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Voice Against Torture



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Mandate

Support and sensitize medical, legal, educational, cultural, human rights activists, journalists and other professionals regarding rehabilitation, health and rights of survivors of torture, abuse, discrimination and violence. Emphasize its impact on individuals and the methods of healing and rehabilitation.

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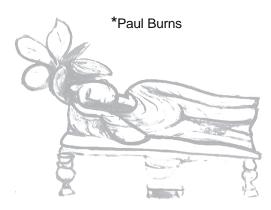
Editorial

Being cognizant of the need for integration of social dimension in medical dispensations including *inter alia* trauma management, Voice Against Torture (VAT) has revisited the scope of RAHAT Medical Journal (RMJ) by adding in it a more pronounced human rights dimension.

Earlier, RMJ focused sharply on health aspect of trauma management from both psychological & health perspective; and now additional information about a wider vista on the tapestry of human rights will help add value to the discourse in RMJ on torture management. To this end, information will be sourced from host of medical and allied means, related to the domain of psychology, psychiatry, physiotherapy, liberal arts, academics, and the book reviews, to name a few.

The new health and human rights interface, in the RAHAT Health and Human Rights Journal will hopefully help understand torture and other related issues in all the details and for deep-delved reasons. The causal relationship of such gruesome acts of violence to the psycho-social settings & behaviors has to be probed; which will help uproot the deep seated causes. With the same token, the root causes of an act of terror have to be investigated; otherwise, punishments would mean nothing more than merely shying away 'from the heart of matter. Rather than ameliorating the pain & agony because of such acts, it would foster scores of heinous crimes - communal violence, suicide attacks, honor killings, injustices, murders, state-sponsored tortures, assaults, and many more because of disconnect between cause and the cure. There is a danger that uninformed handling of the affairs can further disfigure the frail HR scenario; and on top of it, it would not be considered as anything related to torture, or to human rights abuse.

Flashbacks Experienced by the Survivors of Torture and Trauma



Flashbacks are frequently reported or observed in traumatized survivors. This article reflects on the nature and variety of flashbacks and ways of responding to them when they happen within a session.

Flashbacks are often seen as a defining feature of PTSD but they are just one form of the reexperiencing component required for this diagnosis and not the most common. Alternative components are persistent intrusive thoughts, nightmares, and mental and physiological responses to reminders of the precipitating event. In the psychological sense of the word, flashbacks are mostly associated with trauma but it may help to see them in a wider context, such as this description.

"For general purposes flashbacks can be defined as the sudden re-experience of events that may range from pleasant to terrifying. If pleasant they are lifesustaining, and may even be induced voluntarily and consciously by the sight, sound, smell, touch, taste, and fond recollections of former times. If terrifying they are life-threatening, and are evoked involuntarily and unconsciously. They may be of either short or long duration, and will vary in their frequency of recurrence, intensity, and fragmentation."

Art: Shahid Mirza

^{*&}quot;This article is also appearing in Counselling at Work Journal (Issue 56, May 2007) published by the British Association of Counseling & Psychotherapy".

If this classification is accepted then flashbacks are not necessarily pathological, far more common, and may be pleasant or trivial as well as horrific. It also raises the possibility that there is a continuum between everyday versions of flashbacks and their most unpleasant presentations.

In a number of rooms where there was no blackboard I have reminded a group of the sound of nails scratching such a surface. Many people reported and some could be observed shuddering at the thought of this noise, demonstrating both how even an imagined, non-threatening stimulus can invoke involuntary responses and how susceptible individuals can be to flashbacks in the wider sense of the term. With some clients concerned about flashbacks I use this example to suggest that what they have experienced is a more marked version of a common occurrence rather than a sign of "madness".

The History of "Flashback"

The term seems to have originated in the chemical industry to describe a type of explosion. By 1916 it was being used to describe time shifts in novels or films and in the 1960s as a metaphor for experiences that appeared to be linked to previous use of hallucinogens.

In 1941 Kardiner referred "hallucinatory reproductions of sensations on the original occasion". Flashback did not appear in DSM-III in1980 but the associated phenomena were described in that issue. The term was added to a revision of DSM-III in 1987 and is included in DSM-IV under PTSD as "dissociative flashback episodes".

A UK study of military records found that flashbacks were far less common before the 1970's. The authors suggest that this could indicate that responses to extreme events are being mediated by culture.

Names

Flashbacks are referred to as waking nightmares, traumatic recall, reliving the trauma, and, of course, are a type of dissociation. Some clinicians have regarded flashbacks as a form of spontaneous abreaction. When clients limit what they share about reexperiencing or a professional for other reasons has limited information, other labels might be used, e.g. transient hallucination, panic attack, amnesia, concussion, poor concentration, and confusion.

Clients may not call their experiences "flashbacks" but have other terms that are influenced by culture such as "possessed", or more idiosyncratic descriptions like "a fit of the terrors", "weird moments" or "losing it".

Nature of Flashbacks

"Compared to normal autobiographical memory, flashbacks are dominated by sensory details such as vivid visual images and may include sounds and other sensations. However, these images are typically disjointed and fragmentary, 'Reliving' of these memories is reflected in a distortion in the sense of time such that the traumatic events seem to be happening in the present rather than (as in ordinary memories) belonging in the past."

In one study people meeting PTSD criteria were asked to write about the trauma and later identified what was written while in flashback as opposed to ordinary memory. Flashback periods had more detail, particularly perceptual detail, more mentions of death, more use of the present tense, and more mention of fear, helplessness, and horror. Ordinary memory sections were characterized by more mentions of secondary emotions such as guilt and anger.

One review of flashback literature found it hard to distinguish between what had been lived through and imagined experiences. This may mean that when there are no other witnesses readily available it is difficult to establish what are accurate recollections rather than distorted, invented or what might have come from the suggestions of others. The British Psychological Society has warned "Psychologists must be aware that the question of whether traumatic memory is processed, stored and recalled differently from normal memory is currently unresolved. Unusual, dramatic, powerful or vivid memories, and 'flashback' bodily sensations cannot be relied upon as evidence of the historical truth or falsity of the recovered memories."

Variations in Flashbacks

The nature of flashbacks varies significantly and even an individual could have a range of flashback experiences. For example, re-experiencing may be more vivid when there are other stresses in an individual's life or less debilitating as recovery progresses. The aim of the following list is to reduce assumptions about what "flashback" means for an individual.

When asking about very fearful experiences judgment and care are called for and the list is not recommended as the basis for systematic questioning. However, it may be useful to refer to the list on occasions to consider what details are missing and whether seeking these would be in the interests of the client.

- 1. *Kinds* Does the person distinguish between different kinds of flashbacks and if so using what criteria?
- 2. Length of the flashback How long was the person absorbed in the reexperiencing?
- 3. Frequency How often are the flashbacks and, if there are different sorts, how frequent are these?

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what happened during the flashback without re-triggering or overwhelming anxiety?

- 19. Clarity If able to recall, did the experience involve a specific time and place, or was it less clear, or seem more generalised? Especially in survivors of multiple trauma, are elements of events entangled, perhaps adding to confusion about the sequence even when less dissociated?
- 20. Range and Focus of Senses If able to recall, what senses seem to have been most engaged during the flashback? As well as sight, sound, smell and taste there are different kinaesthetic senses. We register some sensations through our skin and hair. Some feelings may also be sensed more deeply, such as a squeezed hand. We have proprioceptive sensors that tell us how body parts are positioned and moving. Then there are physical sensations that are often linked subjectively to emotions, e.g. a heavy feeling in one person's stomach might be linked to "anxiety" and in another the same feeling means "depression". Finally, the vestibular system of the inner ear informs the brain about balance, motion and acceleration.
- 21. Missing Senses Are some senses missing and to what extent might this be understandable? E.g. - if it was very dark during an extreme event vision would be limited while in an incident involving spilled ammonia it would be curious if smell did not feature.
- 22. Time Was the experience of time distorted e.g. slowed, speeded, frozen?
- *23. Coping Style -* How is the person after the immediate terror of flashback? E.g. - numb or other forms of dissociation, agitated, aggressive, blaming...?
- 24. Preferred Response After a flashback what does the person do or would prefer to do? E.g., avoid or seek company, wish to be held or avoid physical contact, be active or passive, speak or be silent, and use of substances?
- 25. Post-Feelings After the flashback has receded how does the person feel about herself and her predicament and what thoughts are linked to these feelings?
- *26. Post-Meaning* After the flashback has receded how does the person evaluate it and what concerns are there? E.g., "I am cursed" or a fear that such an experience is a "sign of insanity".

Grounding

The first time a client had a dramatic flashback as he sat opposite me I was shocked. His eyes rolled, he whimpered and cowered in his chair and appeared to be trying to protect his face. My immediate response was alarm but I tried to conceal this as more fear is the last thing that such a client needs. What is most likely to be of help is hearing a voice that sounds familiar and friendly yet authoritative. This voice keeps reminding them where and when they are and that now it is safe. Once their attention can be redirected, invite them to pay attention

to stimuli within the room or that can be perceived from it.

Grounding has several meanings but in the context of responding to a flashback it refers to situational awareness and distracting techniques. These can be used both by a clinician and by the person seeking to avoid or recover from an overwhelming reexperiencing or other states such as panic attacks.

Draw the attention of the client away from what is distressing and towards what is neutral or positive. In selecting new areas of attention avoid items that might link the person back to the traumatic event. E.g. if someone has been in a motor accident don't draw attention to the sound of traffic outside.

Grounding is readily accepted or at least not objected to by people who are dissociated or panicking. But if you have discussed and demonstrated grounding before it is needed, this limits the scope for confusion and may speed up responses to it.

Examples of Redirection

- 1. A series of simple questions about features in the room. E.g. "What colour is the door? How many chairs are in the room?" However, if people have difficulty answering questions simply direct attention.
- 2. Drawing attention to features in a room. E.g. "Notice the grain of the wooden bowl..."
- 3. Directing attention to parts of the body. E.g. "Notice how your left foot is touching the floor..." Simply drawing attention to breathing or heart may hinder as these could act as reminders of the distress but getting to breathe slower and deeper may be useful.
- 4. Providing information about time and place. E.g. Remind of the "month & year" and "current location". Avoid name of place where the trauma happened. E.g. For a survivor of a bombing in London, instead of London give the name of a district not associated with the terrorism.
- 5. Changing physiology. E.g. Instruct to stand up, take steps or ask, "What happens when you look up at the ceiling?"
- 6. Describing a picture that can be seen by client and telling a story about it. E.g. "In the picture is a lake. See how still it is. The pure water came from melting snow and it sustains many plants and animals. It is a safe place, just like this room..."

If you sense the client may respond, you could ask them to tell you what else she or he can see in the picture. If they are not ready to respond resume your commentary.

Conclusion

While not the most common reaction to an extreme event, flashbacks and beliefs about them add significantly to distress. Clients may need reassurance that these responses do not suggest other forms of mental illness.

Rather than being consistent, flashbacks vary in many ways. The list of differences above could help clinicians better understand a client's flashback experiences and to identify facets to explore further.

As with many other symptoms, it may make little sense to attempt to treat flashbacks in isolation, apart from responding to them as they happen with grounding techniques. However, contained within the flashbacks are unresolved elements of the trauma and part of helping to assist the reprocessing of an experience could be to discuss the nature of the flashbacks linked to it.

