



July 2014

Free online magazine from village earth

**Human slavery is flourishing
US\$ 32 billion annual turnover
around 30 million slaves
Second to drug smuggling in revenue**



Lorraine Poer

International Justice Mission

in an exclusive interview with Mark Ulyseas



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Cover design Mark Ulyseas. Details of human slavery taken from UN data/news media.



JULY 2014

Are NGOs the conscience of humanity?

The unseemly revelation that an employee of Greenpeace lost €3.8 million on speculation in the currency markets leaves a bad taste in the mouth especially for the small donors who constitute 90% of its funding. With a €200 million yearly budget, Greenpeace is a corporation like the corporations it is fighting against! So is Greenpeace an investment company or an NGO fighting for conservation? And should NGOs be involved in such activities like currency speculation? If donations are raised under the banner of a specific cause then that money must go for that cause and should not be diverted for other purposes. And if the diversion of funds occurs then this is an act of obtaining funds under falsehood, which amounts to cheating the donors. This incident opens up a can of worms – who monitors the methods, functioning and financial activities of an NGO? Is an NGO above and beyond the law of the land?

It is a known fact that a number of NGOs are instruments of government clandestine activities and subject to manipulation. They monitor situations in foreign countries, collect and collate data and further pass this onto their government. And for this they get 'financial support' and other fringe benefits. Here is an interesting excerpt from www.ngo-monitor.org on Amnesty International that exposes its duplicity:

In its [Statute](#), Amnesty International fosters an image that "impartiality and independence" are core tenets of its agenda. Amnesty presents itself as unbiased, and independent of governments and their interests, and its statements are widely accepted because the media and diplomats consider the NGO as upholding the universal principles of human rights. This image, however, is misleading. Contrary to what the NGO implies on its website and in other PR materials, Amnesty International and its local branches do in fact accept government funding. Likewise, Amnesty claims that it maintains a policy of "impartiality" and is unbiased in its research of allegations of human rights violations. Despite this claim, Amnesty employs an anti-Israel activist as a researcher in its "Israel, Occupied Palestinian Territories and Palestinian Authority" section. This individual, Deborah Hyams, has a well-documented history of radical activism in the context of the Arab-Israeli conflict, and, correspondingly, weakens Amnesty's credibility and claims of neutrality. Since 2010, when it dismissed women's rights advocate Gita Saghal for blowing the whistle on Amnesty's association with an alleged Taliban supporter, Amnesty's international credibility [has been greatly damaged](#). As shown in this report, the façade of Amnesty's impartiality is far more extensive. [LINK](#)

A non-governmental organization (NGO) is any non-profit, voluntary citizens' group which is organized on a local, national or international level. Task-oriented and driven by people with a common interest, NGOs perform a variety of service and humanitarian functions, bring citizen concerns to Governments, advocate and monitor policies and encourage political participation through provision of information. Some are organized around specific issues, such as human rights, environment or health. They provide analysis and expertise, serve as early warning mechanisms and help monitor and implement international agreements. The former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan had said that NGOs are the conscience of humanity. Unfortunately not all NGOs have a conscience and this is where genuine NGOs are getting affected by the negative fallout of the 'doubtful actions' committed by some of their ilk.

From 'corporate' NGOs we now turn to the briefcase variety that use donations to first pay their own wages and then utilise the remaining funds for the 'cause'. The 'cause' becomes a USP for garnering donations and employing the promoters. In short, it is becoming a business.

One is not attempting to malign all NGOs but merely to point out the fallibility of the system, which is prone to abuse and corruption. The work that an NGO does is always for a noble cause that does not distinguish between race, colour and creed. Its financials are open to scrutiny and funding is strictly from non-governmental sources so as to retain an ethical standard of impartiality. This is supposed to be the 'ideal' situation. But the ground realities are quite different as evident in this brief overview:

NGOs increasingly work "in the field," providing humanitarian relief and development assistance in countries around the world. As they carry out their work, they face many serious problems. Governments or rebel groups deny them access to those in need, corrupt officials or warlords demand payoffs, and local violence threatens the safety and even the lives of field personnel. Donors also subject these NGOs to political pressure, diminishing their neutrality. Military forces increasingly distribute humanitarian assistance to civilians in countries they occupy, blurring the traditional military/humanitarian distinction and making civilian humanitarian workers targets for resistance fighters. In the 1990s, a problematic new doctrine of "humanitarian intervention" arose, giving a humanitarian rationale for armed conflict. Some NGOs have uncritically embraced this doctrine, which further erodes humanitarian neutrality and blurs the longtime distinction between humanitarian action and the anti-humanitarian nature of warfare and organized violence, as carried out by the most powerful states. [LINK](#)

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International Justice Mission

Lorraine Poer in an exclusive interview

Lorraine Poer serves as International Justice Mission's director of communications and editorial. She works with IJM teams around the world to share the story of IJM's work. She has served on the IJM team since 2007. www.ijm.org



Turkey and the Kurds - Prospects for Peace and the ISIS Challenge David Morgan

Morgan has been a journalist for thirty years and specialises in political commentary on Turkey and the Kurds. He has worked with the [Peace in Kurdistan Campaign](#) for over 15 years and taken part in several delegations to Kurdistan and Turkey. He will be monitoring the forthcoming elections at the end of the month. He has written widely on Turkish, Kurdish and other issues. The views expressed in the article are his own and not those of Peace in Kurdistan or any Kurdish organisations.



Muslim Backward Classes - A Sociological Perspective Dr. Azra Khanam

Azra Khanam has been teaching and doing research in Dr K. R. Narayanan Centre for Dalit and Minorities Studies, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi since 2008. Dr Khanam did her PhD from Aligarh Muslim University. She taught as a guest lecturer at Women's College, Aligarh Muslim University during 2003-04 and 2007-08. She has published several articles in reputed Indian journals. www.sagepub.in



Drifting Sovereignty Marie-Eve Loiselle

Marie-Eve works as research officer on the ARC linkage project 'Strengthening the rule of law through the United Nations Security Council'. She completed a Bachelor of Law at the University of Montreal, with a certificate in Transnational Law from the University of Geneva and a Master in Strategic Studies from the Australian National University. She has two years of corporate law experience with a private firm in Montreal, Canada. Currently, Marie-Eve is pursuing a PhD at the Centre for International Governance and Justice at ANU. Reprinted by special permission of [Regarding Rights](#)



Arrested democracy: why Thailand needs a new social contract Marco Mezzera

Mezzera is a senior advisor at NOREF with responsibility for the Asia and Mediation programmes. He has 15 years of policy research experience in conflict and development, globalisation, and governance and democratisation issues, focusing on Asia. In the past, he spent five years in South-east Asia working as a research associate for a Bangkok-based policy research organisation. He holds an MSc in development studies and has co-authored four books and written several articles and policy reports. Reprinted by special permission of [NOREF](#)



C.A.G.E.D - Greyhounds as pets NOT cheap Bets

Rita James

Caged North West (Campaign Against Greyhound Exploitation & Death) was formed in 2012. Since the Campaign began it has made many contacts within both greyhound rescue and with campaign groups overseas. Caged has been exposed to some terrible cruelty cases and feels that it must expand its work to higher levels. Originally Caged set out to cover the North West, but now has volunteer campaigners all over the UK. It has received tremendous support so far but hopes to expand further with continuous support and additional media coverage. www.cagednw.co.uk/



Indian Birds

Anand Vishwanadha

Vishwanadha is a conservationist, poet of nature, motorcycle tourer and professional wildlife photographer based in India. His fascination with birds as a subject extends to poetry as well. His third book of poems is *Stray Birds*, a collection (probably India's only such, to date) of - largely - bird poems. He has also brought out two other collections of poetry, *Moving On* and *Ink Dries*. www.thisandthatandmuse.blogspot.com



Football's the Leveller

Terry McDonagh

Irish poet and dramatist, Terry McDonagh, taught creative writing at the University of Hamburg and was Drama Director at the Int. School Hamburg for 15 years. He now works freelance; has been writer in residence in Europe, Asia, Australia; published seven poetry collections, book of letters, prose and poetry for young people translated into Indonesian and German, distributed internationally by Syracuse Uni. Press; latest poetry collection *Ripple Effect* due for publication in May/June 2013, Arlen House; next children's story, *Michel the Merman*, illustrated by Marc Barnes (NZ) to be published in September 2013. He lives in Hamburg and Ireland. www.terry-mcdonagh.com



Little Water, Less Love

Natalie Wood

Born in Birmingham, England, U.K., Natalie Wood began working in journalism a month prior to outbreak of the 1973 Yom Kippur War. She remained in regional Jewish journalism for over 20 years, leaving full-time writing to help run a family business and then completed a range of general office work. Wood and her husband, Brian Fink emigrated from Manchester to Israel in March 2010 and live in Karmiel, Galilee where she continues to work, concentrating on creative writing. She features in *Smith Magazine's* new *Six Word Memoirs* *On Jewish Life* and contributes to *Technorati*, *Blogcritics* and *Live Encounters* magazine. Her stories - [Website](#) and journalism - [Website](#)

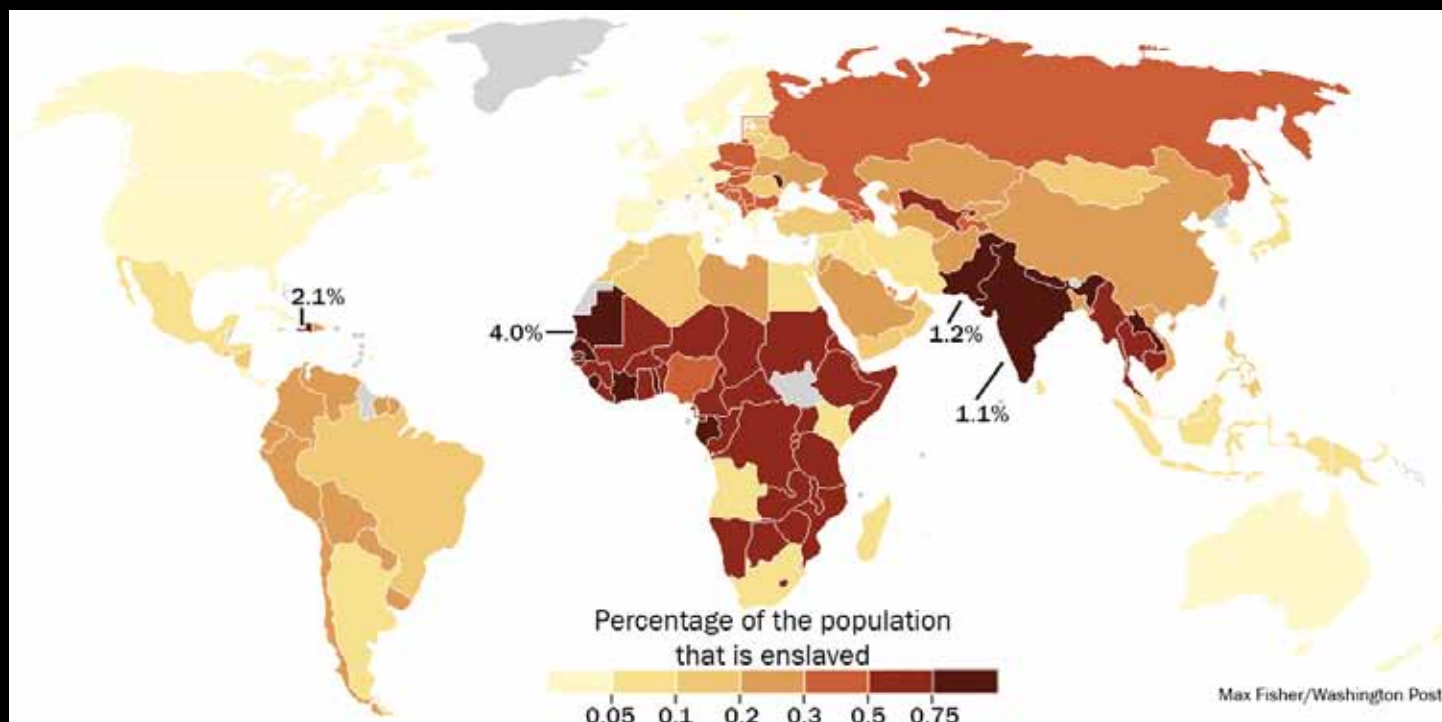


The Stigma of Mental Illness

Dr. Candess M Campbell

Candess M. Campbell, PhD is the #1 Best-selling author of *12 Weeks to Self-Healing: Transforming Pain through Energy Medicine*. She is in private practice in Washington State (US) as a licensed mental health and chemical dependency counselor. Internationally she is an Intuitive Consultant, Speaker, and Seminar Leader. www.12weekstoselfhealing.com

This map shows where the world's 30 million slaves live.



