

an Exhibition of the Persecuted Church, all it has to do is to restore to the Church its right to teach, give it back its schools, permit the return of all the priests and religious who have been compelled, in one way or another, to leave, permit them to celebrate public functions, guarantee freedom of worship and religious propaganda, and so on.

The Bishop concludes: 'We pardon wholeheartedly our persecutors and every day, without fail, I pray for them in Holy Mass. But it is our duty to defend truth and justice, and the rights of the Church and of the souls entrusted to us'.

2. Zanzibar—Some Reflections¹

MICHAEL AND MARGARET COOK

We were at Mass that Sunday morning, not through bravery but through ignorance. The first attacks of the revolutionaries began in the small hours, but it was not until the congregation was leaving the 7.15 or 'English' Mass that the insurgents penetrated the town centre and shot down two young Goans from the church-goers. A few paces behind, trailing the smaller children desperately after us, we dodged into a side street and into a strange Arab house. There we spent the day breakfastless but unmolested, and crept back to safety in the evening before the curfew started, and after the shots seemed to have died away in the quarter. So began our experience, as a family newly arrived from England, of the latest of the world's political revolutions.

Next morning we discovered that we now lived in, and even worked for, the Commonwealth's only People's Republic. A great spirit of elation was in the air; everyone seemed happy, and gave a ready greeting to casual passers-by—the new salute, Churchill's famous 'V' sign. The high spirits and good fellowship of the first successes soon died away, however, at least outside the African townships, and the first signs appeared of the uncertainties that became characteristic of the revolutionary regime. When the fighting was over, when the looters were rounded up, the banks guarded and the civil service at work, the time came for the new government to declare a policy and carry through a work which nearly everyone wanted but which none

¹The authors were present in Zanzibar from 10th January to 20th April 1964. They therefore have no first-hand knowledge of the situation there since the ratification of union with Tanganyika.

had publicly formulated. There was not—and still is not—a constitution by which the government could administer its reforms. Without Cabinet or government responsibility, the new rulers have never learned to speak with a single authoritative voice.

Like other African nations, the people of Zanzibar are divided into self-conscious racial groups, most owing some sort of allegiance to other countries. Two of these are regarded as being especially colonialist: firstly the British. Zanzibar had been a British protectorate for about seventy years, and the civil service, which includes the teaching profession, was dominated by Britons. Numerically however, they were few: there were not many more than a hundred British civil servants by the beginning of 1964, and many of these were nearing retiring age. The forcible removal of the British administrators in April was therefore not such a drastic act as the outside world might have supposed—not, that is, in the field of general administration—but drastic indeed in the field of education.

The other chief colonialist body was the Asian communities. These have little cohesive feeling; all Indians regard their true allegiance as being outside Zanzibar, outside East Africa. In Zanzibar the chief of these groups are the Goans, who are strongly Catholic, and the Parsees. Between them these two almost dominated the principal positions in the civil service and the professions. Below them Sikhs, Hindus and Indian Muslims of several different sects made up the bulk of the trading and clerical classes. As in former years on the mainland, the coming of independence has meant the mounting of a deliberate attack on the Asian communities. Asian civil servants have been dismissed wholesale, and there has been at least the token of a campaign to degrade them socially. In addition, Asian professionalism has been attacked through its educational basis. In the past, Indian and Arab pupils filled nearly all the secondary school places, which were relatively few. The new regime, by re-marking old examination papers, has removed many of these schoolchildren and replaced them by Africans. Taken in conjunction with the dismissal of the British teachers, this measure has largely brought secondary education in Zanzibar to an end. That the revolution has in this way repeated in reverse the educational injustices of the former regime is tragic enough; but it is worth emphasizing that in doing this it has broken most decisively with the pattern of Communist control in other countries.

If the campaign against the Indians continues as it began in March, government administration as it has been known will come to an end.

Actual injustices, fear and uncertainty have caused the Indian communities to think at once of flight. Many have already left, and there is a constant flow of money and goods out of Zanzibar, in spite of stringent decrees against it, and in spite of bitter and humiliating searches on the dockside. The Indians have made Zanzibar look like East Berlin; as in East Berlin the government is obliged, on pain of economic death, to pledge its international good standing in an all-out attempt to keep them in at all costs. Where these deeply-felt tensions will break out remains to be seen, but many innocent people will suffer in them.