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Partition, Violence and Migration: The Case of Miana Gondal

Ahmed Saleem

Overview of Migration and Resettlement in West Punjab

Introduction

The territorial division of India and Pakistan is significant as it did not only mean independence for India and Pakistan in the perspective of South Asian history but it also marked the beginning of a global trend towards decolonization. Unfortunately, this division ignited Pakistan - India tension.

The partition resulted in extreme violence and became one of the largest migrations in world history. Partition related deaths are estimated to be half a million, while some ten to twelve million migrants moved across borders in Punjab and Bengal. In addition, tens of thousands of girls and women were raped and/or abducted. Though violence was the most entrenched repercussion of partition, the boundary award contributed to other disruptions: long-term border tensions, infrastructure problems, and the lasting conflict over Kashmir.

Partition

Migration

Following the partition of 1947, mass movement of population across the borders of India and Pakistan took place in an atmosphere of violent communal disturbances. Millions of people moved across the borders, making this migration to be the largest ever in the recorded world history.

Migration and the untold miseries of the people are a dominant theme in contemporary literature. These two factors initiated innumerable studies. Nevertheless, historical studies focus on the causes of partition than its impact on people and society.

The partition of India was geographically achieved by dividing Punjab and Bengal. The migration to the provinces other than these two was comparatively slow. Particularly in Sindh, it had been selective and voluntary as migrants continued to come to Sindh for a generation. Whereas, West Punjab experienced an immediate influx of refugees. The refugee problem assumed enormous proportions in the West Punjab where thousands of homeless and panic-stricken people streamed in everyday from the disturbed districts of Amritsar, Jullundur, Hoshiarpur and Ludhiana. Seventy three percent of the migrants from India landed in West Punjab making the province accommodate more than 5 million people, about one-fourth of the existing population. For instance, Lahore's 43 percent population comprised migrants, this ratio was 49 percent for Multan, 50 percent for Gujranwala, 65 percent in Jhang and 69 percent for Lyallpur and Sargodha.

The main repercussions of this sudden influx can be summed up as under:

- People suffered individually and in groups as they ran for their lives, leaving behind their belongings, homesteads, relatives and properties. In most cases, their luggage comprised few clothes and eatables mostly roasted grams. Some people were barefooted. As ethnic cleansing was one of the main motives behind the communal disturbances, armed gangs forced the people to evacuate their homes thus migrants were ill prepared to face the calamities and troubles lying ahead.
- Another problem faced by migrants was of non-availability of means of transport to reach refugee camps. Most walked to the camps while very few had the privilege of bull-carts. This type of slow movement made them more vulnerable to attacks. Moreover, they were ill equipped against attacks because nearly all of them were unarmed. Only a few people somehow managed to keep swords or guns with them.

- Punjab was a major contributor to the British Army and both the Eastern and Western parts had ex-servicemen in most families. This added to fatal attacks most of which were well organized and properly planned.
- Poor means of transport and underlying rivers and blocked bridges made the evacuation a time consuming activity. Whereas, life in the refugee camps proved to be a bitter experience with multiple problems such as insufficient and unhygienic food, fear of attacks and spreading diarrhoea. Generally, the refugees were not allowed to go outside the camps. This resulted in shortage of consumables; and the people had to depend on rations meted out by the authorities or supplies provided by street hawkers. In addition, armed killers prowled around refugee centres and taking advantage of army's somnolent attitude, attacked the hapless and unprotected people huddled in the camps. It was also observed that the local *tehsildars* and other government officials helped gangsters to carry out wiping out operations for them. In an incident in Jandiala Guru, Sikh army surrounded about 1500 refugees in a camp and shot whoever tried to escape from the cordon. Hand grenades were also hurled at refugee camps killing and injuring many.
- Most people lost their relatives in the tumult. Some started considering their lives to be useless and simply offered themselves to the wrath of armed killers. Whereas, those who escaped, had a low morale and could not participate actively in embarking upon a new life in Pakistan.
- Communal riots and mass killings occurred on a large scale. Entire villages were burnt; trucks full of migrants hewn; trains, buses and caravans frequently attacked; children killed and girls kidnapped. Nearly half a million people died within a few months of partition.
- Over the years, Sikhs had developed a political profile distinct from Hindu and Muslim communities. They had presented the idea of 'Azad Punjab' in 1942 and of 'Sikhistan' in 1944, later demanding constitutional guarantees for Sikhs to create an independent Sikh state if India was not divided. Their exploitation at the hands of Hindus also contributed to their participation in ethnic cleansing. Sikh *jathas* inflicted maximum damage on Muslim evacuees from Eastern Punjab.
- The increasing incidences of abductions and attacks on women in 1946-47, undoubtedly were attempts to expose and 'dis-honour' and erode the selfidentity of the 'other'. During the attacks on villages, women jumped into wells to save their honour. Thousands of women and children were abducted on both sides of the border and later, the unwillingness of their families to accept them added to their miseries. Scenes of women and children brutally

Partition

treated and mercilessly killed were common, corpses often bore a sword or *karpan.*

- The Radcliffe Award on the partition of Punjab, proclaimed three days after partition, disclaimed the allocation of Muslim majority areas of Gurdaspur, Ludhiana and Amritsar to Pakistan. Whatever impact the Award had on the geographical features or future of Pakistan, it left thousands of people unaware of the lurking danger of communal wrath. They distributed sweetmeats to rejoice inclusion of their areas in Pakistan, but their celebrations were overtaken by the fire of reactive violence and thousands of them were killed.
- Subsequent wars in 1965 and 1971 made it clear that Radcliffe's boundaries were not neat lines but raw and restless divisions.
- Moreover, the Radcliffe Line also cut through the Punjab's well-developed infrastructure, disrupting road, telephone, and telegraph communications and most importantly, interfering with the region's vital irrigation system. In a rare success story, the 1960 Indus Waters Treaty largely resolved Punjab's water-related problems. However, those original water problems were related to final and the most serious issue of Kashmir that has been plaguing Pakistan-India relations since.
- Some people embraced Islam to avoid evacuation from Western Punjab. They were termed as *deendar* (holders of the faith) by the locals, and so, their belongings and properties remained undisturbed.
- In an atmosphere of stern ethnic strife, many people risked their own lives for safe evacuation of the migrants of other ethnic origins.
- Majority of migrants considered the partition a temporary matter because of the rumours and predictions made by Hindu leaders. Therefore, people migrated half-heartedly or when forced by other communities, with an aim to come back to their areas as ancestral villages/cities are a mark of identity and pride for people.
- As Pakistan came into being with substantially low resources and enormous problems, resettlement of millions of refugees being one of them, most people did not think Pakistan was economically viable to hold for over a few months.
- Lying at the heart of the experience of partition, are cities like Delhi that will continue to haunt many South Asian Muslims as a memorial of their vanished glory and a source of deep pain, sense of loss and longing.

Resettlement

The rehabilitation and resettlement of millions of refugees was a tedious task requiring sound planning and years of hard work. It posed great difficulties for an economically disadvantaged and newly formed state. Restoration of industry and land under cultivation was not enough but expansion of both was necessary to provide jobs to millions in the refugee camps.

The partition of Punjab led to the emergence of a majority Muslim society in the western part. The bulk of refugees from East Punjab were settled down in their new land within a year. Their claims to property were also settled due to early exchange of revenue records with India. On both sides of the border, many were reported to have amassed wealth on the basis of fake claims in connivance with the officials who were handling refugees.

The studies conducted about the resettlement of evacuees of 1947 Indo-Pak partition, are marked by the following trends:

- In some areas, people welcomed the refugees and offered them accommodation, land, food and helped them in setting up different enterprises.
- Refugee experiences on arrival varied enormously. Some had relatives and were soon able to pick up their old occupations. The less fortunate had to make their own way and faced short term exploitation and demoralizing inactivity in the camps.
- Generally, the condition of refugee camps was miserable. There was shortage of food and other consumables because the corrupt among the government officials sold most of donated goods in black markets.
- In some areas, prejudice against refugees was apparent and although it happened mostly in Sindh, Punjab was no exception in scoffing refugees away from local matters.
- When Hindus and Sikhs migrated to India, their urban and rural properties were selectively confiscated by the relatively 'enterprising' people living in the vicinity. However, soon when the government started allotting evacuee property to the incoming refugees from India, the local occupants of the evacuee property were forced to leave. This increased antipathy toward the incoming refugees.
- The process of claim compensation was neither organised nor transparent bribes, contacts with government officials and sometimes forgery were considered necessary to speed up the process or make it fruitful. People with means benefited and received instant compensation. Many who owned

Partition

nothing in Eastern Punjab, fraudulently became owners of huge properties.

- Most of the well-to-do migrants were poorly compensated in Western Punjab. Reasons could be inability or unwillingness to pay bribes or adopt any other unfair means. Whereas, there were some lucky people whose claims were compensated transparently and to their satisfaction.
- Some migrants always thought of going back to their homes in Eastern Punjab. These thoughts were strongly marked by a sense of displacement. They could not accept the reality of partition and remained unsettled in their efforts to go back and hence could not establish themselves in the new homeland.
- The politically astute and educated people were aware that partition could not be averted. They started a new life in Pakistan soon after their arrival.
- An example of optimism and hard work was projected by those who adjusted to the changing scenarios in the new land. They took to their previous occupations or went into new enterprises.
- Some people left their belongings in the supervision of their friends and neighbours perceiving a possible return under favourable circumstances. Unfortunately, that did not happen.
- In a relatively short time, migrants became settled in the West Punjab. Due to the massacre and horrific communal riots, their sense of insecurity, threats to Muslim identity and dependence on armed forces increased manifold. They generally behaved as a constituency for marital law governments or became a lobby for right-wing parties with anti-India and Pan-Islamic policies. Migrants' political identity carried extra weight because of their presence in the cities in large numbers.
- The impact of *en masse* migration to West Punjab made it the majority province in Pakistan, acquiring central importance in terms of military, bureaucracy and economic power.

Partition inflicted great suffering, on a scale rarely seen in human history; still the estimates of casualties remain controversial. Independence of India and Pakistan is not the only legacy of partition in South Asia, but also of violence and of the memory of violence. The wounds have left their scars on minds if no longer on the bodies, of many South Asians and the damage has been passed on to their descendants. The conflict between India and Pakistan, the unending propaganda by the two governments, and certain streams of public discourse including those generated by media and educational institutions reinforce cross-border resentments. Years after the independence of the Indo-Pak Subcontinent,

years after the creation of Bangladesh, and even after the withdrawal of the last Soviet soldier from Afghanistan, Pakistan is still a country in which refugee-based politics, resettlement process and armed conflicts involving millions of refugees, continue.

Why a Study on Miana Gondal?

In the perspective of partition, migration and resettlement, we have conducted a thorough study on Miana Gondal, a village of Western Punjab, which acquired centre stage during the partition of 1947.

Situated on the motorway from Islamabad to Lahore, Miana Gondal is a village in district Mandi Bahauddin. On one side of the village are Phulurwan and Bhalwal, the towns of Sargodha district and on the other side is Tehsil Pind Dadan Khan of district Jhelum. Miana Gondal is a small village, but its history extends to many centuries. A dispensary, post office and a primary school for boys was established here as early as in the late 19th century.

Prior to the partition, the village was a home to both Hindus and Muslims the latter being the majority. Hindus and Sikhs were in majority in the surrounding villages, which made the inclusion of those areas indispensable to this study for a deeper understanding of the local scene. The area has witnessed the Indo-Pak partition disturbances, influx of migrants and departure of evacuees. All has had an everlasting impact on its social, political and economic situation. Now, it stands peaceful but perplexed to cope with the ever-changing needs of urbanization. Stretching over an area of 8173 acres, the village has a total population of 17,872 (9,243 males and 8,629 females), out of which 106 are non-Muslims; whereas, the adjoining villages of Chak 26 and Wariat have population of 3,974 and 3,205 respectively and their current non-Muslim population statistics are 153 and 12 respectively.