Share of each country's population that is enslaved. Data source: Walk Free Global Slavery Index. (Max Fisher/The Washington Post) [LINK](#)

Slavery expert Siddharth Kara suggests that nearly 90% of the 18 to 20.5 million bonded labourers in the world are in South Asia. While there are varying estimates as to the precise number of individuals held in bonded labour in India, there is consensus that this form of modern slavery is a massive problem in India.



Lorraine Poer International Justice Mission

in an exclusive interview with Mark Ulyseas

"In the past 14 years, IJM has partnered with local authorities to rescue (8,603 children, women and men from forced labor slavery in India. (During this period, we also partnered with the government to rescue 788 children and women from sex trafficking.) We uncover cases of forced labor in farms, factories, brick kilns, rice mills and other industries, and help local authorities and police units conduct rescue operations—ensuring that each victim receives an official government Release Certificate, which entitles him or her to government support.

We advocate for police reports to be filed against owners, and fight in court for perpetrators to be convicted and sentenced. This is still a major challenge in India, where meaningful convictions against slave owners remain rare, despite increased government action to rescue victims.

We walk alongside released slaves for at least two years to make sure children are able to go to school and adults can begin dignifying jobs in freedom. Our innovative program begins with a Freedom Training, where participants learn the basics of life in freedom—from opening a bank account to building healthy families—and includes seminars, one-on-one meetings and community support groups.

In Bangalore and Chennai, we have begun intensive System Reform projects, in which we are partnering with the local government to substantially improve the response to forced labor slavery. In our Delhi office, we are advocating for forced labor to be made a priority at the national level." - **Lori**



“IJM works in 18 communities throughout Africa, Latin America, and South and Southeast Asia.” Could you define what you mean by ‘communities’? And is the work that you do confined only to these 18 communities?

IJM’s teams of lawyers, social workers, community activists and other professionals work out of 18 cities throughout the developing world. In some of our offices, our work is focused within the city itself: for example, our office in Cebu is focused on rescuing children from sex trafficking within Metro Cebu; likewise for our office in Phnom Penh. In some of our offices, we focus our work on more rural areas outside of the cities in which we’re based – for example, Chennai, India is the base of our work throughout the surrounding rural areas.

In these 18 cities, our teams are directly protecting the poor from violence through partnership with local authorities. We are also at work in Australia, Canada, Germany, the Netherlands, the UK and the US to mobilize a global justice movement that will make this fight to protect the poor sustainable and, ultimately, winnable.

Who are your local partners? Are they NGOs or local authorities or both?

IJM’s model is built on partnership. We collaborate with local authorities, local NGOs and community stakeholders. In India, for example, we have multiplied our impact by providing intensive training for partner organizations on how to work with authorities to rescue and restore slaves. Until last year, IJM was working with local authorities to fight slavery in three states; now, through these partnerships, our impact has expanded to nine states. In 2013, IJM and our trained partners rescued more than 2,100 from people slavery. We are inspired by these courageous partners, and grateful for the opportunity to work alongside a truly global movement.

What is Justice System Transformation? Could you explain with some examples related to specific cases?

Justice System Transformation is IJM’s innovative model to not just rescue individual victims, but actually protect poor people from violence. The core philosophy of Justice System Transformation is that, in order to protect vulnerable people in a sustainable way, we need to not only rescue individuals from violence, but ensure that everyone can count on a criminal justice system that actually shields them from violent people.

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Above : IJM’s Andrey Sawchenko (center) signs a memorandum of agreement with the Philippine police. IJM partners with local authorities in the Philippines to combat human trafficking. **Left:** IJM founder and CEO Gary Haugen visits with children in India. Photographs © IJM

IJM has worked in India since 2000 to bring rescue to victims of forced labour slavery (and to children and women trafficked into the sex trade in India). When we began our work in India in 2000, many of the government officials whose job it is to enforce India's laws against labour slavery and sex trafficking had never received training on how to combat these crimes.



Above : IJM's Anu George (front) leads families out of slavery in a lumber cutting facility where they had been held captive. Photographs © IJM

Many didn't even believe slavery existed in the nation. But the tide is turning. Over the past decade, we have made substantial progress, training thousands of officials, many of whom are now initiating cases themselves. The issue of bonded labour is being covered by Indian media, and a new generation is rising up to take a stand against this scourge.

It is claimed that India has approximately 15 million (half the world's population of slaves) men, women and children as bonded labourers – human slaves. Is this true? And what is IJM's track record in this country?

Slavery expert Siddharth Kara suggests that nearly 90% of the 18 to 20.5 million bonded labourers in the world are in South Asia. While there are varying estimates as to the precise number of individuals held in bonded labour in India, there is consensus that this form of modern slavery is a massive problem in India.

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What is Justice System Transformation?

Here's what this looks like in practice. In Cebu, Philippines, our Justice System Transformation program is focused on combating sex trafficking. So, we are partnering with local authorities every day to uncover cases of sex trafficking, rescue victims, bring the criminals who have hurt them to justice and bring restoration to survivors through long-term aftercare. Every case we take on provides opportunities for hands-on mentoring and training with our justice system partners, which strengthens the system long-term. But each case also provides an opportunity to learn about how the justice system works - - we discover the problems, infirmities, weaknesses, corruption or obstruction that poor people face. We're able to use this unique set of knowledge to come alongside government partners and develop strategies to actually fix these problems long-term. So, in Cebu this has led us to support the government in developing a specialized anti-trafficking police force, advocate for fast-tracked courts for trafficking cases, create safe spaces where trafficking victims can give their testimony to police officers after rescue and more. And, these systemic changes, along with actually putting the criminals behind bars, are making a difference. After four years of partnership with local authorities in Cebu, outside auditors found a stunning 79% decrease in the availability of children for commercial sex.

Have you come across instances of corrupt local officials and police, and a legal system that is non-functional? And if so, how do you deal with this situation?

Everywhere we work, the justice system isn't functioning as it should to shield vulnerable people from violence. We address the brokenness of the system through our Justice System Transformation model. First, we support justice system authorities on individual cases, providing hands-on mentoring and training. (We call this process Collaborative Casework.) We also work on System Reform projects with government partners, working together to fix the brokenness in the system long-term.

Is there a pattern that has emerged across communities wherein the poor have been targeted for exploitation by similar methods?

Yes, in many areas of our work, we do see common patterns of abuse. It is common, for example, to traffic a woman or child into sexual exploitation with the false offer of a good job. Likewise, it's common to entrap a family in forced labour with the offer of a small loan, which the recipient agrees to pay back through labour - -but the loan is a trap, and is specifically designed to be impossible to repay.

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Above : Rescued with their families from a life of slavery through an IJM operation. **Left:** Constance was thrown from her home by more powerful members of her community. Today, she is safe and at home through IJM's intervention. Photographs © IJM

We help send the clear message that laws against property grabbing will be enforced, by partnering with local authorities to bring criminal cases against perpetrators, particularly where violence, intimidation or fraud have been used. We're also working to strengthen justice systems by providing training and hands-on mentoring to police and local leaders on the effective enforcement of property grabbing laws.



Above : Raman was once held as a slave. Today, he serves as a leader in his community. [\(Learn more\)](#) **Right :** Once held in slavery, these men have completed IJM's Freedom Training program. Photographs © IJM



The most consistent pattern we see, however, is that violent people choose to abuse and exploit their vulnerable neighbours when they believe they won't face any consequences. This is why we believe it's so critical for justice systems to work effectively to protect the poor - - because when laws are enforced, the violence stops.

Theft of property is widespread in Third World Countries where the poor lack basic civil and human rights. How does IJM work in assisting the dispossessed reclaim their stolen land ? Could you share a case study?

IJM stands up for vulnerable people – especially widows and orphans – who have had their homes stolen from them in Uganda and Zambia. We restore widows and orphans to their homes and defend them against ongoing threats of violence, as well as provide urgent medical care and counseling, ensure that children can go to school and, where needed, help women begin income-generating projects. We help send the clear message that laws against property grabbing will be enforced, by partnering with local authorities to bring criminal cases against perpetrators, particularly where violence, intimidation or fraud have been used. We're also working to strengthen justice systems by providing training and hands-on mentoring to police and local leaders on the effective enforcement of property grabbing laws.

Case study:

MUKONO, UGANDA – It was the dead of night when a bully intent on stealing Susan's small patch of land arrived on her property. The man began to violently demolish her small brick home. As mortar and dust rained down on her terrified grandchildren, he made his threat clear: "Let me kill this lousy woman." Susan and her grandchildren fled. She begged the police to do something—to get her home back, to stop the man who had threatened to kill her. They did not. For vulnerable widows and orphans across Africa, the violent crime of property grabbing is both common, and a matter of life and death. Without their property, many have no source of income for food or medical care.

And, like Susan, some are even threatened with murder.

IJM's Ugandan legal team mounted a top-rate legal case for Susan and her grandchildren—securing their safety and their home. Today, Susan and her grandchildren have returned to their land, rebuilt their home and received compensation for the terror inflicted on them. Susan is not only able to grow her crops again, but is now managing a small new chicken business that IJM aftercare staff helped her start.

In our work, we see that a primary reason that people rape, exploit, enslave and abuse the poorest is because they believe they'll get away with it. We demonstrate to the community that poor people have great value by showing that the law will be enforced on their behalf – and that those who abuse the poor will face consequences for their crimes. What we've seen through our work is that even a small number of successful convictions of criminals for raping, trafficking, enslaving or otherwise violently abusing the poor can have a very strong deterrent impact.

Sexual assaults on destitute women and children appear to be the rule rather than the exception. In spite of stringent laws the assaults continue and in some countries have become endemic. Has IJM been successful in sensitising local authorities and in particular the police into being proactive towards protecting the poor people's rights? To what extent has IJM been involved?

Yes - as we work with local partners here we are seeing great progress. For example, in Guatemala, where we take on cases of children who have been sexually assaulted, we helped develop nation-wide standards for handling child sexual assault cases, and last year the Supreme Court and Attorney General implemented the standards nationwide. These policies, created in partnership with government and private stakeholders, will ensure child victims and witnesses are treated fairly and sensitively in court.

The prevailing mind set appears to be that the poor are disposable...non-people, sub-human. How does IJM work towards changing this mind set without treading on the cultural aspects of a particular society?

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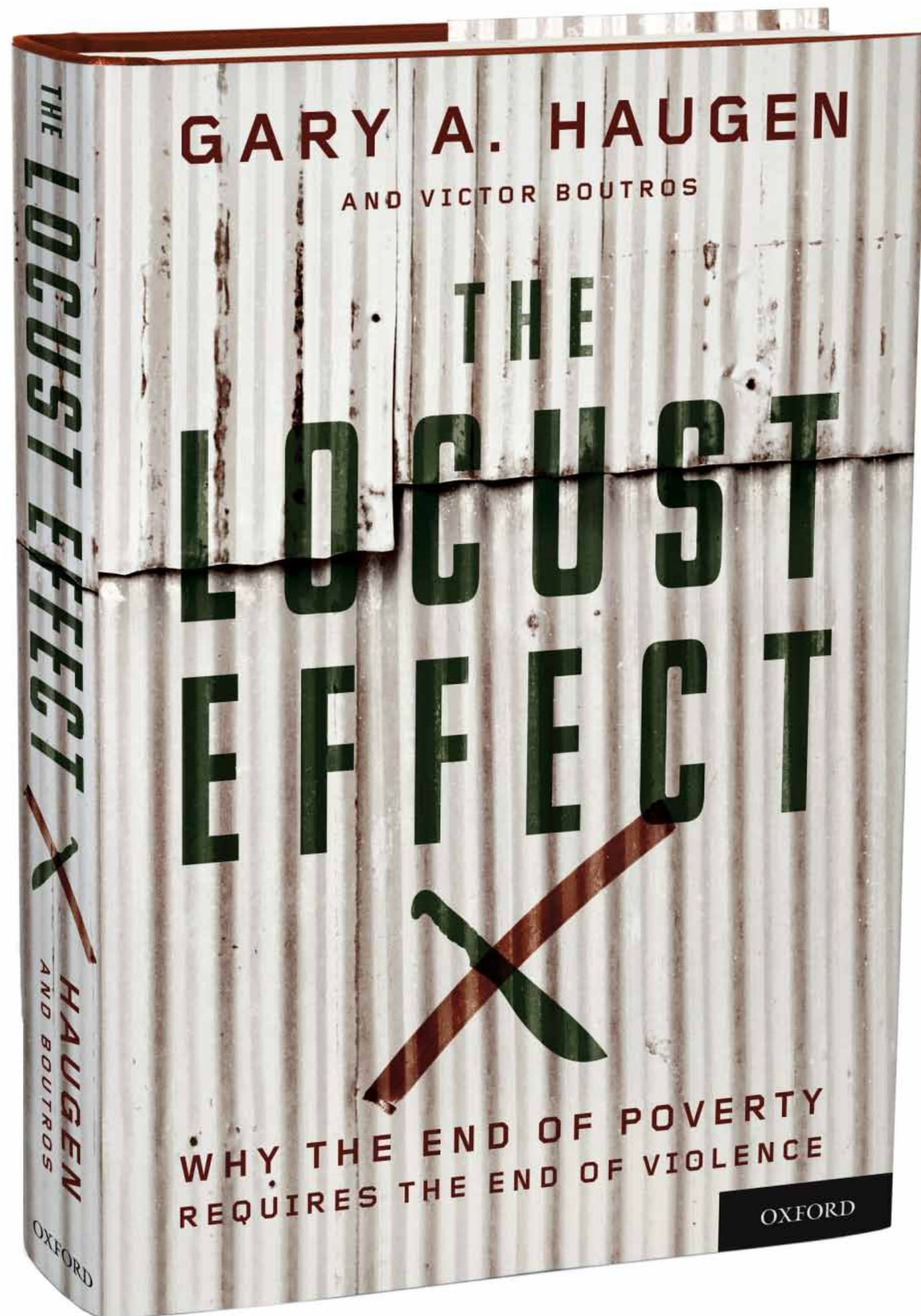
Combating human trafficking is the mantra of most governments as it leads to illegal immigration and the sordid offshoots of sexual exploitation/ work slaves and rise in crime. What is IJM's track record in fighting this scourge?