So far as the anti-Asian movement is a movement against the British-type civil service, it may be that the revolutionary government is right in the principle of its attacks. Such a small state cannot afford an administration which couples an excessively high social position with an organization which is modelled on an expatriate system. Radical reform is necessary: what is wrong is the personal and bitter way in which it is carried out. It is interesting to note that individuals, when they appeal for clemency, tend to make their appeal to Mohammed Babu (the Communist leader) rather than to the President.

The original revolution was directed principally against the Arabs, and it is their houses which one can see, blackened, standing in ruins by the roadside as soon as one drives out into the country. For many thousands of the poorer Arabs this has been a dismal time. At this moment they are being taken from the refugee camps and herded aboard small and ill-found dhows, to be returned to Muscat in the same way in which their forbears (not so long ago) exported African slaves. The Arabs however have never been colour-conscious, and it has been easy for many suddenly to discover their true racial origin as African. Others, Babu among them, still remain in positions of power owing to their party allegiances. The former regime, it is said, had done a deal with Egypt, in order to ensure that Arab dominance in Zanzibar should remain. Yet the name of the U.A.R. is still an honoured one in the island, and there is a brand new Egyptian diplomatic mission. The dual position of Egypt as at once the leading Arab power and one of the principal beacons of African socialism has kept it there. There no longer seems, at least on Zanzibar island itself, a deeply felt racial issue between Africans and indigenous Arabs.

The Zanzibar Africans (Shirazi) have very diverse racial origins. What holds them together is their common possession of Arab culture, Islamic religion, and the Swahili language. This cultural tradition,

spreading inland from the coast even today, illustrates the meaning of the old proverb: 'When they pipe in Zanzibar, they dance on the Lakes'. Underneath, however, there are racial divisions. The people whom tourists on the beaches of eastern Zanzibar see are aboriginals, and their increasing political consciousness is perhaps a thing of the future. Swahili naturally groups people in terms of their tribal background, and it cannot very easily express the concept 'Africans'. One can sense the sudden growth of a new use of language together with a new sense of power everywhere.

Inspired partly by convinced Marxists, and probably financed by various Eastern nations, the new government is attempting a social revolution. In its more serious moods this revolution wears a Peking-esque look; but it will not be carried out unless the island is much more effectively occupied by an outside communist power. There is no planning. The social revolution is now firmly entangled with the problem of African-Indian relations; the political revolution has bogged down in the lack of single-minded central control; and the administration, including all basic services and public health, is undermined by both these conflicts. Left to itself, Zanzibar will commit injustices in the name of old scores, will humiliate a few more middle-class Asians, will make an attempt at Government farming, and will slowly collapse into anarchy. Occupation from outside is a dire necessity there.

Few people outside Zanzibar are concerned with the internal effects of the revolution. Among them are the East Germans, who have made a start on domestic rebuilding and have done something towards reforming the civil service. Others however are only interested in Zanzibar as a strategic centre. These include both the Russians and the Chinese, both of whom are present in Zanzibar in some force, neither of whom have made a substantial impression on the quality of life there. On the surface there is no dissension between them: their cars stand together outside the 'House of Wonders' (the central Ministry building). These missions are only large in relation to the smallness of the state they are in, and there can hardly be more than forty Russians and Chinese in the island, and a small quantity of Russian military equipment. Donations from these powers will no doubt serve to keep the island in order, and hence to safeguard the security of the revolution; they will not serve to equip any sort of jumping-off force for action on the mainland.

In brief, up to the time of the union with Tanganyika, the govern-

ment of Zanzibar has received from the Eastern countries sufficient aid to maintain itself in power, to make a gesture at reconstruction, and to proclaim its ability to obtain aid from outside Britain. Beyond these solid facts its policy vacillates, and it displays a marked lack of ability to carry through radical measures other than those dictated by the old racial antipathies. In February, in a speech which was not reformulated as a Presidential decree, the President nationalized all land. Later, considerable modifications to the scope of this action were accepted, all by means of verbal statements. An attempt to get agricultural work done by voluntary labour of townsmen on Sundays failed, not only because of the lack of adequate enforcement, but because of the entire absence of a general agricultural policy. In Zanzibar, the whole economic future of the country depends on the emergence of a sound and radical—a socialist—policy for agriculture. In view of facts of this kind, we cannot yet say that the revolution has unequivocally fallen into the hands of the Eastern powers.

