</sup> The Agriculture department and Agricultural Development Bank tried to estimate the tide but with inefficient staff, inadequately trained and poorly paid, they had been unable to reach the villagers.

### **RURAL DEVELOPMENT WITH MASS PARTICIPATION**

To re-create an instrument of effective local self-government the government in 1959 established the structure of Basic Democracies. This was designed.

(1) To give the villager representation at the level of government closest to him, the Union Council which would know his problems and respond to his needs. This body was given broad taxing powers and development responsibilities.

(2) To give the villager's elected representative a role though in diminishing proportions at all the higher tiers of the Basic Democracies, and thus to bring the needs and problems of the village to all levels of structure.

(3) To blend the view points and experience of the representatives of the people to the trained civil servants officers of the provincial department, who were intermingled at all levels above the union councils.

(4) To decentralize and at the same time, co-ordinate the work of the departmental officers under the guidance of the chairman of the councils.



(5) To produce an integrated structure, the chairman of each tier serving as members of the council at the next level, with integrated policy making, power and responsibility.

(6) To orient the structure towards development.

Much was expected of the Basic Democracies structure but in the field of development. It began very slowly. For one thing while its taxing powers were broad, the poverty of the rural community left little room for their exercise. Secondly, while the government called on the structure to produce development, provided only small grants, placing its resources at the disposal of the central ministries.

Rural Works Programme was practised during Second Five Year Plan period as a means of developing basic infrastructure and thereby increasing agricultural productivity and employment in the rural areas.<sup>6</sup> The Basic Democracies were given least resource command in this programme. The programme in which Rs. 650 million were utilised in 2nd plan and Rs. 1136 million during 3rd plan period, the Basic Democracies made a brave efforts but the villagers found it difficult to see any improvement with the naked eye. In 1972 the strategy was changed and the new elected government who in her manifesto has the "aim to bring about revolutionary changes" started two new programmes, Integrated Rural Development Programme and People's Works Programme for Rural Development, but without building up pre-requisite institutional framework for their effective implementation.

#### Integrated Rural Development Programme

The Integrated Rural Development Programme started in 1972 was responsible for the improvement of the quality of rural life by converting the villages into self sustaining economic units. The object was that all the nation building departments should work under an integrated system so that their services be available to farmers at Markaz—the local point for a production area of 50-60 villages and a population of 60 to 75 thousand people. The specific objectives were to provide a framework of effective

and viable institutions, to maximize agricultural production, to increase employment, to provide socio-economic services, with the full participation of rural population. The strategy announced was, maximum participation of people, mobilization of human and material resources, decentralization of decision making process, effective delivery system of benefits and services and evolution of self reliant and self supporting institution for proper implementation and accountability.

TABLE I  
IRDP's Allocation and Expenditure by Province

1972-78 (Rs. in million)

Province/Federal Area	Allocation	Expenditure
Punjab	45.2	33.6
Sind	45.9	36.7
N.W.F.P.	60.1	46.3
Baluchistan	16.5	15.2
Federal Capital Area	16.8	5.1
Federal Administered Tribal Area	4.2	4.2
Azad Kashmir	5.5	4.5
Total :	194.2	145.6

Source : P.E.S. 1977-78.

Of the 714 markaz planned 137 were in operation in 1976-77, the constraints in the smooth running of programme, as indicated by the ILO report<sup>7</sup> 1975 were, inadequate staff, interdepartmental rivalries and jealousies, training of staff and bureaucratically administered approaches. Similarly co-operative movements were started and neglected its bleak history which reveals us that it had served as a vehicle for wealthy land-owners to obtain substantial loans with a high incidence of default in repayments and so contributed in creating disparities.



### People's Works Programme

The People's Works Programme was designed to create job opportunities for the people including construction of houses, roads, play-grounds, adult education centres, tree plantation etc. The ILO's report recommended in 1975, its total revamping. The problems mentioned in the report are, inefficiency, politisation and corruption. This programme was said as a total failure and the major causes were found as lack of functioning local government system, lack of central control and increased politisation of programme which turned it into a vehicle for patronage and enrichment of vested interests, bureaucrats, contractors, MPA's and MNA's.

TABLE II  
PWP's Allocation and Expenditure by Province

1972 (Rs. in million)

Provinces/Federal Area	Allocation	Expenditure
Punjab	590.51	629.51
Sind	163.01	149.33
N.W.F.P.	107.98	65.68
Baluchistan	78.56	48.98
Azad Kashmir & Northern Area	63.07	53.05
Federal Capital Area	5.50	2.34
Federally Administered Area	37.45	30.99
Total :	1046.08	979.88

While the results of the both programmes have not been evaluated so far on scientific basis the achievement announced in Pakistan Economic Survey 1976-77 are as on page 7 :

TABLE III

	Punjab	Sind	N.W.F.P.	Baluchistan	Azad-Kashmir
Markaz	38	31	33	21	10
Co-operative Societies	1237	216	507	174	211
Markaz Federation	32	—	—	—	—
Health Centres/Dispensaries					
Population Planning Centres	282	61	161	155	56
Adult Literary Centres	426	554	40	43	—
Schools/Colleges	121	816	1569	1081	599

Source : Annual Plan 1977-78.

Moreover farmers were supplied fertilizers, improved seeds, credit, tubewells, bulldozers, banking facilities etc. There are three aspects to estimate the outcome of these programmes.