IJM partners with local government authorities in India, Cambodia and the Philippines to combat sex trafficking, and with local government authorities in India to combat forced labor slavery. We are seeing the reality that when the laws are enforced and would-be perpetrators have a credible reason to believe that they will be held accountable for trafficking poor people – the violence stops. Last year, 2,266 children, women and men were freed from forced labour slavery by IJM and our trained field partners in India, and 239 children and women were rescued from sex trafficking in India, Cambodia and the Philippines.

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Above : The IJM Zambia team visit with Grace (center), a widow restored to her home through IJM's intervention. [\(You can read her story here\)](#)



Gary Haugen (right) and Victor Boutros wrote *The Locust Effect* as a tool to help transform the way the world talks about and responds to severe poverty in the world. We want to awaken the world to a revolutionary truth: If we are serious about combating poverty and securing basic rights for the poor, we must end the plague of everyday violence that has engulfed their communities – and this is impossible to do without effective criminal justice systems. www.thelocusteffect.com



Could you give us a synopsis of the book - *The Locust Effect: Why the End of Poverty Requires the End of Violence* authored by Gary A. Haugen (Founder of IJM) and Victor Boutros? Why was this book published and what do the authors hope to achieve with it?

In more than 15 years of work, IJM staff have uncovered a plague of everyday violence – rape and other gender-based violence, forced labour slavery, violent land theft, police abuse and more – that is devastating the poorest communities in the developing world. Why are the poor so uniquely vulnerable? Because they live in a state of utter lawlessness. Basic criminal justice systems, from police to courts, are too dysfunctional, corroded and corrupt to protect the poor from violence – and the criminals know it. Like a plague of locusts, this predatory violence lays waste to individual lives and to the world’s efforts to overcome poverty. If we do not decisively address this plague, the poorest will not be able to thrive and achieve their dreams – ever. Nothing we do to help the poor can be sustainable until we address the violence.

The factors that have allowed this plague to undermine a half-century of progress in the human rights movement are both surprisingly straightforward and utterly devastating, from the ugly historical reality that inherited colonial justice systems were never meant to protect the poor in the first place, to the overlooked consequences of the “workaround” systems the wealthy have developed, to the fact that the world has made virtually no investment in securing effective criminal justice for the poor amidst trillions spent on aid.

But the violence can stop. History proves it is possible: Every reasonably functioning public justice system in the world today was, at one time in history, utterly dysfunctional, corrupt and abusive. They had to be transformed to provide reasonable protection for their weakest citizens. And ground breaking work underway today is providing a powerful source of hope: A variety of projects being carried out around the world by IJM and other NGOs are demonstrating that it is possible to transform broken public justice systems in the developing world so they effectively protect the poor from violence.

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In this article David Morgan looks at the prospects for a peace deal between Turkey and the Kurds in the aftermath of the Turkish elections and considers the impact of the unfolding conflict in neighbouring Iraq.

Turkey and the Kurds - Prospects for Peace and the ISIS Challenge - David Morgan



A meeting was held with a director of the Memory Centre which was engaged in investigating the circumstances surrounding the number of people who became “disappeared” persons during the years of conflict. This NGO was established as recently as 2010 and was carrying out very valuable work in assisting the country to come to terms with the appalling suffering that continues to be inflicted on those families, predominantly Kurdish, who were victims of a state policy of enforced disappearances as the Turkish state fought a dirty war against the Kurds. The situation of the disappeared has for several years been brought to public attention by the courageous activism of the Saturday Mothers vigils, and we were extremely privileged to have been able to join one of these vigils ourselves during our visit - Observations following a visit to Istanbul during the Recent Municipal Elections by David Morgan, Peace in Kurdistan Campaign Father Joe Ryan, Chair of the Westminster Diocese Peace and Justice Commission. May 2014

The philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau in his discourses on inequality reflects on the conflict over land in human affairs and concludes that the effects have been almost always negative:

“The first man who, having fenced off a plot of land thought of saying, ‘this is mine’, and found people simple enough to believe him, was the real founder of civil society. How many crimes, wars, murders, how many miseries and horrors might the human race have been spared by the one who, upon pulling up the stakes or filling in the ditch, had shouted to his kind: ‘Beware of listening to this impostor; *you are lost if you forget the fruits of the earth belong to all and that the Earth belongs to no one.*”

I start by alluding to this commentary because here Rousseau perfectly encapsulates the underlying complexities of the issues and fundamental principles that are at stake in the history of the Kurds and the common interests that we all share. The quote might help to contextualise the conflicts that are currently being waged in the wider Middle East and in the struggle of the Kurds. The issues are about territory and conflicting interpretations of rights; who owns what and the kind of society that can be constructed. A consensus can only emerge once all the issues are impartially addressed and all voices are heard. The Kurds have suffered more than many peoples in this continuing struggle for territory, which is about power, wealth, security and the clash of interests as much as it is about justice and rights.

The protracted conflict between the Turkish state and the Kurdish population has claimed many thousands of lives over the past four decades and continues to inflict misery on millions adding to the toll of terrible suffering. Families still suffer grief as their children are embroiled in conflict; loved ones are detained, injured in clashes with the police or fleeing to an uncertain fate the mountains to join the Kurdish guerrillas. The criminalisation of Kurdish communities by Turkish anti-terrorism legislation imposes severe restrictions on behaviour and there is a similar criminalisation of Kurdish refugee communities across Europe living under the threat of punitive European anti-terrorism laws, in particular there is the impact of the proscription of the Kurdistan Workers’ Party (PKK) in circumscribing normal behaviour such as travelling, reading, speaking out, meeting up with people and even thinking in a certain way. This enormous human suffering of countless daily injustices underlines the urgent need to reach a solution whereby Turkey and the Kurds can create a shared space where they can re-establish a degree of normal living.

The outcome of the election was probably good for the peace process; the opposition parties opposed to the talks with the Kurds did badly and pro-Kurdish parties did quite well. Erdogan's victory gives him a mandate to move forward should he want to do so. I flew to Turkey to observe the local elections on 30 March. Staying in Istanbul I and my fellow observer, Father Joe Ryan, a Catholic peace advocate from Westminster in London, recorded concerns about numerous abuses and irregularities at various polling stations that were reported to us.

The peace talks between Abdullah Ocalan and the Turkish state have a very long way to go, in fact they have hardly really started; the talks are really at the stage of what in the Irish and South African scenarios was described as "talks about talks".

At first they were secret talks until exposed in the Turkish media, then they were unilaterally called off by the Turkish side but now following the election the prospects for talks have probably improved ever so slightly as the opposition parties, opposed to talks, were defeated.

Erdogan has a mandate to pursue talks and if as is assumed, he wins the forthcoming presidential election he will be in a very strong position to move things forward should he really wish to do so. Whether he can be trusted or not is another matter however.

Turkey after the Elections

I flew to Turkey to observe the local elections on 30 March. Staying in Istanbul I and my fellow observer, Father Joe Ryan, a Catholic peace advocate from Westminster in London, recorded concerns about numerous abuses and irregularities at various polling stations that were reported to us. We were however encouraged that the HDP did well in the elections; In areas such as Istanbul, the BDP, the main Kurdish party, was standing as part of the HDP, an alliance of progressive social movements and individuals who had joined together to form the new party in October last year. The candidates for the Beyoglu district of Istanbul were an architect who had been leading opposition to urban redevelopment schemes and the sister of a victim of the Roboski massacre.

Evaluating the poll results we were told by a party spokesperson that its performance was encouraging for a new party; it had succeeded despite facing organisational challenges and financial difficulties. The HDP, which advocates a progressive social democratic programme of reform including rights for women and gay people, will nevertheless need to develop its political campaigning to address the concerns of the people and attract wider support. However, the attitude of the party remains positive and its next political challenge will be the election for the presidency due in August.

At the time of writing a process is taking place which may see the merger of the BDP and the HDP and BDP Members of Parliament recently joined the HDP. During our visit we were informed that the HDP was a culmination of the political project developed by Abdullah Ocalan of building alliances for the democratic transformation of Turkey. The party's social agenda included civil rights for minorities in education, healthcare and employment. It campaigns for peace as a necessary prerequisite for democratisation.

In a victory speech as the polls closed, Prime Minister Erdogan issued a threat to his opponents, stating that his "enemies would pay a heavy price" for plotting against him. We were informed that this threat was aimed specifically at supporters of the Gulen movement and was not directed at Kurds. Nevertheless, such threats always sound ominous and could indicate a wider clampdown on opposition forces in future if tensions exacerbate.

Irregularities

Some of the alleged electoral abuses were absurd and the irregularities seemed to be widespread. Some local polls had to be re-run later. During the polling day we heard accusations of people seeing ballot boxes in polling stations already with ballot papers before the doors opened for people to vote.

There were further allegations that ballot papers had already been stamped before being handed out to voters. It was also reported in the Turkish media that 180 million ballot papers had been printed for an electorate numbering just 52 million, which sounded very odd. No explanation for this was made nor was any denial given by the electoral commission for this apparent anomaly.

If these allegations are true, it is at best highly suspicious. Irregularities during the vote counting were later reported with power cuts taking place in numerous cities as the votes were in the process of being counted. The official response was to blame power blackouts on the bad weather.

The country's Energy and Natural Resources Minister Taner Yildiz emphatically denied any wrongdoing: "In the eastern Mediterranean cities of Mersin, Adana and Gaziantep, there was a storm with winds reaching 75 km/h. In addition, there was heavy snow in eastern Anatolian cities like Erzurum and Ardahan. These weather conditions caused some local power outages which didn't affect the vote counting."

However the minister failed to address complaints about power outages in western cities such as Istanbul and Eskişehir, where the weather conditions were mild and caused no problems. We were staying in the centre of Istanbul and we witnessed no adverse weather conditions at all. Clearly the implication is that the blackout provided an opportunity to tamper with the votes in some way.

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The implications of Erdogan's poll victory are being taken as an endorsement of the peace process and provide the AKP with a mandate to pursue it with a renewed sense of urgency. The rival CHP and MHP had opposed the peace process with the Kurds.

A serious and succinct examination of the possible outcome of the peace talks and the Kurdish position is discussed in a new report, *Living Freedom: The evolution of the Kurdish Conflict in Turkey and the Efforts to Resolve It*, published by the Berlin based non-governmental organisation, the Berghof Foundation, which specialises in searching for innovative methods of conflict resolution. This report was written by Adem Uzun, a Kurdish activist who had a key role as a facilitator in the recent peace talks until they were broken off by Turkey.

More Women Elected

It was clearly positive to see more women elected as mayors for the first time including the BDP's Gultan Kisanak in Diyarbakir, who succeeded Osman Baydemir. The Kurdish movement in Turkey is well known for its encouragement of women's participation as this has long been promoted by Abdullah Ocalan. It is good to see it having an impact on the empowerment of Kurdish women especially when the prospects for women in other parts of the Middle East, such as Syria and Iraq, are now so grim.

In fact the BDP and sister party People's Democracy Party (HDP) both have a policy of equal representation for women and actually exceed the 50 percent mark in practice. During the visit Turkey we were impressed by the optimism expressed by all the people with whom we met including the many officials from the HDP, human rights association (IHD), two of the Ocalan legal team who had just a few days earlier been released from prison, journalists from Ozgur Gundem and members of the teachers' union EGITIM SEN. They generally felt that prospects for moving the peace talks forward were good.

Context for the Peace Talks

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In this there is a more direct link to ISIS as many of its volunteers apparently come from Chechnya as Chechen fighters share the same extreme jihadist ideology as ISIS. There has been a lot of evidence of close collaboration between ISIS and Western powers, which is not just speculative but substantial. Recently there was a report of a secret training camp set up in Jordan where US Army personnel have been training ISIS volunteers in killing techniques. On this matter of collaboration with outside powers, the Kurds have long pointed out connections between Turkey and jihadi groups like ISIS.