Miana Gondal is my birthplace but I was two and a half years old in 1947, and reached awareness when the village had already changed by the influx of refugees. For me to know Miana Gondal without refugees, I needed to talk to people who had witnessed the partition.

It is noteworthy that the studies on Indo-Pak partition of 1947 conducted around the world, concentrate mainly on the prominent areas of Pakistan such as Lahore and Lyallpur (Faisalabad) and nobody has yet touched remote and far-flung areas. Secondly, most of these studies focus the killings as the primary issue and

so references to lifesaving incidents are rare to find. Another prevalent theme is the communal tension which was the moving force behind regional disturbances during partition. Obviously, such approaches have rendered many stories and facts undiscovered.

This study, however, is an attempt to see if a different approach will help us see a different reality. Focussing on an individual village of interior Punjab and highlighting the incidents where lives were protected through building a sophisticated social and economic fibre.

How This Study is Useful?

The usefulness of this work lies in the fact that it involves an entirely new and untouched area. The importance of Miana Gondal in the pre and post partition context is indisputable and makes this study unique in the existing works on partition.

Pakistan comprises 70 percent of rural population thus villages are important in the country's profile and history. In Punjab, a majority of refugees was accommodated in villages where their number exceeded five million. So it is important to understand the life before partition, impact of partition on these areas and the life that followed. This study could bring home the ground facts of Miana Gondal, a typical Punjabi village that more or less, is representative of most other villages in the province.

In ways, Miana Gondal may be similar to other villages of interior Punjab, it also has its own distinctive features. For instance, its people witnessed both destruction and humane elements during partition. As houses were being burnt and Hindus and Sikhs killed and driven away from the village, some people were busy saving lives and in some cases went as far as to endanger their own lives. The family of my grandfather, Khawaja Fazal Karim, helped out migrating Sikhs, saving their lives.

Focussing on a particular area, an objective view of inter-communal relations and harmony may help change some erroneous generalized theories about partition. In return, such efforts may play an important role in eliminating historical inaccuracies in most published works regarding partition in India and Pakistan. It also may help to reduce the impact of the 'enemy image' propaganda between the two countries, bringing people close together.

Insight

To understand the overall impact of partition on the region, various people who had witnessed the partition, were contacted including old settlers and new migrants of Miana Gondal, Wariat and Chak-26. In the light of their interviews, three divisions are made as follows.

- Pre Partition Scene
- Immigrants
- Resettlement Issues

Construction of the Pre-Partition Scene

According to the locals who were old enough to remember and recall events and the patterns of everyday life, the village comprised Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. Muslims were in the majority in Miana Gondal while surrounding villages of Chak-26 (formerly known as Gobindpura) and Chak-28 had other communities in greater number.

The entire population of Chak-28 consisted of Sikhs who were big landlords. Most of them were retired officers of British Indian Army and the government had allotted them vast lands in lieu of their services. Whereas, in Chak-26, the Muslim minority was engaged in menial labour for the non-Muslim Chaudhries. However, the people of these villages had good relations with Muslims.

In Miana Gondal the non-Muslims (mostly Hindus) were engaged in business. They were peace loving people and tried to avoid quarrels and disturbances. Being businessmen they probably did not wish to waste energies and resources on useless arguments and differences. Whenever they fought with each other, it never reached violence or physical assaults but remained an exchange of threats and epithets such as calling each other *Choorha, Mussalli*. They also had *khojis* (detectives) amongst them. If any villager was looted, they traced the footprints of the thieves and sometimes brought back the stolen items.

Ghulam Hussain maintains, in a nostalgic tone, that prior to partition all communities lived in peace and harmony and in an air of mutual trust and dependencies. They had good relations with each other and the village was a perfect example of a friendly environment. Chaudhri Sher Mohammed testifies to the above by recalling his family's relations with the neighbouring Sikhs. They had brotherly relations with two brothers Gopi Singh and Shahibzada and shared the agricultural land with them. They helped each other in various agricultural activities such as ploughing, weeding, watering and harvesting. He further states

that the Hindus of Chak-26 helped their family to recover the land which had been occupied by some tenants. Evidently, in some cases, class conflict and financial hierarchy transcends communal consciousness.

All the communities visited each other upon deaths and at marriages. According to Fatima Bibi, since Hindus and Sikhs were well-to-do, they used to help Muslims on these occasions by lending crockery and money. They also sent gifts and sweetmeats to the Muslims on celebrations. This is apart from the loans that they constantly made available to the Muslim farmers. Of course they charged interest but it was also a great facility. When Hindus left, some Muslims felt that there was no one now to come to their rescue and help. Muslims also helped Hindus and Sikhs on such occasions and participated in fairs and festivals such as "*besakhi*" and "*dewali*". During *besakhi* all people participated in tent pegging, horse races, wrestling and *kabaddi*. Regarding religious freedom, Haji Ahmad Bakhsh states that people were free to practicing their religions; no one interfered with the religious activities of other communities.

Religious differences didn't allow Muslims and Hindus to eat together as their eating habits were different. Religion permits Hindus to eat chicken and mutton but forbids eating beef while Muslims have no such restrictions. Hindus were more careful in this respect, when a Muslim passed by a *choka* (cooking place), their women used to clean it with *gobri* (a paste of mud and cow dung). There may be two reasons for that: the cow is considered holy in Hinduism, and, *gobri* is used for cleanliness and to add a sense of newness to their homes by all villagers irrespective of their religion. Fatima Bibi adds that when she touched clothing of Hindu women even accidentally, they went home and changed, calling those clothes *bhit* (foul). Muslims also did not take any eatables from Hindus but exchange of dry ration was frequent amongst the communities. Fatima Bibi disclosed that the lifestyle of Sikhs of Chak-26 was not to her liking as they remained 'dirty' most of the time and did not eat *halal* meat but that those of Chak-28 were different and had no objection to eating *halal* meat.

As all three communities abstained from eating things cooked by one another, special preparations were made for guests during marriages -Hindus arranged for Muslim cooks to cook food for the Muslim guests and vice versa.

In business, local Hindus were shopkeepers, dealers of various grains, and farmers. Amongst the farmers, some sold their lands to the influential people in the area before migration. Good in calculations and hardworking, Hindus had a

monopoly over the local business and owned most of the shops. Fatima Bibi was of the opinion that they sold their goods at low prices but managed to increase their profits fraudulently. For instance, selling most of their wares on credit, and then increasing the credit amount in their account books that were maintained in Hindi, a language few Muslims could read. The other feature was their commercial astuteness and business awareness. They knew all the ins and outs of the trade of grains and crops in the big markets of Sargodha and Mandi Bahauddin. On the contrary, Muslims were thought by Fatima Bibi as ignorant and illiterate. Despite labouring hard in the fields, they always remained in debt of Hindu money lenders.

Hindus were nice to everyone and keen to develop their customer relations. For instance, if women from other villages came to their grinding mills to take flour, they were given priority over the local customers and were even escorted to their homes after sunset for safety reasons. In addition, keeping with the practice of old times, they would add a small item free of cost. This was called *"jhoonga"* or bonus.

Ghulam Hussain Mohammed states that even if Hindus charged more prices than the market rates, Muslims did not know. They tilled the fields of tobacco, wheat, rice, but it was non-Muslims who enjoyed the profits.

Moreover, the Muslims had no notion of money making and were always in debt of Hindus. They would borrow throughout the year to meet their needs. By the time the year ended, the amount would grow considerably, and in some cases, they had to surrender their entire crops to payoff the loan, borrowing again. Even the bigger Muslim landlords were defaulters. The Muslims used to complain about this state of affairs. They narrated as to how they were at the mercy of the Hindu money-lenders, but they did nothing practical to get out of this vicious circle.

Ghulam Hussain told us that Hindus would convince Muslims to sell off their entire harvest to save the threshing and storing costs, and then to keep on purchasing small amounts for their daily needs. Also, Hindus would sell the grain at double the purchasing price.

Muslims also borrowed money on marriages and in other times of need. Soon the interest made those amounts enormous making Muslims financially crippled and totally dependent on Hindus.

Therefore, at the time of partition, leading to the evacuation of Hindus, nearly everyone owed money to them and some of big Muslim landlords even owed them hundreds of thousands of rupees.

The Event of Partition: Violence and Protection

At the announcement of partition, Hindus and Sikhs had to evacuate West Punjab leaving behind their land, houses and businesses, just like Muslim evacuees from East Punjab. Fatima Bibi maintains that although the word about exchange of population across the border was in the air, nobody could even imagine the process to be so swift. Sikh inhabitants of Gobindpura (Chak-26) fled even without locking their houses as women wept and lamented.

Soon, a wave of communal disturbances gripped the area. The tidings of loot and murder narrated by the Muslims evacuees from India infuriated the local Muslims as the non-Muslims were trying to migrate to India. Their evacuation was done smoothly except Chak-26 where evacuees were first taken to camps in Sargodha and Malakwal by the military and from there to the buses for India.

In that highly charged environment, there was uneasiness amongst villagers. Chak-26 became full of Muslim rioters and the Sikhs started feeling unsafe, building battlements outside their houses for safety.

According to Barkat Ali, Muslims of surrounding villages gathered at the 'dera' of Chaudhri Manak Bosaal and decided to attack Chak-26. Raja Sabir Khan came with men and rifles; some people from Bar Musa including Chaudhri Rahmat Khan and Chaudhri Lal Khan spoke with the local Inspector who was a Muslim, enlisting his support to get additional arms.

Muslims surrounded Chak-26, chanting slogans. Then they ran after the Sikhs and killed them, setting their houses and Gurdwara on fire. The people who set fire to the Gurdwara included Bakhsh *teli* and Islam *teli* from Wariat. When Bakhsh *teli* entered the Gurdwara, a Sikh woman who was hiding inside, attacked him with a sword but lost her life in the end. Around 1000 to 1500 people died in that attack before the situation was brought under control.

Ghulam Hussain brings to light the evacuation of the Sikhs of Chak-26. He states that the Muslims including Tahri Samur, Ismail Lohaar and Baqar Ranjha planned an attack on the trucks carrying Sikh evacuees. They had to pass near the school (now replaced by Miana Gondal Hospital) and the attackers set an ambush for a whole day but the trucks had changed their route. The attackers started running

after the trucks as the Muslim officer escorting the evacuees, warned them to refrain from any mischief. At their denial, the military opened fire, killing Ismail Lohaar and hitting Tahri Samur in the leg. Consequently, the gang retreated. Tahri Samur lived on for a few more years.

Rasoolan Bibi told us that when Hindus and Sikhs were evacuating Wariat, they had to pay money to their Muslim neighbours for protection and for the means to get away. Many Muslims took the protection money and killed some of them.

However, Chaudhri Sher Mohammed and Umer Hayat Gondal hold that the village was not destroyed by communal riots. The former states that only the crops had been set on fire when non-Muslims were leaving. Whereas, the later added that the damages inflicted to the non-Muslims were negligible. His own elders were much respected by Hindus and Sikhs. His village Wariat lay midway between Chak-26 and Chak-28 and his people had good relations with non-Muslims. When some persons wanted to cause harm, the elders would not allow them to do so, and that they also helped the non-Muslims to depart in peace from Phularwaan Railway station.