One is the report by ILO, the second is the agricultural production during this period and third is the change in strategies during Fifth Five Year Plan. The findings of ILO's report are :

- (i) PWP was a relatively high cost programme in terms of labour creation.
- (ii) The employment was not on competitive basis but on political grounds.
- (iii) The figures about creation of 22,000 jobs are probably overstated.
- (iv) The productivity of projects was greatly reduced by the failure of co-ordination.
- (v) The subsidies and grants (tubewells, transistors etc.) were distributed among political favourites. "Lack of co-ordination has



produced roads that go no where, schools without teachers and dispensaries without staff. The investment in roads has suffered badly from a failure to provide maintenance.”<sup>9</sup>

Whereas agricultural production is concerned it was hoped that investments in these programmes will provide incentives to villagers resulting increase in productivity and pace of growth. These programmes were mainly aimed at employment creation, but they have not shown positive results on productivity, and indicator of growth, as is shown by the following table :—

TABLE IV

		WHEAT		RICE		COTTON	
		Total million Ton	Yield per acre mnd.	Total million Ton	Yield per acre mnd.	Total million Ton	Yield per acre mnd.
1972-73	...	7.32	13.5	2.29	17.1	3.947	3.8
1973-74	...	7.5	13.5	2.416	17.6	3.704	3.9
1974-75	...	7.55	14.3	2.277	15.6	3.567	3.4
1975-76	...	8.55	15.4	2.576	16.6	2.890	3.0
1976-77	...	8.8	15.1	2.294	17.0	2.446	2.5
1977-78	...	8.36	—	2.950	—	2.8	—

Source : P.E.S. 1977-78.

Moreover during this period production of sugarcane is estimated to have decline sharply from 30.77 million tons in 1977-78 to 27.324 million tons in 1978-79.

The above table shows us that during last many years there is no marked improvement in agricultural productivity. Yields per acre in case of cotton have declining trends and for rice and wheat have no marked improvement. Though many other factors involve in this deterioration, but the villagers themselves, their ambitions, incentives given to them in shape of loans, subsidies and controlled prices have also marked contribution.

Annual Development Plan 1978-79 recognizes<sup>9</sup> the failures of these programmes and gives the following reasons for it:

- (1) Lack of community participation.
- (2) Lack of creative energies to channelize rural population.
- (3) Lack of proper implementation and accountability.
- (4) Lack of basic organisational structure of local democracies, and,
- (5) Illiteracy of masses.

#### Lessons from these Experiences

1. A works programme should be organized to produce essential rural capital with immediate effects upon farm production but the IRDP and PWP have perhaps impaired farm incentives.

2. The fault is not in the programme itself but it is in the dangerous delusion that capabilities reside only in limited political group.

3. There is a vast pool of talent in every nation which awaits only the opportunity and the resources to show its mettle. But the unfair and incompetent selection restricted this talent to lead.

4. Lack of accountability in Pakistan has led to disastrous state of anarchy, corruption and malpractices.

#### Future of these Programmes

The Rural Development Programmes must be managed to protect farm incentives, which are a necessary but not a sufficient condition of development. The farmer needs fair and remunerative prices. He also needs the infrastructure which the works programme makes possible.

The Fifth Plan conceive rural development as an inextricable part of overall planning endeavour. The new objectives stated are, meaningful integrate rural development, reduction in the burden of under-employment, increase in the density of services, improvements of rural institutional framework for ensuring mass participation and proper implementation.

The institutional framework of a mass participation is an essential ingredient. It includes elected representatives of union councils and



district councils. The trained people in planning and development work will have the responsibility for day to day programmes. All development department will be intersectoral at district level. These proposed institutions will have more powers and their functions include, provision of basic amenities health units, roads, water supply and sanitation etc. Moreover school, for formal and informal education, development of rural skills, promotion of small scale industries and mobilization of resources through taxes, fees charges etc. will also be the functions of these local bodies.

The success of this scheme is based on the completion of Local bodies Elections which would ensure proper implementation and accountability. The trained people to manage it will be a cause of smooth and meaningful implementation.

### Conclusion

Rural public works is a direct method aimed at improving the welfare of the poor segment of the farm population by providing supplementary employments and income at the same time building infrastructure important to agriculture and other sectors. But as it was feared that lack of proper organizational set up and fiscal constraints would make its success doubtful, has been proved by the experience of our country. It is therefore, the time to make changes in the strategies.

The most effective policy can be strong centralized Injection of Investments i.e., combined operations to promote an increase in agricultural output by encouraging investments by the farmers themselves and by increasing state and collective investments. The point and method of this injection of means into the agricultural economy is of fundamental importance. Supplies to farms of selected seed, industrial fodder and fertilizer, machinery and tools and development of low cost credit have been vital importance.

The programme of adult education has not been successful in rural areas. Whereas the agricultural development seems likely to general strong

support for rural education as well as the institution more directly related to promoting increased agricultural productivity. The spread of rural education and other institutions useful in promoting the modernization are capable of bringing many other benefits to the countryside. A new set of values and attitudes and marked changes are required for economic modernization and growth. These changes are associated with institutional reorganisation and changes in the educational system.

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## VIOLENCE IN SOME TWENTIETH CENTURY PLAYS

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There is a clearly discernible thematic unity in the contributions of John Osborne, Pinter, Arden and Edward Bond, and this lies in their shared concern about the breakdown of human relations in modern society. While not advocating or imposing a particular ideology, their work is a response to, and a protest against, an environment characterised by the domination of technology and the imperatives of the market mechanism. Individuals are placed in a situation where the principal form of social existence is an aggressive competition for acquisition, and they begin to perceive others as obstacles or means to this end. Alienation from others, and at a deeper level from themselves then, is inherent in modern society because the possibility of experiencing each other as human beings is precluded by the very nature of their social organization. One aspect of alienation is violence, both in interpersonal relations as well as in the operations of social institutions.

These writers have concentrated on different kinds of violence in their dramatic situations. In this essay I will attempt to examine through the study of certain plays the various manifestations of aggression, hostility in relationships in general, and marriage in particular; language, and war. This does not claim to be an exhaustive study of all the work to date of Osborne, Pinter and Arden, the emphasis being on Edward Bond's contribution to their school of thought, and certain clear differences in his approach and attitude. Furthermore, considerations of space necessitate a rather cursory discussion of the selected plays.

The vision of Osborne, Pinter and Arden for all its anger, dramatic subtlety and perceptiveness has tended to a defeatism. Their method of



psychologizing social issues has considerably dissipated the urgency of their protest as did the absurdists' world-view. In Bond the analysis is more vital, and the protest ultimately more creative because it has explored the social roots of violence and alienation, and suggested the possibility of envisaging an alternative social existence.