The Crisis in Iraq

At the time of writing Iraq is coming under concerted attack from the militant jihadist group, the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), formerly known as Islamic State for Iraq and Levant (ISIL), which appears to have a fair amount of support from the Sunni Arab population or at least from some disgruntled factions including former Baathists. The rise of ISIS raises many questions as it is a serious threat to the Kurds and to peace in the region. But what is fuelling this current crisis? In part it is 'fuel' itself in the form of oil; what is most worrying is that ISIS is gaining control of oil fields. I must say that I am sceptical of the suggestion that the rise of ISIS can be attributed to a Sunni-Shia divide alone; it must not be forgotten that for decades Iraq was a secular state and for longer even than that Sunni and Shia communities have lived peaceably together.

In terms of business and commercial relations between the region and the outside world, ISIS does not really pose much of a threat since it has no credible alternative; it certainly lacks an economic policy. If we take the Muslim Brotherhood's short rule in Egypt it can be argued that the Morsi government failed precisely because it did not have much of a clue about managing the economy and so did little to satisfy the wishes of the people for improved material prospects. ISIS which is an extreme version of the Brotherhood in terms of outlook will surely never get to grips with power or run a modern economy. All it can do is to create chaos, if that is not a contradiction. A cynical observer might suggest that chaos can often be good for business – in terms of boosting the arms trade, the security industry and opening up future potential for reconstruction; conflict also absorbs surplus labour. Increased security measures are given an added legitimacy by being made more necessary. The advance of ISIS in Iraq cannot be separated from what has been taking place in Syria which seems to be a part of a new cold war being played out in different arenas, Syria and Ukraine also. The aim of the US and its allies is to topple Assad in part because he is seen to be too pro-Russian. Likewise, the conflict in Ukraine is an extension of Western influence into a former pro-Russian client state taking NATO power right up to the Russian border in violation of an agreement with Russia after the fall of the Berlin Wall.

An aim in Ukraine is to draw Russia into a conflict that may spill over into Russian territory and thus provoke renewed unrest in places such as Chechnya. In this there is a more direct link to ISIS as many of its volunteers apparently come from Chechnya as Chechen fighters share the same extreme jihadist ideology as ISIS. There has been a lot of evidence of close collaboration between ISIS and Western powers, which is not just speculative but substantial. Recently there was a report of a secret training camp set up in Jordan where US Army personnel have been training ISIS volunteers in killing techniques. On this matter of collaboration with outside powers, the Kurds have long pointed out connections between Turkey and jihadi groups like ISIS.

On this matter of collaboration with outside powers, the Kurds have long pointed out connections between Turkey and jihadi groups like ISIS. The video footage that emerged of British students urging others to join them in a jihad exposes the international network that has grown up. They are able to mount sophisticated media campaigns using marketing techniques to promote their cause which shows a level of professional competency that is deeply worrying. The group therefore poses a real threat to peace and democracy in Iraq and elsewhere.

The Crisis in Iraq *contd...*

The video footage that emerged of British students urging others to join them in a jihad exposes the international network that has grown up. They are able to mount sophisticated media campaigns using marketing techniques to promote their cause which shows a level of professional competency that is deeply worrying. The group therefore poses a real threat to peace and democracy in Iraq and elsewhere.

In its latest success in the field, ISIS claimed to have seized a border crossing to Syria and two towns in north-west Iraq on 21 June. The Iraqi army has seemed to be overwhelmed by ISIS fighters who look better trained, better equipped and are definitely much more ruthless. ISIS shocked the world when it successfully attacked the city of Mosul in early June and has since seized large swathes of territory across the country.

The BBC has reported that ISIS had since been able to establish secure safe havens, including linking up supply lines with bases in neighbouring Syria, which are likely to prove difficult to target. ISIS of course recognises no borders and operates as if Syria and Iraq were one territory. It seems that ISIS's ruthless determination and ability to attract volunteer fighters emboldened by a sense of mission has transformed them into a formidable force and as such they pose a danger to Iraq's very existence. It is the latest tragedy facing a country that has been made to endure more than its fair share of tragedies over the past few decades. Whether Iraq can survive this latest assault is the big question and the outcome has far reaching consequences not only for the diverse communities inside the country but for peoples around the region, the Kurds included.

A Historical Comparison – Contrast

During the 1930s, the Spanish Civil War became a cause of international solidarity for progressive minded idealists everywhere. It was a cause that knew no borders – for example, miners from South Wales needed no state to force them to enlist or patriotic fervour to urge them to do what they saw as their duty as human beings: they simply believed that they were doing the right thing. Political networks were established to facilitate volunteers for Spain, to rally popular support and bring in supplies. Those who died were generally very young and naturally idealistic. Today once again there is a great cause that inspires a section of the world's youth. But that is where the similarities cease; ISIS is like the warped imitation of that great cause of the left and international solidarity expressed during the Spanish Civil War. ISIS in fact is in part an expression of the failure of the left to inspire people as it did in past times with earlier generations.

Borders are certainly artificial constructs but they serve an important function of at least providing a modicum of a legal basis for existence offering a degree of security for those fortunate to be able to identify with the nations that exist contained within these borders. Today it is as if the post-World War One settlement is unravelling; the Kurds lost out in that agreement, but whether they will gain from the chaos in the region is far from certain.

It is a tragedy for humanity that this is the case. For the moment ISIS is thus a real force to be reckoned with - when it took Mosul in a matter of hours it shocked the world and the implications of its success are dramatic and still to be assessed; these events have effectively redrawn the map of Iraq and its impact will reverberate across the whole of the Mideast in coming months and years. The outcome is far from certain and various competing scenarios are being touted. What is the future for Iraq - will it split into three parts as some have long envisaged? If so, how can that unravelling of borders ever be contained within the territory of Iraq when the perpetrators like ISIS recognise no such borders? As for the Kurds, how could they establish an independent state in the territory of the Kurdistan Regional Government plus Kirkuk as this would effectively exclude the majority of Kurdish people who actually live in Turkey, in Syria and in Iran?

Wider Implications

Great powers from outside the region may meddle but they also wish to quarantine the virus; however, these attempts may be forlorn - sometimes great powers can overreach themselves and they do not always come out on top. Once a process of unravelling the borders has started there is no end to what the outcomes may be; everything is up for grabs and some long cherished dreams and hopes are reawakened along with deepest fears of 'the other' and new enemies thrown up by the immense uncertainties and dislocation. Borders are certainly artificial constructs but they serve an important function of at least providing a modicum of a legal basis for existence offering a degree of security for those fortunate to be able to identify with the nations that exist contained within these borders. Today it is as if the post-World War One settlement is unravelling; the Kurds lost out in that agreement, but whether they will gain from the chaos in the region is far from certain.

What we may be seeing before our eyes in Iraq is not simply a nation falling apart from within but one that is under attack from without from hostile forces who themselves have little legitimacy and command less popular loyalty than the hapless elected central government in Baghdad. The campaign that "Maliki must go" has a sinister aspect; it emanates from US circles and the same language that Maliki is 'sectarian', that he has allegedly 'marginalised' the Sunni and by implication brought the revolt on himself, are arguments that have all been echoed by Western spokesmen and media commentators everywhere. The question of Sunni marginalisation is largely a myth; in what sense are they marginalised when many Iraqi government ministers are still Sunni? The country's president is a Kurd as is the foreign minister, it might be added; in counter to the view that Maliki is running a Shia regime at the behest of Iran. There have in fact been incessant attempts to "sectarianise" Iraq since the toppling of Saddam Husein. Western diplomats and commentators are prone to identifying people by their sectarian background.

Western diplomats and commentators are prone to identifying people by their sectarian background. A question uppermost when meeting a person from the Middle East for the first time is, "is he Sunni or Shia?" This mindset is an expression of an imperial ideology and a reflection of the power pact between the West and leaders of the Sunni majority population nations of the region. In this regard it is no surprise that when the Arab Spring spread to unrest among the Shia majority in Bahrain it would be savagely suppressed with hardly a squeak of protest from Washington, London or Brussels.

Wider Implications *contd...*

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To get back to ISIS, as far as it is concerned the "liberation" war is part of the same struggle that it has been waging in Syria with tacit support from some of the same outside actors – such as Turkey - who are now expressing a wish to suppress it in Iraq. And if ISIS is defeated in Iraq but is not eradicated - where will it re-emerge? Will it eventually turn on Turkey? Such possibilities all need to be considered. If the current prospects offer an opportunity for the Kurds in the long term, the short and medium terms are more uncertain and threaten much more suffering. It is surely virtually impossible that Turkey and Iran will give up their parts of Kurdistan without a fight - their enormous armies may end up being turned on the Kurds with merciless massacres the result as has been carried out in the past.

If the KRG decides that it wants to hold onto Kirkuk how will Iraq react? Will there be negotiations and if these break down might not the Iraqi forces –if strengthened by success in battle with ISIS - be ready to do battle with the peshmerga and enter Kurdistan? The bloody history of Iraq can teach us that this is always a real danger. In the Ukraine, the people of Crimea, the majority who traditionally identify with Russia, expressed their overwhelming desire in a referendum to rejoin Russia, and Moscow quickly obliged by amending its constitution.

This process occurred with remarkable speed and with very few casualties. Of course, the action has not been recognised either internationally or by the rest of Ukraine; indeed the newly elected president in Kiev has pledged to get the Crimea back. But Kiev might not want to fight for it and the world might grudgingly accept the reality of Crimea as part of Russia, as expressed by the will of the people. Now clearly, the situation in Crimea and Kurdistan are very different but there are some lessons in terms of process and legality for what may one day occur in Iraq.

Clearly any change would be helped by having the support of a great power - at present no power, neither the EU nor the US, has publicly officially contemplated the breakup of Iraq or the emergence of a "lesser Kurdistan" out of the KRG. Reports of think tanks, individual academics and maverick retired diplomats may have floated the idea of splitting Iraq in three, but it is far from an

It is therefore surprising that resistance to the onslaught has as yet seemed so half-hearted. Conservative elements in the society may welcome such moves while others, out of desperation, may be prepared to silently accept it. The view that people in the Middle East are simply waiting to cast off their oppressors and adopt the norms of Western liberal democracy is a myth too long perpetrated and it has clouded the judgement of commentators; probably it is now only politicians in the West and their handpicked policy advisers who truly believe it.

official policy anywhere as yet and there will be enormous pressures from regional allies to prevent any change of policy in this direction. One imagines the heated exchanges and protracted discussions that will be taking place in the cabinet rooms and the Oval office.

The Kurds or ISIS – a Choice for the West

The imposition of a merciless punishment regime based on a perverse interpretation of Sharia law in those territories where ISIS now holds sway is a prospect that must fill ordinary Iraqis and especially women with absolute dread. Public executions, including amputations and even crucifixions, have been carried out in those places where ISIS has taken power. If more Iraqi towns and cities fall to ISIS and their allies the people can surely only expect more of the same. It is therefore surprising that resistance to the onslaught has as yet seemed so half-hearted.

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Engaging with the Kurds

What can be stated in connection with the fate of the Kurds with some certainty is that the successes of ISIS and other groups sharing a similar mindset and a militant Islamic agenda pose a grave challenge to the Kurds everywhere. ISIS certainly does not respect ethnic and cultural diversity; indeed the very meaning of the concept of diversity is alien to their thinking. The pan-national Islamic state envisaged by ISIS and all other Al-Qaeda affiliates as their remedy for the reconstruction of a new Middle East cleansed of heretical influences is one that is anathema to the majority of Kurds and in total opposition to the democratic, secular, gender balanced, ecologically sustainable community envisioned and advocated by Abdullah Ocalan.

In the context of the challenge from ISIS one would have expected a more favourable appreciation and more serious consideration of Ocalan's proposals which he has sought to articulate in writings published over many years. His visionary thinking is refreshing and profoundly attractive in itself, but when set against the alternative of the austere and tyrannical dystopia offered by ISIS, progressive minded policy makers should welcome Ocalan's suggestions if not with open arms at least with some more encouragement than is currently being given to it.