There remains the question of religion in a communist state. Zanzibar is undoubtedly a whole-heartedly Muslim country, even though its notorious 'Field Marshal' John Okello and some of its most militant revolutionaries are Christians. Zanzibar has always been a strongly religious place, and recent events seem to have done little to change this. The revolution occurred just before the beginning of the great annual fast of Ramadhan, so that no celebration of it was possible until the fast ended in the traditional two-day feast of *Idd-el-Fitr*. On this day almost the whole adult population of Zanzibar township went in procession through the town, the men first, the women following. For the first time in the history of East Africa, the women went unveiled; that is, they discarded their black covering veils and appeared in the brilliantly coloured cotton scarves which are customarily worn beneath. In later parades the black veils reappeared, and as the President assumed more and more of the quasi-religious functions of the former Sultans, this small secularising movement died away. Religion is in fact the one field in which several of the racial groups, African, Arab and Muslim Indians, can be united.

The Catholic community, so largely Goan, has been the object of racial attacks, though Catholics are also strongly represented both in uneducated, tribal Africans, and in individuals of considerable influence in revolutionary counsels. The church is one of the most dominating buildings of the town, and there is no inhibition about ringing its bells loud and long. The Anglican Cathedral, historically and practically

more important than the Catholic church, suffered some setbacks during the Arab rule, owing to its association with the campaign against the slave trade. The revolution has therefore eased its position somewhat, and its long-standing policy of turning over to African clergy has paid dividends. In both cases, adherence to Christianity is largely a matter of tribal allegiance, and we wonder, with Fr Paul Foster, how much real concern there is for matters of truth and justice.

The revolution in Zanzibar is a genuine popular revolution carried out by men to whom religious observance is a habit, to whom higher education is incomprehensible, whose strongest ideas are concerned with class and with race, who have little knowledge of (but some awe of) the techniques of administration and law, and who have very little capability of formulating firm policies for the country's future. The former British administration is to blame for some of these shortcomings. It had little imagination and no respect for education. But the communist friends of Zanzibar are also to blame. They have not tried to give an effective lead, so far, and consequently the revolution has remained parochial. Paradoxically, it is for this reason, in our view, that the island revolution is most dangerous to East Africa. The character and home-made quality of its successes are just of the kind to appeal most strongly to the disillusioned Africans of the coastal countries. Already Kenya has found it necessary to jam broadcasts from Zanzibar because of their insidious popularity. The Zanzibar revolution is in many ways ineffective by European and Asian standards, but it seems to be what the East Africans think they want.

The main effects so far have been destructive, and Zanzibar is in greater need than ever of the sympathy and help of Britain. The refugee problem and associated welfare problems have been taken on for the moment by the Red Cross. But more deeply seated than these are the problems posed by the ruinous condition of education in the two islands. Some developed country must be found which is willing to make the generous gesture, not of getting the old system running again, but of putting into operation a radical educational programme, as an emergency measure. In normal conditions the smallness of Zanzibar, and its relative isolation from the mainland, make assaults on its problems more likely to succeed than those which are lost in the vast distances of the mainland. Now however the strategic position of the island, the inadequacy of its old institutions and the ruin into which they have been brought, are an urgent appeal to Britain and Europe to make a decisive intervention. In the past, we have given Zanzibar

some of the things which money can buy; now we are called on to give the things of the spirit. English people will do well to remember this clear invitation when the time comes for electing another government this year.

Dr Kildare and the Couch

MARTIN DWORKIN

Screen psychiatry inherited much of the cinema's older mythos of medicine. Young Dr Kildare, old Dr Gillespie, and their myriad colleagues easily switched from homey simplifications of the medically arcane to palatable psychoanalysis, the old soap-opera science keeping up with progress, prescribing Freud's protean penicillin.

Of course, the new language had to be learned. And sometimes, the screen refracted the careful terminologies with disconcerting imprecision. The language of the couches and clinics, often beclouded enough, seemed to have been imperfectly absorbed by the popularizers themselves, emerging like the spirited garblings of matrons describing their illnesses and operations over tea—or Thurber's triumphantly inexact maid, Della, whose sister, she confided, 'got tuberculosis from her teeth, and it went all through her symptom'.

Much of the difficulty had to do with the importunate imperialism of the new depth psychology, whose revelations, formulated in the special language of its own province, could usurp so easily the imaginative essences of works of imagination. Dostoevsky had written psychological novels, and Goethe and Coleridge had projected the turmoil of personality upon creations of action and symbolic meaning. But their terms were always those of the novelist and poet; their characters were not case-studies masquerading as fiction; their claims to universality were persuasively inspired, not dogmatically pre-supposed.

Freud's own literary power had been misleading. His accounts of cases were not mere reports, but works of creative interpretation. The