Osborne and Edward Albee have both dealt with violence as perhaps the only energizing element left in the man/woman relationship, socialized in the institution of marriage. In Osborne's *Look Back in Anger* (1956) the socio-domestic drama involving the two main characters Jimmy and Alison takes place within the cramped context of a city bed-sitter, with the inevitable kitchen sink and ironing board. The enclosure of the room and the activities of the characters reflecting aspects of the world without. The monotony of their Sunday weighs down like a palpable mass and sketches into the weeks and months. Between indulging in desultory witticisms and drinking endless cups of 'working class' tea, Jimmy keeps up a steady flow of hostility against Alison. The attack focuses on her upper class background, her family scathingly described by him as 'sycophantic, phlegmatic and pusillanimous' (Act 1, p. 21). Under the circumstances his longing for enthusiasm and 'good brave causes' in life seems inextricably bound up with a more personal cause of discontent—the irresponsiveness of his wife and her 'casually destructive' manner (p. 24) as he puts it. As he commutes between playfulness and rancour, the anger begins to sound increasingly like a cry for violence just in order that they might connect.

The drama moves from taking stock of the deadness of middle class existence with Jimmy's: 'Nobody thinks, nobody cares. No beliefs, no convictions, no enthusiasm,' (p. 15) inwards, to comment on the persons in the room with him appealing: 'Let's all pretend that we're human beings that we're actually alive', (p. 15) and finally to Alison: 'All this time I have been married to this woman, this monument to non-attachment' (p. 21). The emphasis on individuals within a relationship is reinforced and symbolized by the closed room structure of the play.

There is a sense of Jimmy luxuriating in his anger and this is enhanced by Osborne's own rather uncritical indulgence of his hero's most questionable and naive view point. Jimmy's disgust of the upper class epitomized by Alison's 'Daddy,' 'Bishop Bromley' and Mr. Priestley is expressed through self-consciously satirical remarks. His consciousness of class warfare is never fully developed, and remains at the level of scattered allusions, external to the more absorbing sex war he is intrenched in with Alison. This narrowing of concern, while it gives a certain depth to the dramatists' insight into the relationship of the characters, diminishes the seriousness of both the anger and the protest, the dramatic action claims to be articulating.

In Edward Albee's *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* (1962) the campus of a 'Small New England College' can at one level be regarded as a microcosm of the suburban intelligencia. Through an exposure of the dissipation, vulgarity and violence of this supposedly civilized and well-to-do class the dramatist makes his comment on a more general malaise. The sordid viciousness of George and Martha's exchanges points to a fundamental breakdown of human contact. The couple are sustained by keeping up a violent marital duet hurling verbal injuries and indignities at one another. There is a definite sense of them scrupulously obeying the rules of a mutually destructive game—a tacit agreement keeping them together. Infact the only vitalizing element in their relationship seems to be violence, and only it, the possibility of communication. Their abusive interchanges have an almost sexual vigour and their words a powerful physicality producing a frightening combination of the realistic and the theatrical. If one views George and Martha purely as abberations from the norm, and their behaviour as an ugly caricaturing of marital interaction, the play is in danger of dwindling into a dramatised case history. Their state of affairs is obviously meant to indicate something gravely wrong with human beings and their relationships, and one finds it difficult to see the couple merely in terms of the dynamics of their private life. But it is largely because of the dramatist's failure to locate the breakdown of their personal



relations in its social origins, that one is left wondering about the relevance of such a biting exposure of human affairs.

The break down of communication within the marriage structure has been explored by Pinter as well in an early play: *The Room* (1960) I mention this play because it was written at a stage when his concern was more sociological and the link between social reality and the character's immediate situation more discernible than in much of his later work. In this play the nature of the environment is reflected in the attitude of the people towards it, and their response in turn is largely conditioned by its peculiarities. The room however, has become more cramped, more enclosed, and offering fewer opportunities of escape. The characters cling to its security with an aggressive desperation convinced that what lies without is hostile and threatening. Their general state of paranoia is manifested in their relationships. Rose, the wife insists on treating her middle aged husband Bert like a child, an unconscious method she has found of neutralizing his violence as an adult. How incapable they are of connecting in any human way becomes obvious as soon as the play begins. As she fusses maternally around him he maintains a brutal silence which conveys the curious impression of being almost like a physical obstacle set up to keep them apart. His consistent refusal to reply to her inane but well meaning questions, suggests a combination of indifference and deliberate intent. The precarious balancing of a flow of words on the one hand, and cold silence on the other subtly builds up an atmosphere of extreme tension. The underlying violence erupts when Bert speaks to her for the first time towards the end of the play and describes his drive home in his van:

'I drove her down, hard. They got it dark out ...  
Then I drove her back, hard. They got it very icy out ...  
But I drove her.

... I caned her along. She was good ... She went with me ...  
I use my hand. Like that. I get hold of her ...' In this  
brutish power relationship the van is unconsciously substituted

for Rose. When he recounts: 'I could see the road all right. There was no cars. One there was. He wouldn't move. I bumped him. I got my road ... They shoved out of it. I kept on the straight', one is not certain if he did actually meet anyone on the way, or whether his belligerent responses are merely an indication of his paranoia.

Anyone from outside entering the room is regarded as a threat. The gratuitous and brutal murder of the negro at the close of the play, pushes what had so far been psychological and verbal violence into a physical act.

In *The Room* even though the action is contained within a severely limited area and focuses on a small group of individuals, Pinter is able to build up a nebulous but disturbing picture of the kind of society that is partly responsible for reducing people into such an unnatural condition. In *The Lover* (1963) and *Old Times* (1971) two other plays dealing with marriage, the drama makes little claim to sociality. Direct human contact ceases. Communication between the partners takes place through an elaborate network of psychological games played with and against one another. There is a retreat into a highly interiorized world which retains few links with the social reality that originally played its part in engendering this loss of contact.