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Engaging with the Kurds *contd...*

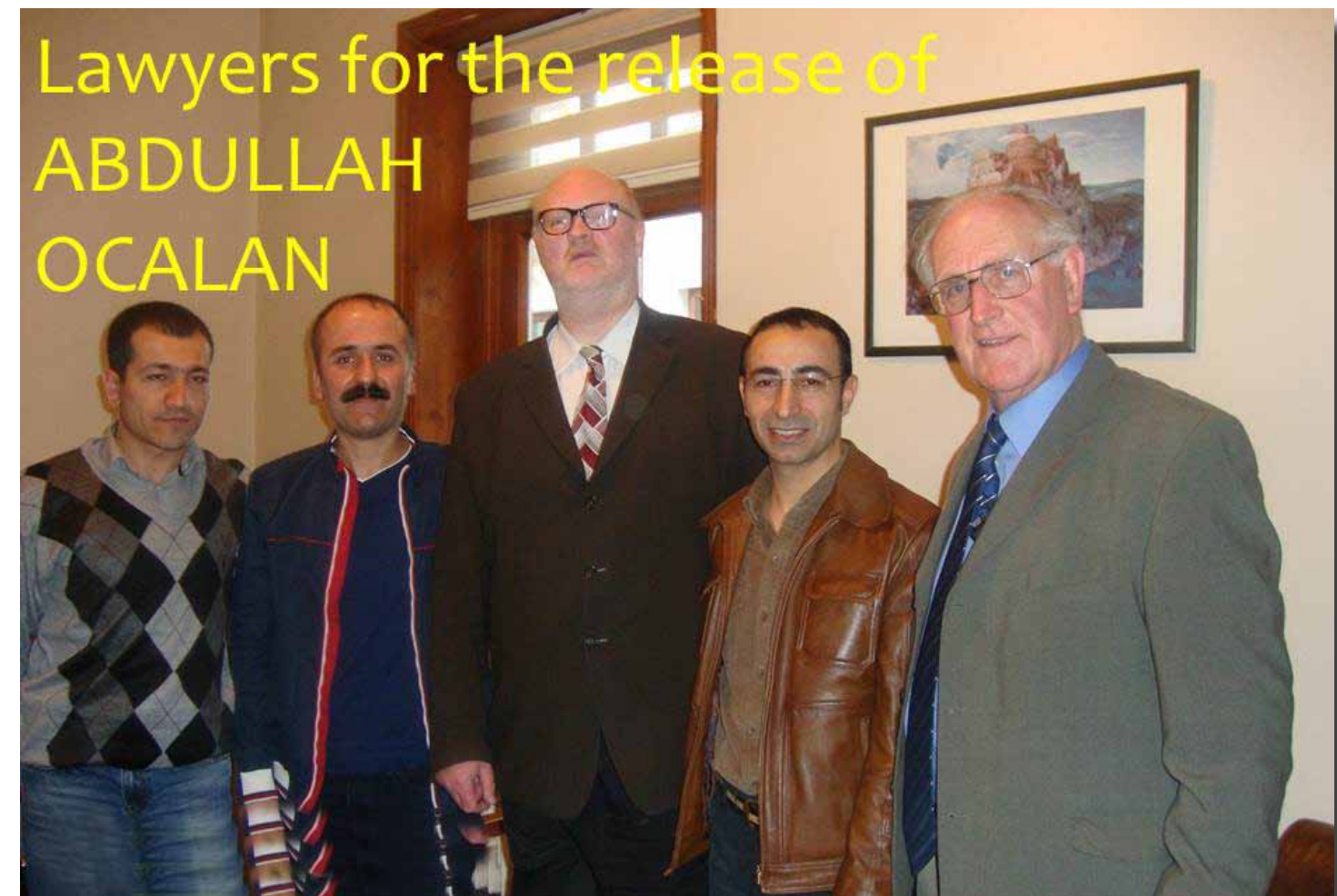
The time is certainly urgent for more serious consideration being given to the politics of Ocalan and the organised Kurdish political movement. Perhaps one consequence of the challenge posed by ISIS will be greater realisation that the Kurds have a positive and constructive role to play in the resolution of the current conflicts shaking up the region. Stability is seen as an essential requirement for economic activity and generating prosperity. Indeed stability and prosperity go hand in hand, as organisations such as the World Bank and IMF are keen to insist. Hence, Western governments with interests in the Middle East should prioritise securing stability over fanning the flames of conflict, and if they are now searching for a way out of the impasse as they surely should be, then they would be advised to start by encouraging greater engagement with the Kurds in Turkey and Syria.

Rojava – the Kurds in Syria

It is appalling how the embattled Kurds in Rojava who are seeking to offer a democratic alternative in Syria have been cold shouldered by the West until now. Rather than engaging with them, a human rights agenda has started to be used propagandistically to discredit and undermine the efforts of the Kurds in Rojava to build a new society there. This is seen in the widely publicised report issued by Human Rights Watch which purported to find dictatorial methods emerging in Rojava. The report utterly fails to acknowledge the actual conditions within the region which is a state of siege with the Kurds resisting ruthless enemies who have some very powerful backers. In this hazardous scenario the Kurds should be applauded for seeking to empower women and for co-operating with non-Kurdish communities while attempting to defend their people and at the same time trying to run their administration on a more democratic basis against very difficult odds.

Ultimately, the success of the Kurds will be our success as we will all gain if a new society that is more inclusive, democratically inclined, pro-women, pro-environment, pro-diversity and pro-humanity is securely established in the Middle East. Let diversity and democratic aspirations thrive. Sectarianism in all its forms needs to be rolled back.

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In all 37 lawyers had been arrested; five had been released. The two (L to R: Omer Gunez and Mazlum Ding) that we (Centre: David Morgan. R: Father Joe Ryan) met had been in prison for 2 years and 4 months.

Turkey after the Elections – Prospects for the Peace Process and Opportunities for the Kurds - Observations Following a visit to Istanbul during the Recent Municipal Elections by David Morgan, Peace in Kurdistan Campaign and Father Joe Ryan, Chair of the Westminster Diocese Peace and Justice Commission. [Delegation Report Download PDF Here](#)



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My book is a humble attempt to understand the sociological perspectives on Muslim OBCs as every complex society has individuals who are backward and have low position in the status of hierarchy, the backwardness, as understood in the Indian context, has a number of distinctive features. Here, backwardness is viewed as an attribute not of individual but of certain clearly-defined social segments the membership is generally acquired by birth and which entitles to that social segments certain advantages and concessions specially conferred by the government. The other backward classes constitute a category of people who are for the most part officially listed in a variety of context. The distinctive problems of the backward classes derive from their status ascribed to them by traditional Indian society and by the subsequent forces of history which are in any ways unique to Indian society. Muslim constitutes the second largest religious minority community in India. Census million. After sixty years of independence and positive economic growth, it has been proved by various reports that Muslim community is lagging behind in a number of development indicators as compared to other religious communities including Hindus Christians and Sikhs. Muslims are the followers of Islam and the Islamic ideology espoused the principle of egalitarianism and suggests the equality of all believers. But despite a mark egalitarian pronouncement of Islam some sort of hierarchical norms emerged among the Muslims due to group distinction as adapted to regional situations.



Muslim Backward Classes

A Sociological Perspective



The census report 1901 also shows that The Mohammedan themselves recognize two main social stratas- *Ashraf* and *Ajlaf*. Ashraf means noble and includes all undoubted descendants of foreigners and converts from high group and all convert from lower rank are known by the contemptuous term Ajlaf, wretches or mean people, they are also called Itar, base as Rasil', a corruption of Rizals, 'worthless'.

Indian society is divided on the basis of caste which has been an organizing principle of Hindu social order. Though its rigidity and contours changed greatly through the different historical periods and empirical studies which initially took the form of decennial census adduced considerable evidences that castes (or caste like groupings, which is a much later categorization) existed among Muslims and could be identified through a hierarchy of status orders that has several significant attributes: source of descent so that those claiming to be the descendants of the Prophet or one of his Companions enjoyed precedence over local converts and association with an occupation leading to each caste confining marriages to its members. Using evidences form decennial censuses, Gaus Ansari has argued that Muslims in India are divided in to three broad categories and further these categories are divided in to number of groups for which he chose to designate as castes.

Justice Sawant clearly expressed his point of view in the famous nine judges Constitution Bench Indira Sahni versus Union of India landmark, judgment, 474. As far as Islam is concerned, Islam also does not recognize caste or stratification; however, among the Muslims in fact there are Ashraf and Ajlaf i.e. high born or low born.

The census report 1901 also shows that The Mohammedan themselves recognize two main social stratas- *Ashraf* and *Ajlaf*. Ashraf means noble and includes all undoubted descendants of foreigners and converts from high group and all convert from lower rank are known by the contemptuous term Ajlaf, wretches or mean people, they are also called Itar, base as Rasil', a corruption of Rizals, 'worthless'. The encyclopedia Americana and (International Edition) and encyclopedia Britanica also describe this division among the Muslims community: Ignoring the caste based categories means one is not recognizing already established and acknowledged empirical ground reality. The situation is here baffling. The very existence of caste based division questions that where did these words Ashraf, *ajlaf*, and *arzal* come form? Terms like *kamtar* (inferior), *kameen* or *razeel* are socially constructed. Therefore the division on the basis of caste and stratification in Muslim community is a result of their pre-conversion customs and a tradition, which is, socially constructed reality with long historical orientations.

The OBCs are legal constitutional category that has been striving to obtain acceptance of the identity of an independent social category in the post-independence period. The term itself was not used in the Indian constitution until the amendment of Article 338 where it comes to be used for the first time. Until then, even legal-constitutional designation-wise, the OBCs had only a status either as a part of "Weaker Section" (Article 46) or socially, and educationally backward classes [SEBCs: Article 15 (4)] or backward Classes of citizens [BCCs: Article 16 (4)]. Also the inferior status accorded to them is visible in the nature of provisions made for the other two clearly defined BC categories of SC/STs. All the provisions in the later case are mandatory. In case of OBCs, all the provisions have been left to the discretion and convenience of the government of the day at central and state levels.

It is quite misleading to place the theoretical formulations in understanding the community only on the basis of religious precepts and not the social practices, and therefore, placing community as homogenous on the basis of Islamic egalitarianism, ignoring the very fact of empirically acknowledged reality which shows that Muslim community is as much divided and stratified as Hindu society is.

In India, Backward Classes is closed status groups and is a more nebulous category. They are mentioned in the constitution only in most general terms. Muslim groups currently bracketed under the category of OBC come essentially from the non-ashraf section of the Muslim population they are the converts from the middle or the lower castes Hindus and are identified with their traditional occupation. India has a constitutional commitment under Article 249, that is, to adopt a special treatment policy for the Backward Classes in order to bring them on par with the rest of the population. Such reverse discrimination is, of course important for social, economic, and political mobility for the backward classes.

Since independence India has achieved significant growth and development. But all religious communities and social groups (henceforth socio-religious communities-SRCs) have not shared equally the benefits of growth process. Among these, the Muslim community is the largest minority community which is seriously lagging behind in terms of the most of the human development indicators. When we discuss the overall condition of minorities in India we find that a problem of group representation is particularly miserable. The book '*Muslim Backward Classes: A Sociological Perspective*' is a humble attempt to explore and analyze the social profile of Muslim backward classed and it tries to understand sociological dimensions among Muslim Backward Classes in Pihani Block District Hardoi. This book not only depicts the socio-cultural economic and educational status of Muslim backward classes but also analyze the status of Muslim Backward classes in national and international contexts. The present book tries to define a community not only in term of their religion but also in terms of their social status though identified on the basis of religion but analysed in terms of their social status. Therefore, it encapsulates the overall representation of Muslims in general and Muslim Backward Classes in particular.

This piece of research reflects on certain important point some points are as follows:

- 1- It is quite misleading to place the theoretical formulations in understanding the community only on the basis of religious precepts and not the social practices, and therefore, placing community as homogenous on the basis of Islamic egalitarianism, ignoring the very fact of empirically acknowledged reality which shows that Muslim community is as much divided and stratified as Hindu society is. Therefore, it is pertinent to understand the structure of the community from sociological point of view in order to locate the community in broader social structure.
- 2- Muslim OBCs is constitutionally recognized category which is very significant from policy perspective.
- 3- Muslim OBCs constitute more than 80% of the total Muslim population, therefore, the issue of their marginalization and rate of participation in various development indicators become more vibrant when we have such enthusiastic targets of MDGs to be achieved by 2015.

Our country is highly stratified on the basis of caste and some elements of it also prevalent among Muslims and Christian communities. These communities are divided in various groups having their own occupational affiliation and endogamy. This occupational identity also provides caste and class identity. Since occupations are hierarchically arranged so the occupational groups. People belonging to the OBCs category constitute peculiar groups based on occupation. Same is true in terms of Muslim OBCs, they are divided in occupation based groups having their peculiar socio-cultural, and economic trends.

The whole book is spread over nine chapters :

First chapter is about the 'Introduction' which includes explanation of the problem of Muslim OBCs chosen for the study.

Second chapter contains review of literature, literature related to caste and social stratification among Muslims in India that reflects the caste and class debate. OBCs category constitutes converted Muslims; they brought pre conversion customs and rituals with them. Here the great tradition of Islam has been parochialized. Our country is highly stratified on the basis of caste and some elements of it also prevalent among Muslims and Christian communities. These communities are divided in various groups having their own occupational affiliation and endogamy. This occupational identity also provides caste and class identity. Since occupations are hierarchically arranged so the occupational groups. People belonging to the OBCs category constitute peculiar groups based on occupation. Same is true in terms of Muslim OBCs, they are divided in occupation based groups having their peculiar socio-cultural, and economic trends. These trends provide them separate identity and specific location in social system. Further it includes, the literature regarding economic and educational backwardness of the community. Therefore efforts have been made to review the available literature on the topic. Introduction of the field of the study, and the part of methodology has also been incorporated in it.