Fatima Bibi states that, as soon as the village was clear of Sikhs, everyone including women rushed to pick up whatever items of use they could find in the vacated houses. It was the cotton season and many Muslims started picking cotton from the fields. After some time the Chaudhries and men of other well-known families came and locked up the houses so that whatever was left inside should be secured for the Muslim refugees coming from India. Earlier Chaudhri Maualadad and Haji Khan had helped the Sikhs to depart peacefully.

"Deendars"

During the partition riots some non-Muslims converted to Islam to remain safe and to not have to leave their homeland and properties. Those people were named as "*deendars*" (holders of the faith) by the local Muslims. According to Ahmad Bakhsh, during the fight between Muslims and Sikhs, few killings occurred on both sides in Gobindpura. Some of the non-Muslims ran away, while some converted to Islam. But soon after the riots were over, all of them left for India.

Rasoolan Bibi states that the Muslims of Wariat advised Hindus and Sikhs not to leave but to convert and become Muslims. They cut off the long hair of many Sikhs and then invited the non-Muslims to a feast where they were served beef

which is prohibited in their religion. Most of the guests were forced to eat while some ran away.

There are many cases where the new converts neither left the place nor their former religions. During my childhood probably in the early fifties, when I visited a *deendar* woman, she was reciting *Garanth Sahib*. At my sight she quickly hid it under the bed sheet, but started crying for being seen. She asked me to take an oath never to tell anyone about what I saw.

Some family members of *deendars*, especially women, continued to secretively practice their religions for about two decades. But now their families are completely assimilated into the Muslim community.

About a similar situation in India, Zafar Ahmad states that a Gujjer family of his village in Tehsil Phagwara, India, converted to Hinduism during partition disturbances. This was just to save their skins from the wrath of communal rioters. Afterwards, with the help of Pakistan Army, that family did migrate to Pakistan.

Protection of non-Muslims

Muslims of Miana Gondal helped Hindu families in their safe evacuation from the area, Sardara Chadher was one of those Muslims who escorted Hindus to Phularwaan camp.

According to Chaudhri Nazir, Muslims of the surrounding areas planned to attack Chak-28. Mauladad and Haji Khan Mohammad of Wariat stood in their way and stopped them. They were even prepared to offer armed resistance to Muslims if they attacked the people of Chak-28. Later, non-Muslims were escorted to refugee camps.

Chaudhri Sher Mohammad states that when Hindus and Sikhs were leaving, people from surrounding areas came with harmful intentions. Sher Mohammed's family protected their friends from the attackers and helped them to depart safely. The family elders, Chaudhri Mohammed Hayat Gondal, Haji Mohammed Khan, Mauladad and Dost Mohammed had decided to protect their Hindu and Sikh neighbours. They also went to Chak-26 to assure the safety of Hindu families. There Ram Labhaya and Ram Wadhaya, two Hindu landlords, asked Sher Muhammed and his uncles to take their stocks of wheat, but they refused, saying that they did not need it.

About the belongings of the evacuees, Ghulam Hussain states that the Muslims took hold of whatever they could find. Some were given to the refugees voluntarily while the rest were confiscated by the government and auctioned. Whereas, Sher Mohammed states that his family locked all the vacated houses, made sure the goods were safe from the looters, and handed everything to Muslim migrants from India.

After leaving the village, the Hindus continued to communicate with their former friends and neighbours. Fatima Bibi states that some time after migration, a few non-Muslim families came to take away their goods left with Muslim friends for security. According to Sher Mohammed, it was Chaudhri Anar khan who received their letters.

Some of them also paid visits to Wariat, and one came with his wife and stayed with Chaudhri Mohammad Hayat Gondal. Chaudhri Sher Mohammed himself had friendship with Khan the goldsmith and Karam Chand but they never came and he kept on receiving the letters of another friend Gulab Singh till his death.

Immigrants

Most of the refugees in Miana Gondal are evacuees of Ludhiana, Jullundur and Kapurthala State. They came to the village in caravans, using various routes. Those who were travelling on foot came via Kasur, while those on trains came via Lahore.

Most men were on foot while women and children along with a few items of necessity arrived on bull-carts. They were in a miserable state and with very low morale and had lost all of their properties and many relatives in the disturbances. For instance Niaz Mohammad was so desolate that he thrice attempted suicide on his way to Pakistan; fortunately he was saved.

About the life in pre-partition India, most of the interviewees state that they lived in peace and harmony with the people of other communities. Some of them were agriculturists in Eastern Punjab and had good relations with Hindus and Sikhs. Though they abstained from eating together, some of them visited each other on marriages, other celebrations and ceremonies and most took part in the festivals together. Muslims had complete religious freedom over there and all the communities respected each other's religious values. According to Mehar Ali, some Hindus and Sikhs were his father's best friends. In fact his father had given a horse as dowry for the marriage of one of their daughters.

At the announcement of partition, the attitudes of the three communities changed towards one another and friends became enemies. *Jathas* of Hindus and Sikhs attacked the villages to evacuate Muslims of Eastern Punjab. They committed massacre, set houses on fire and abducted Muslim women.

Communal disturbance in Western Punjab had much to do with disturbance in the East. Mohammed Niaz states that communal troubles started in his area in India when a train carrying Hindus and Sikhs from Pakistan was attacked by Muslims near Lala Musa and many people were killed. When this train reached Phagwara in India, a wave of horror spread all around. There was retaliation and Hindus began murderous attacks on Muslims. Niaz's friends and relatives helped evacuate Muslim women, children and older people to a nearby village.

The evacuees had to leave abruptly so they could not arrange for the transportation of their belongings and only managed to bring some handy items with them. Their caravans were attacked frequently and many of them were killed and women abducted before reaching the camps.

Some migrants even stayed for months in refugee camps. Life was always at risk. People starved because it was unsafe to go out of the camps to bring food. They were in the army's protection, states Mahar Ali, but had nothing to eat. Two of his nephews, very brave young men, went out to fetch some fodder and were caught by Sikhs. One of them managed to escape but the other was killed. In the camp, Mahar Ali's mother and aunt died of illness.

It was a path of thorns. Sikhs attacked the caravans even with the assistance of the army. Life and honour both were at stake as the armed gangs killed people but took away young women. According to Bilgees Bibi, her cousin was abducted during evacuation but managed to escape afterwards.

In that horrific ethnic cleansing, some Hindus and Sikhs helped the Muslims evacuees as well. Some of them escorted them to camps, while some provided them with rations. According to Niaz, Meher Singh, a Sikh of village Thali was of great help to his family and other Muslims and even provided foodstuff to them. In Chak-29 (Eastern Punjab), Muslims had killed a large number of Hindus and Sikhs, however, Niaz's family remained safe from counter-attacks in the camps.

There were also some Hindus and Sikhs who asked the evacuees to sign off their properties to them in return of their help.

Tameeza Bibi says that Sikhs attacking her village in Jullunder, had shut them all up in their houses and began killing. Nineteen of her family members were killed, when a *chamar* (an outcast in Hindu caste system; working as sweeper or skin gatherer of decaying corpses of animals) from the local gurdwara advised the survivors to tell Sikhs that they did not belong to the prominent Muslim Rana family but were their servants. This worked well as the Sikhs had an old enmity with the Ranas. Some Sikhs from gurdwara also helped evacuees to reach the camp.

With great difficulties, these refugees reached Miana Gondal. Initially, the locals found their lifestyle to be different from that of their own till they got integrated in the new social fabric. Ghulam Hussain states that they ate on the ground sitting barefooted according to the *Sunnah* of the Prophet (PBUH). He adds that some refugees belonging to the villages of Hindus in Eastern Punjab, were not 'religious' or 'clean'.

The local interviewees state that they welcomed the refugees and treated them with concern. They provided them with rations. The persons who helped them most, were Baqri Ranjha, Mauladad, Mirza Khan, Haji Mohammad Khan, Haji Mushtaq Ruknana and Mutalli son of Shahu.

Initially, most refugees took to manual labour at one or two rupees per day. They also did labour during the construction of GT Road from Gujrat to Sargodha at one rupee per day. Whereas, those with the bull-carts busied themselves in transportation of goods such as fodder from Mona Depot and cotton harvest to Phularwaan. The rest started working with local agriculturalists. Men usually guarded the crops, while women picked cotton during the harvesting season. When property claims of refugees were compensated, they started tilling their own lands.

It is noteworthy, that the old settlers of the village hold that the refugees from India had a positive impact on the local scene. Barkat Ali says that the migrants brought modem ways with them. They taught the locals to make better *gur* from the sugarcane and this enabled them to make *shaker* in the coming days.

Resettlement Issues

After the exchange of property documents with India, immigrants were allotted lands and the houses deserted by the Hindus and Sikhs; those who could not get

lands in the area got allotments in other areas like Lyallpur (now Faisalabad). The respondents tell that according to refugee laws, the owner of ten acres of land in Eastern Punjab got around three and a half acres in Miana Gondal, and the owner of more than twenty five acres got eleven.

The villagers helped the refugees in setting up their enterprises. They provided them with ploughs and grain seeds. For instance, Chaudhri Salhoon sent his tenants to plough up the fields of refugees and also provided them with about 40 to 50 maunds of grain seed.

The immigrants usually spoke Urdu and Punjabi. Their accents were different from the locals, making intercommunication between the two difficult. According to Haji Ahmad Bakhsh the villagers couldn't understand the language of refugees because the later spoke in different Punjabi dialects.

Although most refugees settled down in Miana Gondal and recovered from the losses they underwent during partition, according to Karamat Bibi, they had lost their self-respect. Villagers still call them *panahgir* (refugees), which is a derogatory term. It is noteworthy that the refugee experience in urban areas, especially in Sindh, is different from rural areas. The refugees from India to those areas still insist on being called *muhajirs*. In fact the refugees in Sindh had distinctive characteristics. Bringing with them non-Sindhi language, customs and culture, they promulgated *Muhajir* Nationalism, which was soon established as a symbol of bureaucratic, educational and cultural dominance.

Haji Ahmad Bakhsh sums up the resettlement issue of evacuees: "They were very poor at their arrival and we helped them a lot. Initially they did low jobs and manual labour but afterwards set up their own businesses. Now they have excelled in their enterprises and are financially sound as compared to most of the old settlers. They are leading princely lives."

Barkat Ali compares today's Miana Gondal with that of British age in an interesting way. He states that the British age was far safer than today. Even women wearing jewellery could roam free; but these days, you can't go outside after sunset as theft and robbery are common.

Conclusion

At the time of partition a wave of communal violence undertook the region. Consequently, one of the largest migrations in history occurred across the Indo-

Pak borders. The rehabilitation and resettlement of millions of refugees and their integration into new atmosphere posed great difficulties for the economically disadvantaged and newly formed states.

In the above perspective, life in small villages such as Miana Gondal was very much affected. No doubt, the village acquired a centre stage because of its long history and socio-economic setup. It had been home to Hindus and Muslims living peacefully and in an environment of inter-communal dependencies. The influx of migrants and departure of evacuees somewhat transformed the village's socio political and economic scenario.

In addition, the accounts of respondents have helped us establish how incidents of saving live and violence was occurring at the same time; and how in a sophisticated social fibre, the class conflict and the financial hierarchy transcended the communal consciousness. Hindus had a hold over the local business and Sikhs enjoyed the status of landlords; whereas Muslims were mostly inferior to them. The few Muslim landlords had stronger economic ties with Hindus and Sikhs. This factor also contributed to the inter-communal harmony in an area of Muslim majority. But the wave of violence which overtook the whole area during partition forced Hindus and Sikhs to evacuate. Some converted to Islam to remain safe and to avoid evacuation. Some flew to India at the restoration of peace and order, whereas, many new converts stayed there and now their families have been integrated completely into Muslim communities.