In *The Birthday Party* (1960) and *The Caretaker* (1960) although Pinter again uses the closed room structure, the mutual fear and hostility people feel towards each other is shifted from the realm of marriage, and explored through language. In *The Birthday Party* two men break into the 'seedy' boarding house retreat of the singularly unattractive, nonscript Stanley Webber. Goldberg is suave, self assured and cold-blooded, McCann, brutal and monosyllabic. In a completely arbitrary fashion they proceed to destroy Stanley with words. The torture begins with them thrusting a birthday on him with a distinctly menacing geniality. A mock interrogation (presumably an extension of the birthday celebrations) is set up in which the bewildered victim is subjected to a volley of questions and indictments.



The quick fire rhythm of their language reflects the transformation of words into weapons. At the end of the process Stanley's disintegration as a person and as a human being is assured. Pinter employs his characteristic technique of caricaturing everyday speech. The attack opens with what sounds like the standard policeman's query: 'Webber, what were you doing yesterday?' It is then systematically built up by a series of questions and statements ranging from accusations of political guilt, sexual perversion, incest and criminality, to socially unacceptable habits, the verbal torture reaching a crescendo with Goldberg's 'What makes you think you exist?' This is followed almost immediately by McCann's 'You're dead'. Their words operate physically when the last ounce of life is extracted by the ruthless certainty of 'You can't live, you can't think, you can't love . . . You're a plague gone bad. There's no juice in you. You're nothing but an odour? As Martin Esslin points out, through language one's attention has been focused on what the two men have been "doing" to him rather than on 'what they have been saying'. The persecution is total, social, moral and personal. At the end of the interrogation Stanley is reduced to a grovelling mass, capable only of producing inarticulate, animal sounds. In the circumstances it is only logical that he be carted off the stage in a wheel barrow later on at the end of the play.

The cruelty of the two men is not personalized. They function as menacing forces at work. There is an element of foreignness about them suggested by the fact, that what they represent is not necessarily part of a specifically English content but 'vaguely' and 'anonymously' international. Their aggression however, draws on aspects of society that relate in a predominantly violent way with the individual. The process of verbal annihilation in which the use of language becomes a violence in itself is reminiscent of Ionesco's psychopathic Professor (*The Lesson* 1951) winding up the pupil and her anticipated 'total doctorate' with the deadly stroke of the word 'knife'. Pinter takes the lesson further. The neat finality of death is replaced by an infinitely more humanly degrading prospect of surviving as a dehumanized object.

In *The Caretaker* (1960) language once more is used with great destructive efficacy. The play centres around Davies, an old tramp who through a mixture of belligerence and servility has wormed his way into the life and room of two young men, Aston and Mick. As in *The Lesson* (Ionesco 1951) where the Professor uses academic and linguistic jargon to brainwash and devitalize his pupil, Mick employs a specialized language to torment the tramp. Like Stanley, Davies is suddenly and completely arbitrarily subjected to a welter of interior decoration terms. His inability to comprehend 'teal blue copper and parchment linoleum squares, tables in afromosia teak veneer . . .' (Act III) virtually seals his fate, while the words overwhelm him with an almost physical force. His desperate, incoherent babble towards the end of the play 'Listen . . . if I . . . was to . . . get my papers . . . would you let . . . if I got down . . .' (Act III, pg. 77 . . .) both indicates and completes his breakdown as a human being.

So far I have dealt with violence in interpersonal relations, showing how dramatists have increasingly dislocated it from its roots in a particular type of existence and have tended to individualize it. Osborne in *Luther* (1961) and John Arden in *Sargeant Musgrave* (1959) pursue this approach even in their studies of historical personages and the operations of socio-political institutions. The drama centres around individuals and the conflicts related to their environment in general, are explored through the particulars of their personalities.

It is difficult to regard Luther's break away from the established Church merely in terms of an individual's inspired resolve, and at the expense of seeing it as part of an historical process with social and political origins. Osborne realizes this and attempts to fill in the picture. One is given an insight into the highly secular power structure of the Church. As in Brechts' *Life of Galileo* (1947) the Church represents the interests and aspects of the establishment in general, and of authority in particular. The action touches on the essentially exploitative relationship of this institution with the common man. The Catholic Church with its ecclesiastical businessmen selling indulgences to the ignorant poor, and its coterie



of junior priests, cynical and down to earth about the religious life, is shown as having radically departed from its spiritual objectives. Its moral and economic corruption is best reflected in the marriage it has successfully brought off between the commercial and the other worldly. As the play progresses however, the dramatic interest is increasingly pulled towards the main character and towards a highly psychologistic interpretation of his context and actions. Luther becomes the chief means of registering the sick world. The emphasis is on following the progress of the hero as he battles with psychological spiritual and physical agonies. What the matter is with Brother Martin develops into the central issue, and as Staupitz remarks 'There is always something the matter', with his fellow priest: 'If its not the gripes, insomnia or faith and works its boils and indigestion' (Act 2, pg. 55).

The other 'matter' in the play is of course, the violence of the unjust and corrupt domination of the Church over the people. One can hardly fail to notice that when it finally erupts in the *Peasant's Rebellion* the play is more than half way done. The main action takes place off the stage, and is perfunctorily symbolized and summed up by the battered corpse of a rebel. But all this seems in perfect keeping with Osborne's changed emphasis, and the consequent weakening of the protest and exposure aspect of the play.

A contrast can here be made with Brecht's *St. Joan of the Stockyards* (1931). In this play the heroine's extent of social awareness, her desire to better things, as well as her failure are judged in terms of the starving, unemployed workers. All individual encounters take place against an ominous background constituted by their perpetual presence. The bloody clash between the state in league with big business, and the workers, takes place on stage, and only after an atmosphere of suppressed violence has been carefully developed.

Some critics have tended to place Arden in the Brechtian tradition because of the way in which he dramatizes conflicts in terms of 'social

pressures' rather than the inner life of individuals. His approach in *Sargeant Musgrave* (1959)—one of his major plays however, links him more closely with the interiorised drama of Osborne. *Sargeant Musgrave* is about the brutality and meaninglessness of war. Using the soldier's profession the dramatist attacks the state which institutionalizes violence into a means of earning one's livelihood :

'For duty's sake we sail away  
Me arms and legs shot away  
And all for the wink of a shilling and a drink'. (Act I, pg. 14)

Like Shaw and Brecht, Arden has no illusions about patriotism and the glory of war. These seemingly romantic notions are exposed as strategies carefully employed by governments to make the actual sordidness of warfare psychologically glamorous.