Third chapter '*Backward Classes: An Explanation*' deals with the comprehensive explanation about the meaning and origin of the term Backward Classes, it also provide thorough account about the history and origin of the term and how this term has been discussed and explained in Constitution of India.

Fourth chapter '*Historical Perspectives of the Muslim Community in India*' depicts about various historical factors responsible for the Muslim backwardness in India. It also gives the viewpoints of the eminent scholars on the relative backwardness of the Muslim community.

In fifth chapter '*Stratification among Muslims in India: A Caste, Class Debate*' author has tried to analyze the caste, class debate among the Muslim community in India. In addition to this second part of this chapter deals with the Category of OBCs among Muslims, their present status and the state intervention for their overall upliftment.

Sixth chapter is about '*Sociological Dimension among Muslim OBCs*' is the most significant one which presents field based data and formulate empirical base to the study. It is consisting quantitative data. It explores the socio-cultural, economic, educational status of Muslim OBCs, level of general awareness, political participation, and exposure to mass media and status of female among the

Muslim community in India is backward. The representation of Muslim OBCs in PSUs (Public Sector Undertakings) is abysmally low. Majority of the Muslim OBCs are living in Kucha house. Land holding among Muslim OBCs is very low even if they having land they are having very small pieces of land. This may also be a reason of high number of Nuclear families. Because agriculture is not the main economic activity but petty traditional occupations are the major sources of income. Therefore the low level of land holdings is resulting in the form of high level of nuclear families.

Muslim OBCs. Sample of 500 respondents have been selected from eleven different locations of the area Therefore, present section of the book is solely based on primary data.

Chapter seven consists "*Qualitative interpretation of Internal Dynamics among Muslim OBCs*" which endow with qualitative information, the author has applied Sociometric test to analyse the level of affinity and distance among various occupational groups which has been shown in the form of diagram. On the basis of this test it is pertinent to say here that although the notion of purity and pollution among Muslims is absent but certain degree of distance and affinity is found among them on the basis of the cleanliness of occupation, because occupations are hierarchically arranged, so are the people who are following these occupations. Therefore, the level of social intercourse is also guided by their occupational requirement, which also reflect their interaction which is hierarchically constructed. Second part of the present chapter contains case studies (respondent's life situation) for in-depth inquiry in to the problem.

Chapter eight captioned '*Millennium Development Goals and Muslim OBCs*' evaluates the status of Muslim OBCs in term of the attainment of the Millennium Development goals in India. After analyzing the condition of Muslim OBCs in India The author reaches to the conclusion that the socio-economic and educational condition of Muslim OBCs poses a question that whether India will be able to achieve the UN Millennium Development Goals or not. Last chapter is about the Conclusion which includes the compilation of all arguments regarding concept of term of backward classes, backwardness of Muslim community in India, caste and stratification among Muslims and the category of Muslim OBCs.

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DRIFTING SOVEREIGNTY

Marie-Eve Loisel

Centre for International Governance and Justice

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*Berkeley Professor of Political Science Wendy Brown's latest book *Walled States, Waning Sovereignty* would make an interesting bedside read for Australian Immigration and Border Protection Minister Scott Morrison.*

On the 7th of May, Minister Morrison unveiled the Australian Government's new border policy during an address to the Lowy Institute for International Policy. The creation of the Australian Border Force (ABF) will see the merging of immigration and customs into a single portfolio. It will be headed by a Commissioner holding the same status as other security agency chiefs, including the Commissioner of the Australian Federal Police, the Chief of the Defence Force, and the Director General of the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO). The ABF will have increased intelligence gathering and analytical capabilities, to be co-ordinated from a new headquarters in Canberra; the government will invest \$88 million in funding to expand border intelligence capability and the screening of high-risk cargo. The headquarters will also house the Strategic Border Command and the National Border Targeting Centre. A new Australian Border Force College will be set up to ensure the ABF is staffed with adequately-trained personnel.

According to Minister Morrison, these measures are necessary because:

Our borders define a space within which, as sovereign nation states, we can apply the rule of law, operate our democracy, conduct our commerce, foster free markets, establish property rights, create the space for civil society, enable expression of culture and provide for the freedom and liberties of all of our citizens ... Our border creates the space for us to be who we are and to become everything we can be as a nation.

Yet, Minister Morrison argues, in an ever more globalised world, Australia faces an "increasing threat posed by those who would seek to do us harm, threaten our sovereignty and undermine our way of life." Expanding international communication, cross-border linkages, trade, travel, investment, and financial flows could menace the economy, security, and identity of the Australian nation-state if exploited by transnational organised criminal groups. Thus, "protecting our borders requires a range of functions to manage the flow of people and goods across a border continuum, not just a border entry point." And so, Morrison asserts, "Our border is not just a line on a map. Our border is a national asset. It holds economic, social and strategic value for our nation."

Brown explains that in the post-cold war era, especially in the US, the border has been discursively constructed as a point of entry for various threats to the nation that have been merged into the single image of the alien danger. This reflects fears of challenges to hegemonic culture, language, and race posed by a high number of immigrants. This fear is further increased by discourses that cast foreign labour, multiculturalism, and terrorism as the causes of decreased state protective capacities, warranting walling-in the nation under threat

Minister Morrison's words are a striking reflection of a recent phenomenon identified by Wendy Brown in her book *Walled States, Waning Sovereignty*. Brown holds that authoritarian and democratic states alike, sensing their sovereignty waning in a globalised world, embark on a quest for border fortification as a way of projecting power. While the focus of Brown's book is on the increased reliance on the building of physical walls by nation-states to protect their borders since 11 September 2001[1], her discussion is relevant to the Australian context where military capabilities build on the sheer power of the open sea to wall the nation in and the 'other' out.

Brown explains that in the post-cold war era, especially in the US, the border has been discursively constructed as a point of entry for various threats to the nation that have been merged into the single image of the *alien danger*. This reflects fears of challenges to hegemonic culture, language, and race posed by a high number of immigrants. This fear is further increased by discourses that cast foreign labour, multiculturalism, and terrorism as the causes of decreased state protective capacities, warranting walling-in the nation under threat

The fear of the alien, in turn produces a desire for both *containment and impermeability* that is fulfilled by walls, whereby the enemy is stopped from invading and taking over what belongs to the nation. For Brown, walls respond to this need for containment in a globalised world by producing "a spatially demarcated 'us,' national identity, and national political scale when these can no longer be fashioned from conceits of national political or economic autonomy, demographic homogeneity, or shared history, culture, and values." [2]

Thus, the renewed interest in building walls and other forms of border management addresses a desire for sovereign order. They are built to project an image of national strength in the face of the growing incapacity of the state to face security challenges that are transnational, diffused, and often imperceptible. Their popularity as a protective mechanism springs from the reassurance they provide in mitigating psychological anxieties about the erosion of nation-states' sovereignty through cross-border movement and other external threats. Walls address threats to the very identity and powers of the state through a "theatricalized and spectacularized performance of sovereign power at aspirational or actual national borders." [3] This performative function, Brown argues, helps explain the recourse to walls despite empirical evidence to the effect that they often fail to stop what they are built to prevent.

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From a security perspective, Brown remarks that barriers are paralleled with a blurring between internal and external policing. To illustrate her point she uses the example of the push for the criminalisation and imprisonment of undocumented migrants in the United States *in lieu* of their deportation. This blurring is also apparent in Australia's military-led and unambiguously named Operation Sovereign Border.

Brown claims that new border policies to counter migration, crime, and terrorism risk "generat[ing] an increasingly closed and policed collective identity in place of the open society," [4] thus contributing to the development of new forms of xenophobia and parochialism. The Lowy address by Australia's Immigration Minister does little to allay such sentiments.

[1] Since 11 September 2001, 28 border walls have been planned and/or erected. This more than doubles the number of walls that were standing before that date (20 walls): See Elisabeth Vallet and Charles-Philippe David (2012), "Introduction: The (Re)Building of the Wall in International Relations", *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 2, pp. 111-119, p. 113.

[2] Wendy Brown, *Walled States, Waning Sovereignty*, (Zone Books, Brooklyn, 2010), p. 119.

[3] Brown, p. 26.

[4] Brown, p. 40.

The Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre (NOREF) is a resource centre integrating knowledge and experience to strengthen peacebuilding policy and practice. Established in 2008, it collaborates and promotes collaboration with a wide network of researchers, policymakers and practitioners in Norway and abroad.



Arrested democracy: why Thailand needs a new social contract

Marco Mezzera

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Executive summary

This expert analysis attempts to interpret the origins of the May 2014 military intervention in Thai politics (which the author actually witnessed, being in Bangkok at the time) and its consequences for the immediate and longer-term future of the country's democracy.

While the military seems to have played its cards well, producing a power takeover that has so far run smoothly, it may only be slightly delaying its inevitable exit from political life. As an example of a country structurally embedded in the processes of globalisation, Thailand will soon need to come to terms with the internal tensions and opportunities that these processes produce. Authoritarian dictates or the exclusive control of power by elites will not be sufficient to keep the country together in the longer term.

If Thailand wants to return to pre-crisis growth rates and its aspiration of societal harmony, it needs to create the space for a reassessment and renegotiation of its social contract, in terms of which state-society relations become more inclusive and political confrontation is organised around the objective of national progress and not just in the interests of a few powerful individuals and their trusted cohorts.

The Thai army has always had an inner distrust of, if not outright contempt for, any political confrontation that threatened to disrupt the country's social harmony, and its most recent intervention clearly indicates that it thought that the political quarrelling and indecisiveness had gone on for far too long.

The making of a coup

On May 20th 2014, after about seven months of political squabbles between two opposing popular movements and their political patrons, the Thai military finally decided to take matters into its own hands. This was the 12th time the army had intervened in the political life of the country since the end of the absolute monarchy in 1932, while seven other coup attempts failed over the same period. And as in the past, its declared objective was the restoration of peace and order to a situation that ran the risk of spinning out of control. The main concerns regarded the possibility of an escalation of violence between the two main camps – the United Front for Democracy against Dictatorship, commonly known as the Red Shirts movement, and the People's Democratic Reform Committee (PDRC), originally defined as the Yellow Shirts movement.

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Differently from past interventions, however, this time the army approached the task in a more gradual and subtle way. Rather than declaring an outright dismissal of civilian state authorities, it implemented a step-by-step approach, which included the introduction of martial law while formally preserving some of the country's legislative and judicial institutions. Even the caretaker government was not immediately stripped of its powers. But the main message was nevertheless clear from the start: either a political compromise was to be reached within 24 hours or the army would enforce it in its own way. By summoning the main representatives of the opposing political parties and movements, the military attempted to play a mediating role from a position of force. Ironically, it put itself in what for many peace mediators and facilitators is an ideal situation, i.e. that of having the power to enforce an agreement. But apparently the summoned parties did not intend to play by the army's script, thereby making a serious misjudgement of the gravity of the situation. Rather than acknowledging the ultimatum and abiding by it, they continued in their obstinate unwillingness to seek a compromise and even reiterated their intentions to continue with the demonstrations planned for the following days. Such a recalcitrant response was probably precisely what the military had been waiting for. Just two days after the introduction of martial law, the head of the self-appointed National Council for Peace and Order (NCPO), General Prayuth Chan-ocha, announced the complete takeover of all state functions by the army, with the exception of some judicial functions.

Judging from the way the majority of Bangkok residents seemed to respond to the coup – i.e. by immediately resuming their normal lives – it can be deduced that the military was successful in attaining its primary declared objective – that of restoring peace and order to a country that had for months been on the verge of a violent confrontation between two polarised camps.

Turning back the clock

Just a few hours after the announcement of the coup, it became immediately clear that the meticulous way in which it had been planned included also a minimisation of the use and show of violence. From the international airport of Suvarnabhumi to the commercial centre of the “city of angels” – a stretch of highway and congested inner roads of about 30 kilometers – only one inactive military post could be seen in the late morning of May 23rd, barely a day after the announcement of the coup.

While some decisive action was undoubtedly taken at the demonstration sites, this had happened in a much more effective and violence-free way than the previous army intervention in May 2010, when 91 people lost their lives in the attempt to disband the Red Shirts' barricades. Although the TV blackout and the severe media restrictions introduced by the National Peace and Order Maintaining Council ¹ in the immediate aftermath of the coup make it difficult to reliably assess the facts as they evolved on the streets of Bangkok, it can nevertheless quite safely be assumed that the dismantling of the protest sites happened without major violent confrontations. Local newspapers were even reporting on May 24th that thousands of protestors had been paid by government officials to abandon their rally sites. And over the weekend the traditionally vibrant shopping in the many malls of the city seemed to be back to normal, disturbed only slightly by the introduction of a curfew between 22:00 and 05:00.