An en masse influx of refugees occurred in the area. The immigrants were welcomed by the villagers, who helped them settle in Miana Gondal and are also of the opinion that the refugees from India had a positive impact on the local scene; for instance, they brought modern ways with them.

Even after their integration into new social setup, some refugees think that they have lost their self-respect, and some villagers still call them *panahgir* (refugees). This facet of refugee experience is different from Sindh where *Muhajir* Nationalism has been established as a symbol of bureaucratic, educational and cultural dominance.

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The Neurobiological Consequences of Psychological Torture

Rona M. Fields, Ph.D.

In 1971, findings reported by this author in a series of articles, indicated that prolonged stress through sleeplessness, time disorientation, threat and physical abuse; sensory deprivation; limitations of oxygen intake, hypnosis, drugs and overcrowding "cage-like confinement of an apparently random selection of a thousand catholic men resulted in measurable organic damage. One hundred twenty five individually tested at that time found that two thirds tested measurable brain damage within two years of their release from the imprisonment).

Data based studies in clinical and social psychology; in sociology and developmental psychology report animal and human laboratory experimental findings predicting outcomes such as these are described in clinical reports on torture survivors. At the time of the study of Irish men and boys subjected to depth interrogation techniques and detention there were only studies on concentration camp survivors with which to compare these findings. In those studies, most notable by Eitinger and Strom, periodic medical examination had included the use of the bender gestalt and similar findings on that test aroused speculation but no conclusions. Eitinger and Strom reconsidered the neurological effects in their studies that had been attributed to starvation and physical abuse.

Neurobiological Consequences

Viktor Frankl in his work "From Concentration Camp to Logotherapy " recognized the impact such experience had on survival itself. Robert Lifton, not long afterwards in writing on brainwashing, similarly identified the role that psychological torture can play in physical sequelae. In a case presented to the superior court of New York in 1973, he testified that the psychological consequences of the subject's concentration camp experiences seriously impaired his judgment and behavior.

In a panel presented at the Western Psychological Association Annual Convention in January 1972 one paper presented the use of these techniques in depth interrogations in Northern Ireland and another presented their application at the medical facility at Vaccaville state prison on inmates in a special "behavior therapy" program. At the time this panel was presented, Donald Defreeze was an inmate subjected to these treatments. Several years later, under the alias, Cinque, he led the Symbionese Liberation Army in kidnapping Patty Hearst and applied the same techniques to intimidate her into collaboration in their violent, anti-social campaign. 3

The foreign intelligence assistance program in collaboration with the CIA manuals cite the techniques used by the British SAS in Borneo in a counter insurgency war. Coincidentally, SAS veterans taught the depth interrogation techniques used in Northern Ireland to the special branch of HERUC. In Northern Ireland these techniques were used against activists in the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association, labor unions and presumed members of the IRA and later, the UDA.

In Latin America they were invoked against members and supporters of reformist governments democratically elected and against organizations seeking to overthrow military dictatorships.

The manuals make frequent references to the tactics and strategies of the SAS (British Special Forces). There are incomplete censored references in declassified material to joint operations with British forces in Latin American security forces training programs. The SAS has been actively involved in Northern Ireland since at least 1971.

i Ned Opton, "Behavior Modification in Vaccaville" paper, later expanded in Scheflin and Opton, op.cit.

Political murders have been attributed and proven their culpability. As referenced in the later censored and then withdrawn, society on the run (Rona M. Fields 1973, Penguin Ltd.,) an SAS informant described training the RUC special branch in interrogation techniques previously used in Malaysia and Borneo.4 These are actions referenced in CIA and FIAP manuals. They are intended to inflict pain, not leave marks and to make their "subjects" yield information. However, in some places, and there is reason to believe that in Northern Ireland particularly, these techniques and the fact that torture and coercive treatment were "leaked" to the public the intent was to widely impose fear and threat they are included in both Britain and the US under "PSYOPS" or psychological operations. These are techniques frankly borrowed from psychological experimental studies aimed at producing stress or inducing "brainwashing".

In 1976, at the APA convention in Washington D.C., A panel presented on psychological torture included a Chilean colleague, Dr. Katya Raczynski; a South African lawyer, Joel Carlson, and a representative from Amnesty International (for which I served on the medical commission). I had invited Peter Suedfeld, a psychologist then engaged in experimental work (using student subjects) on sensory deprivation. Suedfeld refused to participate. Peter Suedfeld's research was funded by US department of defense sources and features prominently in the CIA and FIAP manuals. Twenty years later, he wrote a book about torture and the psychological consequences on the victims. but he neglected to include his own experiments on sensory deprivation and sensory overstimulation performed on his students at the University of Michigan and the University of Toronto.

Drs. Raczynski, Professor Carlson and I presented case material and data attesting to the use of psychological research in the torture and coercion of helpless prisoners in South Africa, Chile, Northern Ireland and Portugal. Twenty-five years since, in company with my Chilean and Argentinean colleagues we can connect the applications of psychological and psychiatric research to the tortures and through continuous efforts at treating the victims—most often for post traumatic stress disorder—realize the permanent damaging effects of these experiences on the brain and physical condition of their victims. Awareness of an aversive stimulus approaching—such as a barking dog, a snake, a rat or other predators can evoke a remembered pain sensation itself stressful. This has its counterpart in the hippocampus and is recognized as the "kindling effect" which through peripheral nerves communicated to the pain process I located very proximal. Initially I and other researchers on torture survivors and brainwashing victims had assumed that the organic consequences were linked to the shortage

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of oxygen in the blood supply to the brain. However, over the years and with more sophisticated knowledge of the brain another thesis appeared at least as promising. The intent of these techniques is to inflict pain and fear. I would like at this point to switch to a description of the neuropsychology of pain, or how pain is experienced in the brain and how brain mechanisms can respond to sensory overstimulation and sensory deprivation to cause physical damage.

Pain is the most universal human experience and, perhaps, the least universally defined. One of the reasons for this and for the extraordinary subjectivity of the experience of pain is that it is not transmitted via a single sensory sequence nor measured in intensity through either the space of brain activation nor the single site of brain activation. Furthermore, it is a sensation about which a sense judgment makes the interpretation of pain.

The appraisal that something is good for me here and now is necessary for approach. On the contrary when we appraise something as bad we have an impulse to avoid it. Appraisals of good or bad, beneficial or harmful, complete sense experiences are necessary for normal awareness. Since such appraisals are immediate or unwitting, we do not experience them we merely experience the resulting impulse toward or away from the objective appraisal. Sensory appraisal is unlearned, spontaneous. In fact, if we could not make such appraisals from the beginning of life how could we learn to do so? Even the infant knows what is good for him and he shows his enjoyment by stopping his crying and smiling. He knows what is bad for him and shows his distress by wailing. Such intuitive appraisals like all sensory experiences must be mediated by a particular neural system. Arnold has called it the appraisal system (see transparency on brain and appraisal) 6 pain cannot be a sensation as is usually assumed because it can accompany any some asthetic sensation yet varies independently. Both pleasure and pain appear to be mediated by the medial thalamus when diffuse and by the limbic system when differentiated and localized.

Pain accompanies tissue damage but not all tissue change is felt as painful. A growing tumor, tuberculosis or hardening of the arteries may be completely painless. When tissue damage becomes painful, the disease process has attacked either the sensory pathways or their connection with the medial thalamus. When excitation in those relays becomes excessive there is thalamic pain which may continue even after the somatosensory nuclei have been

6 Arnold, Magda B Memory and The Brain (Erlbaum, NY 1990)

removed. Sensory pathways project to the reticular formation in the lower brainstem and relays from there can reach the centrum medianum directly. The destruction of this nucleus abolishes pain. It is experienced when the destruction of the sensory thalamic nucleus has not been successful. But pain is not a simple sensation.

A sensory appraisal is different from other sensory functions because it indicates not the quality of things around us but their effect on us. On the level of somatosensory experience what is bad or harmful is experienced as pain.

Arrnold (1960)⁷ hypothesized fibers that mediate pain or pleasure and that this system of fibers, the appraisal system connects with the area in the brain called the brain reward system. She calls the appraisal system an "internal sense" like memory or imagination assuming that such feelings could not be mediated by known peripheral fibers.

When peripheral fibers were identified that produced pain on stimulation physiologists decided that pain is a somatic sensation like touch or muscle strain. But Arnold contends that pain and pleasure are different from sensaions. Sensory functions stand on their own while pleasure or pain are always reactions to some sensory experience. Sensory experiences excite fibers of a peripheral appraisal system that activates all gradations of pain or pleasure. Hence, according to Arnold and others they are feelings rather than sensations. We are reflectively aware when we make a judgment of beneficial or harmful. We experience an action impulse that flows from it. On the level of somatic sensations we experience pleasure with its readiness to enjoy or pain with an impulse to ease it. On the level of object relations we are attracted to anything we appraise as good, repelled from anything we have appraised as bad. Animals also appraise to drive states as well as to performing a task. Not only objects can be thus appraised but also bodily experiences.

There are only a few things we can immediately appraise as good or bad for us. All of these sensations are experienced via the somaesthetic system and affect us directly. We react to them with a range of feelings from pleasure to pain. A sharp tone or penetrating odor is immediately felt as unpleasant or even painful because it affects fibers of the appraisal system in addition to auditory or olfactory

7 Arnold, Magda B Emotion and Personality . Columbia University Press (960)

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receptors. In contrast anything we see or hear that is not near enough to touch us we appraise as good or bad only because we have experienced its effects in the past. We relive the feelings we had on similar occasions. The fact that we relive rather than remember is achieved through a different brain circuit called affective memory. Viewed on a pet scan, this may be represented by what is called the kindling effect in the thalamus which transmits through the amygdala to the hippocampus and finally through the neural pathways to the parietal lobe where sensory information converges and becomes an integrated and coherent perception. Spindle cells in the frontal lobes contained in special circuits make the interpretation and broadcast the messages that become emotions.

The Chemistry of Pain

Neurotransmitters in the brain both for inhibitory and stimulatory functions are abundant and complex. At first glance it might seem unlikely that a structure like the hippocampus should serve as a relay station for so many different psychological activities: sensory recall, the revival of appraisal (affective memory) the initiation of directed action and the physiological changes that go with it and finally, the revival of motor memory. The amygdala mediates different emotional actions. These structures can mediate so many and different activities because they serve as relay stations for several neural systems each of which has a different function. It has become possible to differentiate between neural systems according to the substances that serve as transmitters. In addition to acetylcholine which has been known as a transmiter in peripheral nerves for quite some time, many additional neurotransmitters have been identified in the brain. The neurons synthesize transmitter substances from a precursor through a series of enzyme reactions, store them in vesicles of presynoptic nerve endings and release them into the synaptic cleft on arrival of a neural impulse. The released transmitter molecules bridge the fluid filled gap between the presynaptic axon terminal and the cell membrane of the postsynaptic receiving neurons and are taken up by protein molecules precisely tailored to their configuration.