In a broad sense Arden follows Brecht's technique of distancing the events from the present. The play is set sometime in the nineteenth century (the dramatist is deliberately unspecific) and one is made aware of its contemporaneity and relevance to modern militarism largely because there is no automatic recognition of our own times in what happens on stage. In the way in which he handles this 'alienation' technique however, Arden tends to dehistoricise issues into 'timeless' ethical questions. In the actual treatment of the theme as well, he departs from any substantial affinities with Brechtian drama. To begin with the action takes place in a remote north England town. If the dramatist has to move out of the 'closed room' it is only to arrive at a landlocked, snowbound place, virtually cut off from the rest of the world.

The play opens with recurring images of blood and violence that help in developing the concern with war. References to 'the bloody army', 'the blood red coats', and the 'blood red roses' culminate in the bitter comfort Sparkey offers Hurst. 'Now don't you be nervous boy... You're a man and a soldier! Or an old red rag sketched over four pair of bones' (Act I). The starkness of the final image is taken up later in the mocking



bravado of Annie—the barmaids song which sums up all a soldier's 'good' for :—

To march behind his roaring drum  
Shout to us all: 'Here I come  
I've killed as many as I could  
I'm stamping into your fat town  
From the war to the war  
And every girl can be my whore . . . .  
That's what he does and so do we  
Because we know he'll soon be dead' (Act I.)

It is the soldier's 'duty' with its ruthless demand for arbitrary violence that has initially outraged Sargeant Musgrave. While his objective, which is to expose the horror of war to the inhabitants of the town remains a social one, the conflicts engendered by his way of life are internalised. The curtness of his : 'Its not material. We have our duty. A soldier's duty is a soldier's life', with which he dismisses Bargee's complaints of hunger and cold introduces the central dilemma. The unnatural parade—ground 'logic' of the army with its ruthless conception of discipline, clashes with the man's natural humanity and sense of outrage. The neurotic energy with which the Sargeant pursues his objective is a symptom of this tension. The process of horror turning inwards like a 'disease', (Act 3, pg. 90) and then bursting out in a fanatical violence against others is reflected in the transformation of the mission into an angry crusade.

The narrowing of concern in the play is paralleled by the growing isolation of the hero from his companions. As the play progresses the essential insanity of his guiding 'logic' becomes clear. Hagrid, plagued by nightmares and visions of the world coming to an end, he moves from the conviction of carrying out God's work, to imagining that as far as the work is concerned he is God himself. This is actually borne out by Sparky's ironic references to him as 'God'. His companion's earlier resentment towards his schemes changes into an uneasy sense of being oppressed and enslaved by his very presence. Their collective reaction becomes an 'objective correlative' of his warped psychological condition. Arden's

new emphasis, while it gives a certain power and conviction to his insight into the inner dynamics of the hero weakens his concern with war as a social phenomenon.

At the risk of arbitrarily categorizing a group of dramatists with unique and diverse skills and techniques, as deserters in some sense from a cause, this essay has attempted to trace their changing dramatic interest. This has not been a neat chronological development, and perhaps can be seen more as a general movement away from what originally could be described as a theatre of protest and comment, towards an increasingly interiorized, individual oriented drama. To an extent Osborne, Albee, Arden and Pinter all have a rather disturbingly ambivalent attitude to what happens after reality has been so penetratingly interpreted. Pinter in his later plays seems mainly preoccupied with what has become the cult of non-communication. He has succeeded in making almost a mystique of the various types of violence people are capable of subjecting one another to, and in turn are conditioned by.

Osborne has produced mainly domestic drama and has retained his concern with the sensitive, suffering individual caught in various situations.

Arden struggles with the need of finding solutions on the one hand, and realizing the pointlessness of this exercise on the other. This is reflected in the despairing jollity of Nesbet's song at the close of *The Hero Rises Up* (1969) which goes : 'Equality Fraternity' and where we were then, and so on never came now we are just the same. (Act 3).

The break down of human relationships and violence—whether individual or stemming from a technological and competitive society have an air of being inevitable if painful facts. It is at this point that the work of Edward Bond brings a certain renewed rigour and urgency to some of the issues recent drama has been concerned with. As a contemporary of the dramatists already mentioned, he shares their concern with the human condition in a predominantly aggressive society, and launches a powerful protest against the 'unnatural scene'. Like Pinter, he draws upon the experience of his working class upbringing and urban surroundings. As



is frequent with Arden, Bond dramatizes historical personages like the poet John Clare, Shakespeare and Lear (who belongs to literary history at any rate). Unlike these dramatists however, the violence of his situations and of his characters is externalized, and restored to its origins in a society that is morally and culturally defunct. Going back to the tradition of Brechtian theatre, with its emphasis on a cognitive and critical engagement with the representation of social reality in drama, Bond calls upon the audience to apply themselves to rationally confronting the issues raised in his plays.

It seems paradoxical that while his stress is overwhelmingly on extreme physical violence, one is asked to apprehend this through one's intellectual faculties. But the paradox works because while the intention is to shock, it is closely connected with the need for bringing about a rational understanding of this violence as an essentially sociological phenomenon.

According to Bond, brutality is not a natural flaw in human nature: 'We don't have a . . . nature which is violent, aggressive . . . and which we must constantly fight in order to maintain a veneer of civilization. These destructive things are only *capacities* (Introduction to *The Fool* 1976, p. x) A Society that drains on the spirit of fierce competitiveness, and on power derived from force and repression, encourages the development of man's 'destructive' aspect. His equally natural 'humanness', and impulse to cohere and relate creatively with his fellowmen, is thus crushed as the result of being ignored. We're born with many 'capacities and potentialities', Bond continues, 'and these can be developed rationally so that we become socialized members of a culture.' Disaster only occurs when we neglect to do this? (Introduction to *The Fool*, pg. x).