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In general, the essential problem with this kind of military intervention in the political life of a country is that, no matter how dysfunctional or factional the political process is, a military coup is bound to turn back the clock of democratic evolution at a stroke. As Pakistan – another Asian country structurally affected by regular military interference in state affairs – shows, every time a general claims the right to determine the destiny of a country, whatever fragile democratic institutions have succeeded, however tentatively, in putting down roots in society will inevitably be suffocated and the process of democratic evolution will have to start all over again once civilian authority regains control through a legitimate democratic process.

The Thai coup seems indeed to confirm this doubt. Despite the army's attempts to mask its intervention as politically neutral and that it is simply interested in re-establishing peace and order in the country, reports emerging in the days following the announcement of the takeover appeared to indicate that it is primarily those affiliated to the Red Shirts movement that have been particularly targeted by the military.

A contested principle

This is the conclusion one is supposed to reach when adhering to the principles that are deemed to accompany the evolutionary path of any democracy.

But what if the "legitimate" political actors are entangled in such a struggle for power and dominance that they risk taking the country to the brink of self-destruction? What if their parochial interests are about to unleash a violent confrontation that is likely to adversely affect the whole country? In such cases, is an "external" intervention that pretends to act on the principle of impartiality towards the conflicting parties not possibly the best – and perhaps even the only – remedy to prevent a descent into chaos; and is it therefore not a guarantee of a return to a democratic path as soon as conditions will allow? If the political game is going nowhere, as was the case in Thailand, with a seemingly insurmountable stalling of the electoral process, is it then not better to call in a superior force that is formally detached from the political framework – and preferably has a monopoly on the use of violence – to dictate the (new) rules of the game for an interim period? The problem with this kind of Machiavellian approach to political crises is that the attribution of impartiality to the intervening non-political actor is rarely accurate. An army announcing a coup is hardly a disinterested or apolitical player becoming involved in a country's struggle for its future national identity and reorganization of power relations.

Hardly a disinterested coup d'état

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Since the movement's inception, the Red Shirts have been defined by their opponents as a kind of anti-nationalist movement, and definitely not as one particularly attached or sympathetic to the royal house. The self-aggrandising personality of their leader, Thaksin Shinawatra, has certainly contributed to allegations that he was directly challenging the hitherto undisputed and symbolic authority of the ageing King Bhumibol Adulyadej.

The May 2014 coup reproduced a similar situation. This time, with Thaksin in self-exile because of his fears of becoming subject to biased judicial procedures and his sister, Yingluck, acting as prime minister after the resounding victory of her Pheu Thai party in the elections of July 2011, the military intervention eventually meant an abrupt end to her government with no guarantee that either she or her party would be reinstated in power any time soon.

Since the movement's inception, the Red Shirts have been defined by their opponents as a kind of anti-nationalist movement, and definitely not as one particularly attached or sympathetic to the royal house. The self-aggrandising personality of their leader, Thaksin Shinawatra, has certainly contributed to allegations that he was directly challenging the hitherto undisputed and symbolic authority of the ageing King Bhumibol Adulyadej. Whether these claims can be substantiated or not, it is a fact that they have become part of the general discourse in Thai society and have been incorporated into the dialectics of the two opposing camps. As the guarantor of national unity and protector of the monarchy, the army has thus had an easy option in also using this argument to justify its intervention, and particularly its targeting of Red Shirts' representatives for their alleged offences against the monarchy. In this respect it is interesting to note that in the immediate aftermath of the coup the sections of the Criminal Code that were indicated by the NCPO as being subject to court-martial proceedings were those dealing with national security concerns and, more precisely, with offences against the royal family.

But the apparent bond of loyalty linking the Thai armed forces to the monarch seems in reality to be more subtle and disputed than is at first apparent. According to other interpretations of the coup, the army had grown increasingly concerned about the prospect of an alliance between the Thaksin camp and Crown Prince Vajiralongkorn. Widespread rumours also alleged that in the recent past Thaksin himself had paid off some of the Crown Prince's considerable gambling debts. In addition, and perhaps as a way to strengthen such an alliance in the making, in 2013 Prime Minister Yingluck appointed the Crown Prince to command the strategically important royal guard regiment. This move is said to have upset the higher echelons of the military, because it involved a split in the line of command. In addition, there are some indications that the army's intervention may also have had an economic motivation. With Thaksin's peculiar style of merging political and economic interests, parts of the country's elites represented by the opposing block may have feared the risk of being gradually excluded from the most important economic deals that were being negotiated by the government and its affiliates. In addition, since Thaksin has been known for focusing mainly on pursuing transactions with large business conglomerates, the coup was received with a sigh of relief by the Thai small and medium-sized enterprises sector.

Thailand has been structurally integrated into the global economy for the last few decades. The increasing exposure of its population to the accompanying aspects of globalisation, such as the democratic mechanisms that regulate the political life of most of the societies that Thais interact with, must have left a mark on Thai society.

A final throw of the dice?

However, in the final analysis, the coup has exposed a general failure of the Thai governance system and of those institutions – the military included – that were supposed to keep the country together. The troubled Thai democratisation path has once again revealed all its persistent weaknesses, primarily its continuing incapacity to forge a way ahead free of military interventions. The political party system has equally failed to provide a credible alternative to an authoritarian approach to governance. Its record in terms of internal democracy has been abysmal. The traditional establishment, which includes the military, the royal house and the upper classes of society, has failed to create an advanced system that was able to deal in a democratic, non-violent way with the new challenges brought about by Thaksin's populist policies. Finally, the coup has exposed a fundamental failure on the part of the military to reform itself in such a way as to make any intervention in national politics both impossible and unacceptable.

Looked at from this perspective, the coup could thus be regarded as a final attempt by a system in retreat to counter the inevitable course of history and the emergence of a governance system that is more responsive to the evolving demands of society.

Thailand has been structurally integrated into the global economy for the last few decades. The increasing exposure of its population to the accompanying aspects of globalisation, such as the democratic mechanisms that regulate the political life of most of the societies that Thais interact with, must have left a mark on Thai society. It can thus be expected that the Thai population, and especially the younger generations, will increasingly demand proper access to and participation in the political processes that impact on their daily lives.

At the same time, democracy in Thailand will need to go beyond the current winner-takes-all approach that characterises the country's electoral contests. Other democratic mechanisms, checks and balances will need to be incorporated into the overall governance system so that a more broadly based consensus can be achieved and sustained. The forces of the dominant establishment, which currently profess to be anti-Thaksin and resist the influence in politics of those rural masses that they consider dangerously ignorant and unsophisticated, will also need to realise that a certain degree of power sharing and acceptance of divergent political views is part of the democratic game. In other words, a new social contract needs to be negotiated between the wider society and the elites that have to date had privileged access to and control over power in the country.

A certain degree of social cohesion will need to be achieved – perhaps not so much in terms of agreeing on a common vision for the future of the country, but at least by widespread acceptance of the principle that those involved in political confrontations will have to renounce violence and instead interact politically according to a set of accepted and institutionalised mechanisms.

In its turn, society itself will need to come to terms with the divisions that have polarised it since the start of the new millennium and are threatening to tear it apart. A certain degree of social cohesion will need to be achieved – perhaps not so much in terms of agreeing on a common vision for the future of the country, but at least by widespread acceptance of the principle that those involved in political confrontations will have to renounce violence and instead interact politically according to a set of accepted and institutionalised mechanisms.

Thailand may be close to reaching the end of its current historical trajectory. At such a critical juncture, with the uncertainty of the monarchical succession also playing an important role in the events currently unfolding, it is becoming clear that the dominant coalition that has controlled the fate of the country to date will have to give up part of its power and make the decision-making process more inclusive if it wants to survive and avoid irreparable fractures in society. Space for a genuine dialogue and even ideological confrontation needs to be opened up, including on other thorny issues such as the conflict in the south of the country, so that a stronger and more resilient society can eventually emerge, and where state institutions are considered legitimate and regarded as more inclusive than they used to be.

1 This is the name chosen by the military for its institutional body overseeing the transition, before turning it into the NCPO and after it had been initially named the Peace and Order Maintaining Command.

2 For example, on May 26th 13 PDRC leading figures, including its secretary general, Suthep Thaugsuban, were released on bail.



Rita James
Founder
C.A.G.E.D

Campaign Against Greyhound Exploitation & Death **Greyhounds as pets not cheap Bets**

Greyhound protection group 'CAGED North West' was formed in early 2012. As Greyhound Action had just ceased campaigning and the only remaining greyhound protection group that continued to politically campaign was Greytexploitations, we felt there was a desperate need for more campaigners and decided to wholeheartedly jump on board. We believe there is still a great shortage of campaigners and this denies the dogs the help they desperately need. The intentions of CAGED are to cover all bases; exposure of the cruelty and corruption within the racing industry, education, political lobbying and using new methods to raise mass awareness. We want everyone to be aware of the truth. We present cases that are well documented, regardless of this we have been threatened with legal action on occasion. We will continue our work and will not be backed into a corner for speaking the truth. If any person does proceed to take legal action against us, we can only hope we gain more public support in the process.

The exposures are never personal, we have no intention to become personal with individuals who exploit the dogs, and our battle is with the greyhound racing industry as a whole. In order for us to bring the industry down, we must expose the individuals who exploit the dogs, they are part of the industry and the worst culprits being those greyhound trainers and owners who keep large numbers of dogs. The industry itself is in debt and we do not believe the GBGB (Greyhound Board of Great Britain) can afford to help maintain large numbers of dogs when a greyhound trainer fails to look after them, this would serve no purpose to the industry and would not be cost effective. When we began campaigning we could not believe the injustices within the law and that such industry is permitted to be a self-regulated one, disciplinarys that are almost worthless and re-introductions of legislation that continuously fail to protect the dogs.

Photograph of Rita James and greyhound named Chaplin who was rescued from horrible conditions. Read Chaplin's story [HERE](#).

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Rita James, Founder

2014 july © www.liveencounters.net

In 2006 The Sunday Times exposed the case of David Smith, a builder's merchant who slaughtered around 10,000 greyhounds by use of the captive bolt gun in his back shed, he claimed he was providing a service, just as Holts abattoir were also providing a similar service in 2008. An undercover reporter was told by Holts it was "no problem" to put down greyhounds that he simply no longer had room for.



Breeding figures.

Registered Greyhound litters in Ireland 2011 = 3,271.

Conservative estimate of 7 pups per litter = 22,904.

Less than 16,000 greyhounds were registered to race in 2011 at 12 months old, taking into consideration the amount of hounds that retire each year due to age, injury etc.

It is estimated between 8,000 to 10,000 go missing each year presumed dead. Approximately 22% of Greyhounds are bred in Britain and 78% come from Ireland.

The breeding figures have dropped slightly since, litters bred in 2013 = 3,190

An estimated 22, 904 bred to race in 2011, yet only 16,000 made the grade! Nobody knows what happens to the puppies that do not make it to the tracks.

Sadly this only scrapes the surface as it's not just the dogs that don't make the grade who are destroyed, even the winners eventually become worthless. This is not just about figures but a reality of bloodshed hidden behind the scenes of the racing industry; worryingly there are much cheaper methods of destruction than euthanasia by intravenous needle.

Appeal for Angel - Reward of £1,000

A female greyhound's body was found dumped in a secluded spot in Oxhill -Stanley, with a large impact wound to her head. Greyhound protection groups Greyexploitations and CAGED North West are offering a reward of £1,000 for information that leads to the arrest and conviction of the person or persons responsible. The greyhound - now named Angel by her finder - was micro chipped with the serial numbers starting 0981 which determines she was chipped by the Greyhound Board of Great Britain to race on a licenced track. Angel was also tattooed but due to the advanced decomposition of the body - the full tattoo is illegible.

More information [Here](#).

"We do it (putting dogs down) for quite a few of our greyhound trainers," said Alan Waller, who runs the knacker's yard. "We charge £20 for a dog. It's better than the vet." The Sunday Times investigation led to some controversy in regards to the law and use of the bolt guns. David Smith was not charged other than for breaching waste legislation. It remains legal for any lay person to destroy greyhounds by use of the captive bolt gun.

It is estimated that around 1500 greyhounds fall to their deaths annually on UK tracks.

Due to the configuration of the tracks the 1st bend is the most lethal, this is where the majority of falls occur. Injuries vary from broken necks to treatable injuries such as a broken hock or toe, if a minor injury is likely to hinder the dogs future performance, he or she may be destroyed. It is more economical for the profit maker to request that the track vet euthanizes the dog, as the cost is usually much less than attending a private vet and only a little more than paying an abattoir to use a captive bolt gun.

Injuries are sometimes left untreated, some dogs are also forced to run while baring injuries, this is when it is most likely that trainers/owners will administer drugs such as steroids and other drugs to a dog to mask the pain and decrease inflammation, so the dog can continue racing without showing obvious signs of pain and distress, another reason for doping the dogs is to race fix.