Many neurotransmitters have been identified in the brain. Some brain neurons use acetylcholine others use catecholomines such as noradrenaline and dopamine or indolemines (serotonin) as transmitters. Conduction over other synapses may require amino acids such as gamma aminobutyric (gaba)glycine, glutamic acid and others. Certain peptides and some hormones and corticoids can mediate nervous conduction. But these substances have a different mode of action. Neuroransmitters alter membrane conductance but engaging specialized

receptors at the synapse, thus changing the excitability of a single excitable element for a brief period of time. In contrast, peptides directly alter the conductance of a membrane that is already activated by a transmitter. These are called neuromodulators. Many drugs act as neuromodulators because they affect the postsynaptic membrane of neurons in the central nervous system, so altering either the receptor affinity for the neurotransmitter or the conductance activated by the transmitters. Still another type of transmitter has been observed in axons that are not in synaptic contact with the neurons they influence. These are called neurohormonal transmiters. Both neuradrenaline and serotonin fibers in the cerebellum have a synaptic and non-synaptic mode of transmission. They are both neurotransmitter and neurohormonal functions.

Which brings us to the issue of pain and anti-depressants. The serotonin system mediates the effect of morphine and other opium derivatives electrical stimulation of the periacquaductal gray and the midbrain raphe suppresses pain. This effect is reversed by naloxone, a morphine antagonist. Morphine not only abolishes pain but produces a kind of elation—a high. After painful stimulation intravenous morphine depresses the firing of the fine "c" and "a-delta pain fibers of the spinal cord. It does not reverse the depressed firing of pain fibers after a direct action of morphine on these fibers. However, the serotonin system is also involved in the depression of pain fibers micro injections of serotonin depress the spinal level of serotonin is lowered and the brainstem level is maintained, morphine analgesia is resumed.

Apparently, the brainstem raphe nuclei inhibit the spinothalamic pain neurons. Electrical stimulation of the raphe nuclei produces analgesia. Their ablation prevents the analgesia produced by morphine. Painful stimuli inhibit most brainstem raphe cells and leave less than a third unaffected and excite less than a third. Contrary to expectation, the iontrophetic correct application of serotonin to these nuclei did not excite these cells but inhibited some and left others unaffected. The analgesia produced by electrical stimulation probably acts via the brainstem raphe nuclei, which send seroton in energic relays to the spinal cord.

Morphine reduces the medial thalamic, limbic cortex and hippocampus. The increased firing of neurons in the medial thalamic after painful stimuli. The morphine antagonist maloxone prevents this effect. When the spinal level of serotonin is lowered while the brainstem level is maintained morphine analgesia

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is reduced. The two midbrain raphe nuclei excites the brainstem raphe and so does stimulation of the periaquaductal gray.

The circuit affected by morphine has an afferent as well as an efferent link. The efferent link seems to be part of the medial appraisal system which consists of three different fibers that mediate a positive appraisal of touch or stroking. This afferent appraisal system seems to make contact with the midbrain raphe, the medial thalamus, limbic cortex and hippocampus. morphine reduced the increased firing of neurons in the medial thalamus after painful stimuli. The connections of the raphe complex with the limbic system and hippocampus seems to mediate positive appraisal of the bodily state after morphine inducing a feeling of well-bing, ease and relaxation. Via the hippocampus, fomix and midbrain, fibers of the action circuit seem to connect with the perieacquaductal gray, the midbrain and the brainstem raphe and the spinal cord. Since micro injections of serotonin in the midbrain raphe inhibit all cells and micro injections in the brainstem raphe inhibit most of them, it is guite likely that the fibers of the action circuit connecting with the raphe do not use serotonin as transmitter but rather, acetylocholine. These differences in the use of brain chemicals have everything to do with the effectiveness of analgesics and delivery systems for same.

The use of analgesics, anti-depressants and anxiety drugs on persons in detention on whom episodic depth interrogation is continuing, can contribute to the long term exacerbation of the physical effects and the ineffectiveness of pain killers on these individuals. There is also the beginning of useful theory on why treatment with anti-depressants may be totally ineffective for chronic pain syndrome patients and also some clues for countering long term drug dependencies. It is obvious to all who have worked with them that addicts experience tremendous pain when they are withdrawing. The prolonged activation and excitation with immediate inhibition of the pain circuits produces distortions.

On the other hand, emotional conflicts and depression play a role in the subjective awareness of pain in organic states. Similarly, pain on a functional basis may be generated or intensified by depression. Antidepressants by elevating the affective state may alter the degree of pain. Studies of patients experiencing pain and depression have suggested that while anti-depressants are effective for those whose pain and depression were coincidental, those who had experienced pain before the onset of depressive symptoms did not lose their pain entirely.

For the Northern Ireland survivors of psychological torture, chronic depression was evidenced in more than two thirds of the cases studied. Similarly, the South African, Chilean and Argentinian survivors required medical and psychiatric treatment for these disorders as well as degenerative diseases of the spinal column, joints and brain seizure activity. When prolonged sleeplessness and dietary insufficiencies add to the physical breakdown, there is premature aging, and premature dementia as well.

Medical scientists who studied holocaust survivors or concentration camp survivors over the long term had considered their degenerative diseases and premature deaths as a consequence of their starvation and physical brutalization. These newest findings on survivors of psychological torture, suggest that perhaps the psychological toll on the concentration camp survivors contributed in large part to their physical deterioration and diseases.

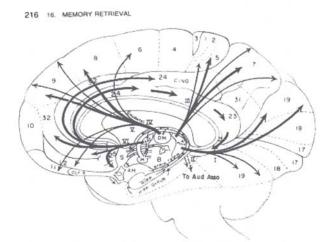


FIG. 16.4 Circuits mediating imagination and affective memory. We identify things by recalling similar objects (relays from association cortex to limble areas, and from there via hippocampus fornix circuit to the brain stem and back to thalamic sensory nuclei and sensory association cortex) and remember their effect on us (affective memory circuit from association cortex to limble areas, and from there via hippocampus and postcommissural fornix to anterior thalamic nucleis and cortical lim-bic areas). This results in imagining possible effects of this thing on us and possible ways of coping with it (imagination circuits in thom cortical limble areas via anygdata to thalamic association nuclei and cortical association areas). LeV imagination circuits: Livisual, II auditory. III somesthetise, IV motor, V olfactory imagination. VI affective memory circuit. AM anygdala, AT anterior thalamic nucleus. B brain stein, CING cingulate gyres, DM dorsomedial Multanian circuita. HIPP bipocampus, M mamilary body, CIE offactory builty, PULV.

Consumptions, etc. animetror instantist montrists to orient metric Crew computing gyress. Det noricometalist hitalamic nucleus. H habenuls. HIPP hippocampus, M manuflary body, OLE Orfactory bubb, PULV pulvinar, S septal area, STRIA TERM strat terminalis. (From M. B. ARNOLD, 1960)

Reporting Research

Prevalence of Abuse Among Madrassa Students

Cases of child abuse in Pakistan have seen a three fold increase in the last five years as 4,530 cases of crime against children were reported in 2004 against 1,612 in 2000. Despite the Government's repeated promises to protect children and to implement its binding international commitments, the Madadgaar database cell reports that there have already been a reported 662 incidents of child sexual abuse across Pakistan since January 2005 (The News, 2005). Although this is a staggering increase in reported cases of violence against boys and girls in Pakistan in recent years, these are mere microcosm of the actual abuse cases that go unreported.

Prevalence of Child Abuse

Child abuse was once viewed as a minor social problem affecting only a small number of children. However, in recent years it has received close attention from the media, law enforcement agencies and helping professions. This increased public and professional awareness has caused a sharp rise in the number of reported cases. Because abuse is often hidden and victims too young or fearful to speak out, experts suggest that its true prevalence is possibly much greater than the official data indicates.

Voice Against Torture commissions researches on issues of human rights to help inform policy and to facilitate change.

Statistics on the extent of child abuse and neglect are controversial and disputed by some experts. It is because complex and subtle scientific issues are involved in studies that generate these statistics, and even the most objective scientific research may not necessarily be perfect in all respects. For example, there are important controversies about how to define abuse and neglect. The definitions of abuse used in official government studies are based on laws because the government needs definitions more for other purposes than healing or fact finding researches. In contrast, independent researchers use different definitions because they have purposes such as understanding the effects of mild and extreme emotional, physical, and/or sexual abuse. No matter what kind of study it is, small changes in definitions may produce huge differences thus government statistics are only the tip of the iceberg.

There are more than two million reported cases of physical abuse or neglect in the United States each year (National Center for Child Abuse and Neglect), a ratio of 30 children out of every 1,000. The National Committee for Prevention of Child Abuse in the United States indicates that approximately 2,000 children per year die of child abuse and neglect. Approximately 55% of the kids who are seriously mistreated suffer from severe neglect. These include very young children who are abandoned or left alone for more than 48 hours, aren't fed, do not receive needed medical treatment or are not sent to school for days at a time

Approximately 25% are physically abused to the extent that the injuries will take at least 48 hours to heal and, in some cases, they never will. 20% are sexually abused, the risk is the same for a three-year-old as it is for a teenager. Emotional abuse underlies all the other forms of abuse and, while not outwardly visible, is insidiously present inside. The latter often causes the most disabling and lasting injury, as the emotional foundation of the child is eroded and he or she feels unloved, unworthy, exploited, and enraged (Morales, 1998).

Canadian authorities estimate that the incidence of child abuse and neglect in Canada parallels that of the United States. At least one in three girls (Russell, 1984) and one in seven boys (Finkelhor, 1985) are sexually abused by the time they reach the age of one (Faith Trust, 2005).

Child Abuse and Religious Institutions

Abuse at the hands of persons associated with religious institutions has been reported many a times. In the recent past, BBC carried a detailed documentary on abuse by the male clergy of churches. The situation in "Madrassas the Islamic

religious educational institutions, the places where young are taught in the disciplines of Islam is no different. In Pakistan poor families often count on the nation's more than 10,000 madrassas to take one or more young sons to ease financial burden. The boys typically receive little more than Quranic studies for an education but the big dividend for families is the housing, clothes and meals offered to the boys. The schools, which have up to one million students, operate with almost no official oversight. "The mullahs think they are above the law" (Murphy, 2005).

In Pakistan, there are some 10,000 such schools but the alleged incidents involve only a small number although some have been known to keep young boys chained while they memorize the Quran (Murphy, 2005). According to the BBC, a minister of religious affairs says that there have been 500 complaints in the year 2004 involving allegations of child sexual abuse committed by clerics in religious schools or madrassas. That compares with 2,000 cases in 2003, but as yet there have been no successful prosecution. This is because no attention has been given to this issue and who ever wants to speak gets adversity. Same was the case with the above mentioned minister who now refuses to discuss the issue after reported death threats and harsh criticism from Islamic leaders. The madrassas have ties to influential groups, and the core of madrassa funding comes from government aid, Saudi donations, and zakat.

Pakistani rights groups are encouraging parents and children to speak out and document abuse. Dozens of allegations of abuse in madrassas are being compiled - part of a wider campaign to draw attention to child abuse in a culture where violence against women and children is common yet rarely becomes known to the public (Murphy, 2005). For example, a madrassa teacher and two others are jailed awaiting trial in the port city of Karachi for an acid attack on a 14-year-old boy in 2002 (Murphy, 2005). In December, in another part of Karachi, Muhammad Askoroni's mother noticed a bite on the 10-year-old boy's neck. The child started crying and vomiting when asked. The boy's claim: a cleric at his madrassa sodomized him after evening classes, according to a complaint filed with police and the rights group Madadgaar (Murphy, 2005).