Aggression in man, then, is viewed as the individual's spontaneous reaction to his existence in an essentially force oriented 'technosphere'—it is a 'kind of biological wisdom in that' the person like 'a threatened animal' if he 'can do nothing else will fight his way out'. (Guardian 1974). Violence in the social and economic system is deliberate and strategic, conditioned by the mode of production.

*The Pope's Wedding* (1962) *Saved* (1965) and *The Fool* (1976) at one level all verge on the domestic drama of men and women whose relationships have gone sour and dead. In the first of these plays: *The Pope's Wedding*, Scopey and Pat, the two main characters are shown drifting into a marriage devoid of any vital emotions. Their subsequent interaction consists of little more than continual petty bickering.

*Saved* opens with Len and Pam's prosaic romancing, only to dwindle rapidly into a lack lustre partnership. While there is a certain tenderness in Len's persistence in clinging on to the girl, Pam's response is one of increasing irritability and bitterness towards him: "I don't understand yer. Yer ain' got no self respect . . . No one with any self respect wouldn't wanna stay . . . Yer'll 'ave t'go sometime. Yer can't juss 'ang on till yer rot." (Scene 4, pg. 39).

In *The Fool*, Clare and Patty are involved in a relationship as depressing and emotionally pinched as their modern counterparts. While he writes poetry that does not sell and dreams of his lost love Mary, Patty copes with the daily problem of making ends meet, and keeps up a steady flow of nagging complaints (refer Scene 6).

In all the three relationships there is little or no fruitful emotional development. There is a stale mate at best. But it is here that Bond widens the concern of the plays and relates the failure of these people with the kind of society they live in. In each case the main characters are set in the context of a group, and the group in the context of a class and its immediate environment. *The Pope's Wedding* is apparently set in the countryside but the corrugated iron and concrete, the dramatist mentions in his stage directions suggests that if this is so the locality is perilously on the fringes of a derelict urban township.

In *Saved* the local is working class and definitely urban, the immediate surroundings of the characters cramped and dingy. One is constantly aware of this environment as one watches the gang of lounging teenagers, scrounging off each other for food and cigarettes; amusing themselves with



inane jokes ; planning casual 'pick ups', and boasting of past deeds of gratuitous violence. One is almost made aware of a steady undercurrent of aggressiveness and hostility in their otherwise vacuous exchanges. They are a depressing lot, and Bond makes no attempt to romanticise their emotional, intellectual and cultural impoverishment. The notorious incident in the play in which an infant is stoned to death in its pram by the gang, is a good example of the dramatist's attitude to violence. The action takes place suddenly, and as he points out the perpetrators are just as much surprised by it as is the audience. (Interview with the Editors of Theatre Quarterly June 1972). It is neither deliberate nor premeditated, and there is no element of vicious intent behind it. Precisely because it is so indiscriminate, none of the individuals are morally reprehensible in an immediate sense. The act, however, is not condoned by the dramatist. He uses it to expose a violence that is spontaneous and unthinking ; symptomatic of what they have been reduced to as human beings rather than indicative of their criminal mentality. If one can speak at all in terms of blame and responsibility, it is Len's ambivalence through the whole proceedings that makes him more guilty than the rest. But then, even this kind of paralysis and inability to act, is an aspect of emasculated and dehumanised man. Fred's monosyllabic : Don't know to Len's persistent question : 'Wass it feel like ... when yer killed it?' (Scene 10, pg. 103 ...) is the truth. He does not really understand what he has done because he has not thought about it, and he cannot say what he felt because that involves thinking as well. Unthinking violence is a form of 'irrationality', and is possible only when a person loses touch with a faculty that is his natural birth right as a human being. 'Men who live in an irrational society are driven to a kind of madness', and this is a 'state of possession' (*The Fool*). Bond does not want the gang and their gruesome act to be dismissed with the remark : 'Oh what dreadful people they ought all to be locked up'. What he hopes in *Saved* is that 'an audience better realizes the nature of its society, what the nature of its problems are, and therefore what sort of solutions are needed' (*Theatre Quarterly* 1972).

The study of irrationality as manifested in violence is central to Bond's work. He however, makes a distinction between it as an individual's maddened impulse, and the kind of violence an aggressive and unjust social system perpetrates. The wrestling scene in *The Fool*, where an Irishman and a negro are pitted in a bloody professional combat brings out this distinction. The brutality the two men inflict on each other is unthinking and possesses an element of almost helplessness. The 'madness' of their backers is of a different kind. While their cries of 'Pump the fellas tummy up in his mouth ... Let the fella taste what he had for dinner ... Break his back a vertebra at a time' (Scene 5). If frenzied are deliberately brutal, their behaviour also exposes the class antagonisms between them. There is the Marquis, accompanied by a school friend from Harrow on the one side, and a shopkeeper's son supported by a 'greasy old Cockney' on the other (Scene 5, pg. 35). They unite temporarily as both parties have something to gain out of the savagery. The more pervasive state of social warfare as it exists among them is reflected in the encounter between Clare and his genteel patrons. Their meeting cuts right through the wrestling bout, and the other way around. The impoverished poet, in his own way as helpless as the boxers, is confronted with the effusive Mrs. Emmerson and the prosperous, complacent Admiral Radstock. Clare's state of economic insecurity is brought sharply home to him through the Admiral's pompous eloquence. His (Clare's) poems attacking the land owning class 'smack of radicalism', and because he is economically dependant on the patronage of the class he cannot afford to 'alienate' it. The warning is unequivocal. If he persists the establishment will deal with him. The guiding logic of those in power is glibly but meaningfully enunciated in the Admirals: 'Who controls the brute in man?' Polite society. Well, your verse undermines its authority. There'd be chaos. The poor would be the first to suffer (Scene 5, pg. 43). The strategic insertion of 'I understand some hangings have already been necessary in your part of the world', makes the 'point' more than 'clear'. (pg. 43).