The files of the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan include the affidavit of Atif Rehman, who was 11 when he was admitted to the Lahore Children's Hospital in April 2004 with head injuries and extensive bruises. He told investigators he was routinely beaten with iron rods at a madrassa in the northern city of Faisalabad and was chained when he tried to escape. The madrassa teacher, denied the

torture allegations but admitted that "it is a practice to chain students," the report said.

Research shows that the children most vulnerable to abuse, maltreatment, and neglect are arguably those who live apart from their parents in foster group homes, detention facilities or in other institutions. New York State has recognized the special vulnerability of institutionalized children (Skark, 1993). Unfortunately, there is not a lot of literature that refers specifically or historically to child abuse in religious educational institutions, or about responding to institutional abuse as an issue.

Defining Child Abuse

Abuse means a willful act that results in physical, mental, or sexual injury that causes or is likely to cause physical, mental, or emotional damage to another person. Abusers exploit, lie, insult, ignore (the "silent treatment"), manipulate, and control. Child abuse is mistreatment of a minor under the age of eighteen. It is harm to, or neglect of, a child by another child or adult (Larsen, 2005).

Child abuse refers to an act committed by a parent, caregiver or person in a position of trust that is not accidental and that harms or threatens to harm a child's physical or mental health, and welfare. This includes individuals that may not care for the child on a daily basis (Faith Trust, 2005).

Child abuse can be defined as causing or permitting any harmful or offensive contact on a child's body and any communication or transaction of any kind which humiliates, shames or frightens the child (Khatri, 2002).

Child abuse can be physical, emotional - verbal, sexual or through neglect. Abuse may cause serious injury to the child and may even result in death. Child abuse does not discriminate against a child because of age, sex, race, religion, or socioeconomic background. Rather any child can fall victim to this problem. Every year an estimated one million children suffer from some form of child abuse. Throughout history children were considered the property of their authority, and therefore used as was seen fit. This slave like relationship led to increased instances of child abuse. Children who experience abuse may adopt this behavior as model for their own parenting (Mullen and Fleming, 1998).

Throughout history, abuse has known no social bounds. Anyone has been potentially susceptible. There is far less child abuse today than was inflicted on

children in the past. However, occurrences of child abuse continue in epidemic proportions. Patriarchal societies have historically perpetuated a power imbalance and have systemically supported child abuse (Finkelhor, 1994).

Perpetrators often look for positions and situations of power. The very people who should be trusted have often been the individuals who committed the abuses. Abusers have been parents, uncles, doctors, teachers, coaches, ministers, etc. The need to feel a sense of belonging to family has perpetuated the silence and family secrets around child abuse. Historically the rights of family privacy superceded the rights of the individual within the family (Krugman, 1997).

Covert and Overt Abuse

Vaknin (2005) sees two broad categories of Overt Abuse and Covert or Controlling Abuse.

Overt Abuse: Open and explicit abuse of another person

Threatening, coercing, beating, lying, berating, demeaning, chastising, insulting, humiliating, exploiting, ignoring, devaluing, unceremoniously discarding, verbal abuse, physical abuse and sexual abuse are all forms of overt abuse.

Covert or Controlling Abuse

This category of abuse is almost entirely about control. It is often a primitive and immature reaction to life circumstances in which the abuser (usually in his or her childhood) was rendered helpless. It is about re-exerting one's identity, re-establishing predictability, mastering the environment human and physical.

The bulk of abusive behaviors can be traced to this panicky reaction to the remote potential for loss of control. Many abusers are hypochondriacs (and difficult patients) because they are afraid to lose control over their body, its looks and its proper functioning. They are obsessive-compulsive in an effort to subdue their physical habitat and render it foreseeable. They stalk people and harass them for "being in touch" another form of control.

To the abuser, nothing exists outside of their selves. Meaningful others are seen as extensions or as internal and assimilated objects, and so losing control over a significant other is equivalent to losing control of a limb, or of one's brain. It is terrifying. Independent or disobedient people evoke in the abuser the realization that something is wrong with their worldview, that they are not the centre of the

world or its cause and that they cannot control what, to them, are their own internal representations (Vakin, 2005).

Multiple Nature of Abuse

Child abuse is a blanket term for four types of abuse: physical, sexual, emotional, and, neglect. Larsen (2005) believes that in most cases, children are the victims of more than one type of abuse.

Sexual Abuse

Sexual abuse includes rape, molestation, forced prostitution, incest, forced to have sex after being hurt physically or emotionally, forced to have sexual relations with other people or using a child for any form of sexual exploitation including making sexually explicit videos or pictures. The last being the most under reported form of child abuse (Finkelhor, 1984).

Vogeltanz, Wilsnack, and Harris (1999) note that in a sample of 1,099 women, the prevalence of child sexual abuse ranged from 21.4% to 32.1% and 15.4% to 26.1%, depending upon the definition of child sexual abuse that was used and the method of classifying cases.

Physical Abuse

Physical abuse is the nonaccidental infliction of physical injury to a child (Baker, 2005). The abuser is usually a family member or other caretaker, and is likely to be a male. The usual physical abuse scenario involves a person who loses control and lashes out at the child. It includes inflicting physical harm by beating, hitting, punching, kicking, biting, burning, or any other act that causes physical pain or any physical actions carried out with the intent of hurting or scaring the child. Even behaviors like pinching, tickling or hair pulling can be abuse if they are done with the intent to control.

In some cases, the parent and caretaker may not have intended to hurt the child; rather the injury may have resulted from over discipline or physical punishment.

Child Neglect

Child neglect is any maltreatment or negligence that harms a child's health, welfare or safety. Many cases of neglect occur where the parent experiences strong negative feelings toward the child. At other times, the parent may truly care about the child but lack the ability or strength to adequately fulfil the child's needs

due to depression, drug abuse, mental retardation, or some other problem (Baker, 2005).

It may include physical, emotional or educational neglect through such actions as abandonment, refusal to provide treatment for illnesses, inadequate supervision, health hazards in the home; ignoring a child's need for contact, affirmation and stimulation; providing inadequate emotional nurturing, knowingly permitting chronic truancy, keeping a child home from school repeatedly without cause and failing to enroll a child in school (or home school).

Emotional or Mental Abuse

Emotional or mental abuse, according to Krugman (1997), "has been defined as the rejection, ignoring, criticizing, isolation, or terrorizing of children, all of which have the effect of eroding their self-esteem." It includes acts or omissions by the parents or other caregivers that have caused or could cause serious behavioral, cognitive, emotional or mental disorder. All kinds of hurtful behaviors, words, and actions designed to scare, manipulate, intimidate, threaten, isolate and destabilize the one with less power in the relationship, include emotional abuse.

Emotional abuse is hurtful and is even more damaging and harder to heal than physical abuse. Emotional abuse includes inattention to a special educational need, chronic or extreme spouse abuse in the child's presence, permission of drug or alcohol use by minors, and failure to provide needed or prescribed psychological treatment. This form of abuse ranges from extreme forms of punishment to making fun of a child's appearance, medical conditions, or handicaps. Belittling, scapegoating, mind games, threats, ignoring, shaming, and name-calling are all types of emotional abuse (Baker, 2005).

Abuse Overlap

In most cases, there is considerable overlap between physical, emotional and sexual abuse, and children who are subject to one form of abuse are significantly more likely to suffer other forms (Briere and Runtz 1990; Mullen et al. 1996; Fergusson et al. 1997; Fleming et al. 1997). Mullen and colleagues (1996) found women who suffered sexual abuse as children, faced five times more physical abuse as adults, and were three times as likely to also experience emotional deprivation.

It could be that family circumstances conducive to child abuse also produce other forms of abuse. This hypothesis is supported by the clear overlap between the risk factors of all three types. (Mullen, Fleming, 1998).

Signs of Child Abuse

There are physical and behavioral signs that may suggest that child abuse is taking place (Larsen, 2005) but these can only be taken as indicators of abuse and not necessarily the proof. These may serve as warning signs to look further, ask questions or seek assistance in determining whether or not a child is being abused. Physical signs of abuse may include:

- Unexplained or repeated injuries such as welts, bruises, or burns
- Injuries that are in the shape of an object (belt buckle, electric cord, etc.)
- Injuries not likely to happen given the age or ability of the child. For example, broken bones in a child too young to walk or climb
- Bruises, especially in different stages of healing
- Black eye
- Broken bones
- Injuries after an absence from school or day care
- Vaginal or rectal bleeding, pain, itching, swelling or unusual discharge
- Difficulty with bowel movements, urinating or swallowing
- Complaints of stomach or headaches
- Sexually transmitted diseases
- Vaginal infections
- Frozen stare or dazed appearance
- Neglected medical or dental care
- Dirty clothes or inappropriate clothing for the season
- Difficulty in walking or sitting
- Frequent attempts to run away
- Promiscuity or prostitution

Behavioral signs of child abuse include

- Low self esteem
- Flinching away or ducking from motion or people moving toward them
- Eating disorders or loss of appetite
- Self mutilation such as cutting, biting oneself or pulling out hair
- Unusual habits like rocking, sucking cloth
- Extreme changes in behavioral patterns
- Poor interpersonal relationships or a lack of self-confidence
- Clinginess, withdrawal or aggressiveness

- Regressing to infantile behavior such as bedwetting, thumb sucking or excessive crying
- Recurrent nightmares, disturbed sleep patterns or a sudden fear of the dark
- Talking about having a secret
- Unexplained fear of a particular person
- Unusual knowledge of sexual matters
- Acting much younger or older than chronological age
- Frequent lying or falling grades at school
- Depression

It is important to remember that some of the above symptoms may be normal manifestations of play and activity. Other symptoms could be the result of a traumatic event that is not necessarily abuse, like divorce of parents, or signs of a disease such as depression. Still others are definitely "red flag" symptoms of abuse.

Trauma of Child Abuse

In an abusive environment, children are often expected to behave as if they are much older than they are. They are often "punished" for behavior they are too young to control. Parents and caretakers often abuse children in response to their own anger and unhappiness, it may have no relationship to what the child is doing at the time. Abused children believe that they have no value and they cannot affect the world around them with good behavior.

Child abuse, in itself, does not "doom" people to lives of horrible suffering. There are many effects of child abuse, both physical and emotional, which is why treatment by a qualified specialist is so important. Studies of runaways, drug and alcohol abusers, and low achievers have shown that abuse plays a major role in developing psychological, social, sexual and physical problems. According to Moelker (2005) effects of abuse include

Psychological problems

Children who are abused suffer from fears, panic attacks, sleeping problems, nightmares, irritability, outbursts of anger, sudden shock reactions when being touched, may have some behavior that harms their body like addiction to alcohol and other substances, excessive work or sports, depression, self-destruction and prostitution (Moelker, 2005).

Researchers note that many victims/survivors of abuse suffer symptoms of posttraumatic stress disorder (Morrissette, 1999). This disorder originates in reaction to a very harmful event and has three characteristic symptoms: denial and repression, re-experiencing and over-irritation.

Denial and repression: Don't want to talk about, or avoid, certain situations.

Re-experiencing: Experience the event(s) again; unintentional confrontation with memories of the abuse, for example through nightmares, sudden memories or unexplainable physical problems.

Over irritation: Easily affected, hot-tempered, jumpy, excessively alert and don't fall asleep easily.

Social problems

Children who suffer from abuse have little confidence in other people and live in the fear of loss of control in relationships. Mullen et al. (1994) found that their subjects reporting child sexual abuse were more likely to evince instability in their close relationships. Relationship problems were also reflected in the evaluations of the quality of their communication with their partners. Less than half of the victims/survivors felt able to confide personal problems to their partner, and nearly a quarter reported no meaningful communication with their partners, whereas only 6 percent took a negative view of their partners' receptivity to their concerns (Moelker, 2005).