The strength of the political and economic system is linked with progress of the *Industrial Revolution*. Set in the beginning of the *Enclosure*



*Movement*, an atmosphere of raw poverty is built up in the play. The agricultural working class, represented by the central characters is shown being systematically devoured by the joint forces of an oppressive agrarianism, and an expanding age of 'iron' and steel. The transformation of the countryside into a wasteland has its counterpart in the human condition. The play is concerned with this general state of affairs.

Clare's progress from labourer to poet, and finally madman is set in the context of what befalls his whole group. Darkie, his friend, is forced to become a professional boxer; he is blinded in a fight and reduced to wandering beggar. Mary, Clare's secret love, having been thrown out of employment for improper behaviour, is left to fend for herself, and ends up as a half-crazed vagrant. The pinched misery of his own economic condition turns his wife Patty into a careworn, nagging woman, and eventually plays a significant part in driving him insane.

One aspect of what Bond calls 'the armed state' (*Sharpville Sequence* 1970) is organized violence in the form of warfare. His recent dramatic opera *We Come to the River* (1976) develops this. The play opens with the main character: the General, successfully winding up a bloody civil uprising. With swift irony the inhuman violence of the situation is exposed through the incident of the deserting soldier (an erst while agent of this violence). During the boy's court martial that follows, he is given no opportunity to defend himself, but one is told through another character that he (the soldier) was found by the road side too stupified to speak. Arbitrary as it may sound, the General's assumption that he had deserted the field because he was afraid is the truth, and this is validated as the play progresses. A state of stupified fear is the most 'human' reaction to an inhuman situation. At the end of the trial not only is the deserter's doom assured but also of his comrades in the long run, since as the General points out: 'There is no victory—you only win time you need to prepare for the next war. It will come and the soldiers will want to run away. I must make them stay... You will be shot in the morning' (Scene 3, p. 86). The despair and bitter irony inherent in this state of affairs is further built

up in a following scene in which the local gentry applauds the bloody exploits of the army, and the age old clichés of patriotism and 'sacrifice' for the 'fatherland' are rhapsodically re-evoked. (Scene 4, p. 86...)

The General's eventual moral awakening to the horrors he has participated in inflicting, is first engendered in his encounter with Young Woman. He finds the poor wretch desperately trying to dig out the body of a battered soldier, convinced that is her husband. He tries to prevent her saying: 'Look there's no face. He could be anyone, his clothes are anyone's—a uniform' (Scene 9). But it is precisely this anonymity that among other things, suggest the uniformally inhuman cruelty of war. Man has indeed been reduced to something beyond recognition. This violent and tragic transformation is vividly expressed in the stark images of the Young Woman's song:

'Five sticks and an apple  
One head, two arms, two legs  
Stick them in, a man  
Throw him, catch him, play  
When you're hungry; eat him'. (Scene II)

Here there is a bitter reversal of King Lear's conception of man as a 'poor, bare, forked animal' (Act III). Since the bareness lies not in discovering the essential, but in stripping away of essential humanity. In becoming an object to be tossed about and finally consumed, the worst prenatal fears of MacNeice's unborn infant (*A Prayer Before Birth* 1949) are realized. The concluding line of the song takes one back to the grotesque cannibalistic orgies of Bond's eminent Victorians in *Early Morning* (1968).

In *We Come to the River* the dramatist's concern with the break down of humanness itself, and the role of institutionalised violence in this process is sustained. The drama is not interiorized. The General's spiritual progress is set in the context of a growing rebelliousness in the 'people' against the brutality they are both subjected to, and forced to inflict, and more



particularly in the Young Women's poignant lament. His blindness is redemptive, like Gloucester he loses his sight when he begins to see the truth. His 'madness' however, is imposed. When he begins to 'see', he becomes a threat to the establishment, and has to be relegated to a lunatic asylum. If the end of the play is ironical and pessimistic, with his being drowned by a group of mad men and women, there is also the suggestion of some hope. The General has become capable of experiencing his own guilt; and of acknowledging his responsibility for much of the senseless bloodshed. His longing to die as a 'sane man' is coupled with the desire to be cleansed and made whole once more: 'Let me be sane before I die. I wanted to be buried in a huge square under a stone horse. Now I would like to be under trees by running water where there is still a sky'. (Scene 16, pg. 118).

In the world of the play, adults destroy and are destroyed. The child survives. The continuity and resilience of life, and the possibility of restoration is affirmed in the song of the Old Woman:

'Child you are strong

You have nothing and your hands are small

But the world spins like clay on a potter's wheel

And you will shape it with your hands'.

(Scene 16, pg. 119).

It is only appropriate that the General repeats the words of the song after her.

The reaction of several critics (with a few exceptions, of course) to Bond's socio-Philosophical critique has been rather unfavourable on the whole. There is a certain superciliousness in their attitude, to what they consider the simple mindedness of his Rousseauistic vision of 'man' as essentially innocent and 'society' as a corrupting, 'satanic abstraction' (Irving Wardle, 1969). However, in neither the plays, nor in his lucid prefaces does one find him basing his theories about society, and the

nature of violence on such naive convictions. Mankind is not absolved of all guilt. The rank unweeded garden of modern society is of man's making, and there is nothing inscrutable or mysterious about the laws of economics.

In his early plays the emphasis is more on individuals who are forced by the general hostility of their environment into hitting back through violence. In his two later plays *Lear* (1972) and *Bingo* (1974) the concern is with those who at least initially, have power, but who employ it against other human beings through the mechanics of an unjust and repressive state apparatus. This is particularly applicable to Edward Bond's *Lear*, which contemporizes Shakespeare's play and gives it a new relevance.

The action begins with a portrayal of the old king and an ignorant and autocratic ruler. As the play progresses Lear is made aware of his moral irresponsibility through the events of a bloody civil war, and the insane brutalities of his two daughters. The scenes of violence in the play are gruesome. Lear is blinded on the stage; Fontanelle is shown stamping in manical glee on the lungs of the already battered Warrington, while Bodice pierces his ears with her knitting needles. At another point in the action, a group of soldiers rape a pregnant woman in the midst of her slaughtered pigs. All these incidents are meant to shock so that one is forced into taking note of the play's equally, if not more shocking social and political world.

Bond's attitude to the individual's isolated acts of violence is developed through his treatment of Bodice and Fontanelle. For all their ability to conceive, and inflict the most grotesque forms of physical torture, they are not reduced to caricatures of female sadism. An important aspect of the play's dramatic coherence is the way in which their personality and actions are linked with the theme of Lear's moral awareness. Discussing this, Bond says: 'I thought that the... daughters though I am not excusing them, were very unfairly treated and misunderstood. What I wanted Lear to do was to recognize that they were his daughters—they had been formed by his activity, they were children of his state, and that he was



totally responsible for them. (Theatre Quarterly 1972). They are guilty but in thinking of them only as distorted and abnormal individuals like the teenagers in *Saved*, one avoids the central issue of locating their violence, and in doing that, understanding it as a phenomenon.

As in the case of the General, Lear's developing critical consciousness is not merely a private spiritual achievement. To a great extent everything that happens to him stems naturally from the kind of society he has created. His responsibility is stressed when Bond says: 'that it was very important that he could not get out of his problems simply by suffering the consequences, or by endurance and resignation. He has to live through the consequences and struggle with them'. (Theatre Quarterly).

Lear is killed in the end because he has begun to threaten the 'armed state'. If the futility of good intention and right action in a corrupt world is illustrated by this, it is also counteracted by the play's structure. It is significant that his death takes place only after he has resolved to destroy the hated 'wall' (the central image of his tyrannical rule) and articulated a constructive wish to live till I'm much older and become as cunning as a fox, who knows how to live. *Then I could teach you.* (Act 3, pg. 85). The emphasis is on living responsibly so that something positive can be done to change social reality. Lear's wish is not realized but this does make the conclusion necessarily pessimistic. He dies in the act of pulling down the wall. This gesture—if only a gesture is simultaneously symbolic and social. It affirms the need and an existential commitment to confronting and oppressive and dehumanizing system of power.

Like *Lear*, *Bingo* subtitled *Scenes of Money and Death*, is concerned with the issue of man's social and moral responsibility, and the relevance of this to the main character: Shakespeare. In his preface to the play Bond argues, that in his decision to side with the landowning class against the dispossessed common people (his supposed neutrality only strengthens the oppressors) Shakespeare allies himself with the Goneril and Regan

'world' rather than with the humane and critical consciousness of the enlightened Lear. (refer Introduction to *Bingo*, pg. ix). Shakespeare is given the opportunity to choose, and he chooses wrongly. His personal despair and sense of failure is inextricably bound up with the consequences of this wrong choice.

At one level, like *The Fool*, and *We Come to the River*, the play can be seen as an interiorized drama, focusing on a single individual and his crisis of conscience. The opening stage direction 'Emptiness and silence' (Part 1, pg. 1) is an appropriate pathetic fallacy for the main character's inner condition. Shakespeare is shown at the end of his life as a weary, embittered man. He is consumed by a 'cold and formal' hatred (Part 2, pg. 42) that has turned inwards upon himself and is expressed in graphic, physical images: 'There is a taste of bitterness in my mouth. My stomach pumps it when I think. (Part 2, pg. 48). The enormous sense of pain and futility of his: 'I sit in a wound as large as a valley... I sit at the bottom and cry at my own death' (Part 2, pg. 43) exposes an inner landscape as cruel and bleak as Lear's health, but invested with none of the redeeming aspects of suffering. His need for the 'truth', as only a violent confrontation with that can satisfy him, is expressed through an overwhelming self hatred.

The action however, operates on another level as well, and this is affirmed by the subtitle: *Scenes of Money and Death*. Shakespeare is portrayed as a lonely, withdrawn man, and his daughter Judith as a resentful and bewildered young woman. But the failure of their relationship is not so much rooted in their individual personalities, as in the cash nexus which determines the nature of whatever little emotion binding them. With cold truthfulness he tells her 'I have loved you with money.' The only thing I can afford to give you now is money. But money always turns to hate (Part 2, pg. 42). This revelation is linked with the dramatic emphasis on what lies outside the personal bitterness of the man. Shakespeare's self disgust is explored in terms of what he is: a morally inactive and therefore corrupt man. What he is, is largely



conditioned by two factors : What he did not do, which was to act and choose justly and humanely (he is haunted by a sense of things left undone, and this is echoed in the recurring question : 'Was anything done?') and what he did do, which was to further the interests of a ruthless, gain oriented class. His private anguish is set in the context of a social structure devoid of human 'compassion' and economic justice. This is the 'Goneril Society with its prisons, Work houses, whipping, starvation, mutilation,' and 'pulpit hysteria' (pg. ix).

Bingo is a grim play and offers no ready solutions to the issues it raises. But in its overall vision it is forward looking, and this is particularly borne out by the end. When Shakespeare decides to kill himself to make an existential decision, and this is counterposed with his earlier inability to commit himself. In the face of what his life has been reduced to—a state of death, it is the only course, and it is the right one. There is nothing aggressively moral about the way Bond justifies this realization. It is accommodated easily and naturally by the overall dramatic logic of the action. The 'rightness' of the end acts as a positive alternative to, and a confrontation with the 'Goneril Society.' (p. xi).

Bond does not claim to have found the ideal answer to the frightening and immediate crises of a dehumanized and dehumanizing environment. The emphasis in his work is on 'clashing' with the problem, and in the process of that evolving an enlightened 'method of change'. (The Guardian 1974) (Preface to *Lear*, pg. xiii). The contribution of his drama to this end, lies in his ability to revitalize the rational and feeling concern of the audience with what is to be done. They must be 'so strongly moved as to want to take action.' (Theatre Quarterly 1972).

Counterposed with the rampant irrationality and aggression of modern society, is the vision of restoring to the emasculated and desensitized individual some of the dignity and humanness he originally possessed as a sane species. His characters uphold the need and the viability of a search for a more humane social existence, and Bond's protest is strengthened by this affirmation.

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