Sexual problem

Sexual problems often occur in people who were abused as children. Memories may be triggred by a certain remark, touch or behavior. In some instances, individuals may not want to have sex at all or have less. Causes may include experiencing physical pain during sexual intercourse, lack of arousal, and inability to have orgasms (Moelker, 2005).

Self-esteem

Self-esteem encompasses the extent to which individuals feel comfortable with the sense they have of themselves and, to a lesser extent, their accomplishments, and how they believe they are viewed by others. Robson (1988) wrote that self-esteem is 'the sense of contentment and self acceptance that stems from a person's appraisal of his (or her) own worth, significance, attractiveness, competence and ability to satisfy aspirations'.

A number of studies have implicated child sexual abuse in lowering self esteem in adults but the most sophisticated examination of the issue to date is that of Romans et al. (1996). This study showed a clear relationship between poor self-esteem in adults who have a history of child sexual abuse, specifically those who faced the more intrusive forms such as penetration. Effects were seen more on aspects of self-esteem producing an increased expectation of unpleasant events (pessimism) and a sense of inability to influence external events (fatalism), and not those that involved a sense of being attractive, having determination or being able to relate to others (Mullen, Fleming, 1998).

Physical complaints

Adults abused as children suffer from abdominal pains, pain while making love, menstrual pain, intestinal complaints, stomach ache, nausea, headaches, back pain. The pains are chronic and often inexplicable.

Factors Influencing the Trauma of Abuse

Being abused and/or neglected in childhood is not the only painful and potentially damaging experiences that human beings suffer. Whether or not, and to what extent, child abuse and neglect (or other painful experiences) have negative effects on individuals depends on a variety of factors related to the abuse and to the relationships in which the abuse and the child's responses occur (Hopper, 2005).

- Age of the child when the abuse happened.
 Younger is usually more harmful. Different effects are associated with different developmental periods.
- Who committed the abuse. Effects are generally known to be worse when it is a parent, step-parent or trusted adult rather than a stranger.
- Whether the child told anyone, and if so, the person's response. Doubting, ignoring, blaming and shaming responses can be extremely harmful - in some cases even more than the abuse itself.
- Whether or not violence was involved, and if so, how severe.
- How long the abuse went on. Additional factors that are difficult to research or may differ in significance for different people
- Whether the abuse involved deliberately humiliating the child.
- How "normal" such abuse was in the extended family and local culture. \
- Whether the child had loving family members, and/or knew that someone loved her or him.

- Whether the child had good relationships with siblings, friends, teachers, coaches, etc.
- Whether the child had relationships in which "negative" feelings were acceptable, and could be expressed and managed safely and constructively.

Conclusion

Abuse accusations from hundreds of children sent to study at Islamic schools are prompting growing calls from parents and rights groups for a full-scale investigation. But officials have moved slowly and cautiously in probing the charges of mistreatment in madrassas - pointing to a paradox across much of the Muslim world. It's often easier to tackle Islamic militants than to confront the cultural taboo on publicly airing alleged abuse crimes and challenging influential clerics.

In our society religious institutions are often viewed as more protective and safe places for children but now this view is changing, creating the need to address the issue of child abuse and neglect in religious institutions.

Present study measures the prevalence of child abuse at madrassa and also to assess different demographic variables in relation to the prevalence of abuse. To attain this objective Child Abuse Questionnaire (CAQ) was developed in the first part of the study by following a systematic procedure while the second part dealt with measuring the psychometric properties of the CAQ in fulfilling the objectives of the study. Analysis shows that the CAQ is a reliable instrument for measuring child abuse at madrassas. Also, the present study clearly reveals that madrassa students do experience abuse and that the majority experiences moderately high levels of abuse.

The commonly experienced abuse is physical, mental and emotional. Students who participated in study were most concerned about being beaten with sticks and ordered out of the class on doing something wrong. These punishments seem to be very common and less aversive but do have long lasting effects on personalities of children especially when humiliated in public. It makes their self-esteem low and sets them up to become destructive members of society rather than a productive one. Students did not respond openly on third sub-scale of sexual-abuse, may be because of prevailing social attitudes that taboo discussion and sharing of such experiences.

So need of the time is to improve the situation within madrassas where children can get Quranic education without being abused physically, mentally or emotionally. Another need is to conduct more studies using different techniques such as case studies to get more information about sexual abuse at madrassas to establish rapport with children and to create open and trusting environments.

This study helps to examine the prevalence of abuse in Islamic schools, leading to awareness that can facilitate strategies to eliminate child abuse at such institutions. By becoming aware of the situation we can effect change to make our future generations safe from abusive experiences. It is further hoped that the scale developed will provide researchers and psychologists with an opportunity to better understand the prevalence of abuse at madrassas.

Recommendations

- As physical abuse is the form most experienced by children in madrassas, there is a burning need to improve the system of Islamic schools.
- This research, an initial step of its kind, made us aware that children are hesitant to speak about sexual abuse. Above all else, there is need to break the silence by speaking openly about the existence of abuse, encourage parents and children to speak out and document abuse.
- Most children hesitate to speak about abuse because of lack of knowledge, so when children reach age three, parents should begin teaching them about "bad touches" and about confiding in a trusted adult if they are touched or treated in a way that makes them uneasy.
- Another important factor that will help children to open up is that being abused is not their fault or responsibility, and that they did not 'cause' it.
- Also, children must feel the confidence and trust that if they speak out, they
 will be supported with love and understanding.
- The question is that when children and parents begin to speak about abuse, will we be able to question or challenge religious clerics? Our recommendation is that an independent, inter-agency committee should be appointed by local authorities to investigate child abuse in Madrassas.
- Finally, probe and find various psychosocial, social or political factors that prompt individuals associated with religious institutions to hurt and humiliate children.

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	A publication of VAT Research & Documentation Centre
	"Prevalence of Abuse Among Madrassa Students" Researcher: Tehmina Yaqoob Supervisor: Shumila Qureshi

Art for Rights

INKING RIGHTS

`An Inconvenient Truth' Al Gore

This award winning documentary explores data and predictions regarding climate change, interspersed with personal events from the life of Al Gore. Through a Keynote presentation called "the slide show" that he has presented worldwide, Gore reviews the scientific evidence for global warming, discusses the politics and economics of it, and describes the global consequences of climate change if the amount of human-generated greenhouse gases is not significantly reduced in the very near future. For more information on this issue, visit www.climatecrisis.net.

The film won the 2007 Academy Award for Documentary Feature and the Best Original Song (Melissa Etheridge: "I Need to Wake Up"). It is the first documentary to win a best original song Oscar.

The documentary was viewed in March at Lahore Chitrkar (www.lahorechitrkar.com).

From Dust Dhruv Dhawan, 2006

Colour, 70 minute, English and Sinhala with English subtitles

The tragic aftermath of the massive tsunami that devastated Asia in late 2004 is reflected in the stories of three survivors in this documentary. In Sri Lanka, a law long specified that people were not allowed to live within three hundred feet of the ocean. While this was rarely if ever enforced before the tsunami hit, after the storm wiped out homes along the Sri Lankan coast regulators have begun vigorously policing the area, primarily to keep the area clear so that new resorts can be built at places that poor people once called home. Already homeless, now many in Sri Lanka have been forced to move to the hills, adding to the displacement of many (as well as costing fishermen their jobs).

As filmmaker Dhruv Dhawan examines the political corruption that has kept relief money from many who need it, he also follows three men whose lives were changed by the storm -- Ravi, who no longer trusts the water surrounding him; Cameron, who has lost his faith that good will win out; and Siril, whose belief in the power of the elements was reinforced by the disaster.

From Dust' received its North American premiere at the 2006 Tribeca Film Festival.

"WTO: Behind the Scene"



Fatoumatajawara and Aileenkwa Translated by Nimer Ahmad Urdu, Sanjh 2007

"WTO: Behind the Scene" talks about the process, tactics and outcomes of two WTO ministerial meetings at Doha in 2001, revealing that multilateral trading

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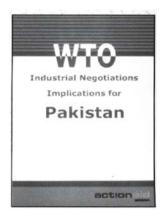
system is losing its credibility and needs reforms to make trade beneficial for the poor.

The culture of secrecy, non-transparent process of negotiations and the various tactics to pressurize the developing countries have led to bilateral and regional free trade agreements that have their own impacts.

These processes are still continuing in the trade negotiations, and powerful nations such as the United States and the European Union, are writing the rules of global trade which are detrimental for poor farmers and workers in developing countries, said Aftab Alam Khan, the international coordinator of Trade Justice Campaign Action Aid International.

Available at Sanjh: 042-7355323 and 0333-405-1741

"WTO Industrial Negotiations: Implication for Pakistan"



Dr. Ahmad Nawaz Hakro and Dr. Mohammad Ishfaq Editor: Saeed Qamar Abbas English, Actionaid 2007

The book unfolds the myth of trade liberalization in industrial sector and its consequences for future and existing industrial units in developing countries such as Pakistan. The study reviews the Non-Agriculture Market Access (NAMA) negotiations in WTO during and after the Hong Kong WTO Ministerial Meeting in 2005.

The developed countries are pushing to liberalize the trade in industrial goods by

reducing the tariffs on imports from industrialized countries. There is no example in industrial history where domestic industries grew for long without public support and protection. The authors claim that the rich countries have protected their industries for centuries and now when it has become overly competitive, they are demanding to open up the markets of developing countries including Pakistan.

The study concludes that existing and future industry in Pakistan needs effective protection to grow and become competitive. A sharp cut in import tariffs will lead to import surges of cheap foreign goods which will hurt the domestic industry, employment and revenue, said co-author Dr. Muhammad Ashfaq.

The study also finds that major portion of Pakistan's revenue comes from the import dues, and a reduction in tariffs will reduce the revenue needed for social development; the nascent Pakistani industry can not compete with the centuries old industry of rich countries thus will be shut down causing unemployment.

The study suggests that the Government of Pakistan should liberalize trade gradually and protect the key sectors which are important for employment, revenue generation and long term economic development.

The launching ceremony was chaired by economist Dr. Akmal Hussain while Inamul-Haque, the Chief Advisor WTO Planning Department of the Government of Punjab was the chief guest with Speakers Dr. Mohammad Ishfaq, Aftab Alam Khan and Bilal Ahmed.

These ideas were shared in March at a launching ceremony organized by Actionaid and Sanjh Publications (042-7355323 and 0333-405-1741).

Art for Rights

"Giselle" Jule Rotenberg:



The right to life means having the freedom to exist without suppression. My sculpture, "Giselle," embodies this tenet exuding the unbridled energy to move and express oneself without constraint; to dance. But this right can be tenuous. "Giselle's" dance exists for only a fleeting moment, sustained by physical strength and personal will. As for the right to life, only the strength of our integrity and our willingness to fight for freedom while granting freedom for others can guarantee that.

From: www.artistsforhumanrights.org

VAT Newsletter

Monthly . Islamabad . Pakistan



Call for Submissions

Upcoming Issue: May 2007 Send Contributions before: May 10, 2007

The VAT Newsletter, a quarterly publication of Voice Against Torture (VAT), has gone monthly to respond to the needs of a dynamic community. The Editorial Board invites submissions for the VAT Newsletter:

Guidelines

- Send contributions before the tenth of each month.
- Send contributions in an electronic format: Text in MS Word, WordPerfect etc., photos and artwork in .gif or .jpg
- Keep the text simple.

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