Greyhound injury data will not be made public by the GBGB

Lord Lipsey former chairman for the British Greyhound Racing Board, now known as the GBGB once said; "We cannot and will not contemplate publishing data for named individual tracks. To do so would risk extremist attacks on tracks and those that work on them"

We would say that this statement implies that data would be extremely shocking to members of the public, if it was to be released.

When a Champion sustains a minor injury

Westmead Hawk May 2003 - 26 May 2014; Recognised by the industry as a champion racer, who earned his owner £200,000 during a double Derby win. He was used as stud after he sustained a broken hock while racing at Hall Green stadium, just a month after the 2nd Derby in 2006.

Westmead Hawk sired a total of 4847 pups.

Champion dogs are exploited too, many kennelled throughout their lives to serve as a breeding machine. Breeding of greyhounds is generally carried out by the method of Artificial insemination.



CAGED 'Ban the Bolt' Campaign

This campaign continues to grab the attention of people from around the globe, with almost 100,000 signatures online as well as several signatures from MPs and support from many highly experienced veterinary professionals.

[Please sign the petition HERE](#)

What vets have to say about inhumane use of the Bolt Gun used to kill thousands greyhounds that have outlived their purpose.

*"As a Veterinary surgeon with 36 years of experience in companion animal practice, I find it very hard to understand why the use of the captive bolt for greyhounds is allowed at all, never mind by people untrained in its use. It has such a massive capacity for misuse either through lack of care or lack of experience, potentially leading to dreadful pain and injury. I believe it should never be used for this purpose. If euthanasia is necessary it should be performed by a veterinary surgeon using a painless barbiturate injection giving a quiet death. Of course the case should be that a healthy dog should never be killed just because we can't be bothered to control their numbers and/or by rehoming ex-racers. Which takes me to the ethics of using animals for our selfish pleasure." - **Audrey Fearn, Veterinary Surgeon BMVS, MRCVS - 36 years of Veterinary experience***

*"As a small animal veterinary surgeon with 15 years clinical experience, I cannot begin to imagine how the use of the captive bolt can be justified In small animal patients, including in aggressive dogs. I have unfortunately had to euthanize a number of aggressive dogs and I've treated others. It is simply not possible to get close enough to the head to use a captive bolt, even if I did believe this was a humane technique, which I do not and neither does my professional body the RCVS." - **Caroline Allen, Veterinary surgeon MA VetMB CertSAM MRCVS and Green Party Spokesperson on Animal Issues- 15 years Veterinary experience.***

Photograph on the right : Lush Liverpool & Chester have been very supportive of the "Ban the Bolt" Campaign.

A captive bolt pistol (also known as a cattle gun, stunbolt gun, bolt gun, or stunner) is a device used for stunning animals prior to slaughter. The principle behind captive bolt stunning is a forceful strike on the forehead using a bolt to induce unconsciousness. The bolt may or may not destroy part of the brain. We can only hope that DEFRA (Department for Environment Food and Rural Affairs) feel some shame for permitting such a cruel death; a callous end by a bolt to the head can only define a state of worthlessness for these dogs.



CAGED have held presentations at Masonic lodges, golf clubs, Rotary clubs and colleges in the North West. We believe people should be able to make well informed choices of whether to support the racing industry, this could mean from attending a track to volunteering for a non-independent rescue that is funded by the racing industry, many people are unknowingly participating in the cruelty.

Tens of thousands of greyhound dogs are retired each year, but only a fraction of these are re-homed. The fate of the rest of these dogs, who have not even reached half their expected age by the time they retire from racing is a gruesome death. They are inhumanely slaughtered: starved to death, beaten to death, dismembered, put down by a Bolt gun and more. What happens to the thousands of unwanted puppies?



In May 2004 Rusty was found whimpering in agony on a Welsh hillside (Fochriw Mountain in the Rhymney Valley). **His injuries were so severe that he died shortly after being found. His ears had been hacked off and there was a hole bored into his skull caused by the use of a bolt gun. Despite all this pain and suffering Rusty still managed to wag his tail when he was found.** He was last raced under the name "Last Hope". Mutilating the ears of greyhounds is not uncommon. Legislation says that all greyhounds registered to race must bear a tattoo in their ears to help trace their owners when abandoned. Irish Greyhounds must have a tattoo in both ears and English bred greyhounds must only have a tattoo in one ear. Around 80% of English greyhounds are imported from Ireland.



Norman, an 18 month old greyhound, was found abandoned with his ears hacked off. His ears were so badly mutilated that his owners could not be traced from his ear tattoos. *Mid-Antrim Animal Sanctuary* and nursed him back to health. As far as we are aware a recent vet visit confirmed that Norman also had a fractured skull as he had been having seizures and underwent an MRI scan to find the cause. Norman has been rehomed to George, the chairman of the management committee at the sanctuary.



Success! The Close Westhoughton Stadium Campaign

In 2013 CAGED held a Campaign to help close Westhoughton Greyhound stadium in Bolton. CAGED Campaigners made the Bolton news when they handed over 1,000 postcards into Bolton Town Hall. The postcards called for closure of the stadium and were mainly signed by Bolton residents, an additional 700 postcards were also later submitted from people around the North West. In late 2013 demolition of the stadium began.

The Close Wimbledon Campaign

Wimbledon Greyhound Stadium is hanging in the balance. CAGED have begun distributing a similar postcard to that used in the Close Westhoughton Campaign. Requests have been coming in thick and fast for the Close Wimbledon Campaign Postcards that quote 'Keep cruelty out of the capital' 'Say YES to the closure of Wimbledon' Within the first fortnight of the campaign CAGED received a response from Merton Council to say they were in receipt of almost 1,000 completed postcards. Lush Wimbledon have also been supportive to the campaign and had agreed for an event to be held by CAGED Campaigners inside their retail outlet. Around 180 postcards were completed by Lush customers and later delivered to Merton Council.

Protest against the GBGB Awards Ceremony, Hilton Hotel in Manchester 2014

On January 26th the Greyhound Board of Great Britain held an Awards ceremony at the Hilton Hotel in Manchester, for greyhound trainers and owners to celebrate their achievements. CAGED united with other campaign groups to make this event a special one.

CAGED North West, Greyexploitations, Pet Levrieri (Italy) and the Shut Down Belle Vue group united for this big event. Around 400 protesters attended, many were simply owners of abused greyhounds that came along to be a voice for the dogs past and present.

Pro Greyhound held a parallel event in Germany, as well as Pet Levrieri in Italy.

This event was an unforgettable one for all who attended, including the greyhound racing industry who will have clearly felt the pressure. We expected around 100 protesters, we had no idea that people would travel from so far away, one lady named Brenda had travelled from Canada. The police kept their cool and maintained a high level of professionalism throughout the protest.



The event was in respect of the dogs and we were fully confident that people would not break this respect by acting inappropriately. A minutes silence was held in respect of the million plus greyhounds that have died since 1926. While the Champagne flowed inside, tears flowed outside. The minutes silence was heart wrenching for many.

400 people held their breath without a single murmur, heads were held low, there were cold red noses and tears streaming down people's cheeks, young and old, men and women from all walks of life looked completely devastated. No doubt many terrible thoughts were running through people's minds, about the past suffering of their own greyhounds as well as the pain, fear and loneliness suffered by others to this day.

Greyhound Remembrance event 27th July

A special event will be held in Manchester this greyhound remembrance weekend. Greyhound protection groups and rescue centres will be holding stalls and a special display in memory of the dogs that have lost their lives due to the racing industry. More details can be found on the website shortly.

CAGED Sky Banner

CAGED have arranged for a large sky banner to be flown over the North West of England on Sunday 27th July 2014. The banner will carry the words 'GREYHOUNDS U BET -THEY DIE' The flight will commence during lunchtime and will take off at Blackpool to cover most areas of Manchester before moving on to Warrington, St Helens and Liverpool.

www.cagednw.co.uk

Anand Vishwanadha is a conservationist, poet of nature, motorcycle tourer and professional wildlife photographer based in India.

He has been fascinated by birds from the very beginning of his odyssey with words (as a poet) and this fascination has increased with time, seeing him travel across India – to photograph birds in keeping with his evolving aesthetic.

Anand's fascination with birds as a subject extends to poetry as well. His third book of poems is ***Stray Birds***, a collection of – largely – bird poems.

He has also brought out two other collections of poetry, ***Moving On*** and ***Ink Dries***.

Some of his bird photographs can be seen on his bird photography page [Stray Birds FaceBook](#).



An Asian Paradise Flycatcher (Female) strikes a bemused pose while taking a breather from the frenetic activity of building its nest. Photograph © Anand Vishwanadha





Brown-headed Barbets are amongst the largest (and most gregarious) of the barbets found in India. They are highly territorial too, frequenting the same nests over generations. Photograph © Anand Vishwanadha



Their jarring calls and bright plumages notwithstanding, Woodpeckers are amongst the most stealthy of birds. Here, a Grey-headed Woodpecker peers out furtively from its perch on a lichen-grown Oak tree's bole. Photograph © Anand Vishwanadha



A Pied Kingfisher (Male) beaded with pearls of water caught in the act as it juggles its catch in order to swallow it head first. Pied Kingfishers are active all through the day, hovering over small and large water bodies and diving precipitously to catch fish. Photograph © Anand Vishwanadha



A Baya Weaver bird (Male) contemplating its work so far, in the golden light of a summer evening. Baya Weaver birds are nature's own artisans, unrivalled in the feathered world. Photograph © Anand Vishwanadha



Slant-eyed like wolves and wearing expressions as goofy as toddlers, three juvenile Green Bee Eaters flank an adult teaching them how to catch prey. Later on, the juvenile bee eaters will develop central feathers in their tails and red irises in their eyes. But that goofy look stays with most, for life. Photograph © Anand Vishwanadha



One of the commonest of India's owls, Spotted Owlets are active from early evening and found widely in parks and wooded avenues where there are old growth trees for them to nest in. Photograph © Anand Vishwanadha



Now with the world cup in full swing I feel the need to have something to say on the subject of football. Just recently, I was reading James Shirley's (1596-1666) poem, Death the Leveller when, in a moment of madness, I had the insane idea that death was not the leveller after all – *football* is... for the time being at least. I like football.

Football's the Leveller

What's the point in poetry and death
if
your team's all sloppy and out of breath.

Football's the leveller.

What's the point in sexy women or toast
if
the goalie lets a soft one in by the post.

Football's the leveller.

What's the point in orgies on ice
if
the star admits to being loving and nice.

Football's the leveller.

What's the point in that god of mine
if
United gets a goal in injury time.

Football's the leveller.

What's the point in laughter and derision
if
your team's got a foot in the second division.

Football's the leveller.

What's the point in Plato's common clay
if
the pitch is in bad shape on Saturday.

Football's the leveller.

What's the point in reincarnation and Zeus
if
our lads down there are getting dog's abuse.

Football's the leveller.

What's the point in being run off your feet
if
as usual the game ends up in defeat.

Football's the leveller.

What's the point in life, fun or the game
if
when you face your mates the result is the same.

Football's the leveller.

What's the point in dying before the game's won
if
the gravedigger's not there to get his job done.

The shovel's the great leveller in the end.



‘Little Water, Less Love’

“So, you want to know why I didn’t want to visit France for the 70th anniversary of the D-Day Normandy landings?”

“Yes. That’s why I’m here”, said Kevin Martin, a trainee reporter with the New Hampshire and Dorset Review, who was struggling to interview 90-year-old British veteran, Arthur Horton at Westview Sheltered Housing in Portsmouth.

“Well, I’ll tell you something I’ve never mentioned to a soul”, said Arthur, clearing his throat.

“I wouldn’t be doing it now if our warden here at Westview hadn’t gone squealing to your newspaper. But I suppose I’d better explain myself to set the record straight”.

“Thanks, Arthur”, said Kevin. “I appreciate your time”.

“Hmm! We’ll see about that! Anyway, what I’d told Mr Blabbermouth was that after we’d won the Battle of Caen and erected ‘Port Churchill’ at Arromanches, the bastard French refused to give us any drinking water”.

“What?”

“Yes! That’s right. When the 1st Battalion of the Hampshire Regiment had embarked here at Portsmouth I was even younger than you – barely more than 20; a scared, scrawny kid who had become an instant chain-smoker, trying to look bigger, braver – and much older - than my years.

“But I didn’t have to pretend for long. Twenty-four hours later I already felt old! Every time I think about it I’m lost in a fog of cordite and ripped, burning flesh. I can even hear the moans of other lads my age, weeping for their mothers.

“As we landed and saw them tossed about in bloodied sea water near the shore, we couldn’t stop to help. So we just pushed the corpses and the injured men out of our way. We had no choice. We had a job to do”.

“But I don’t understand”, said Kevin. “At college, our tutors say journalists write the first draft of history. Now you’re rewriting what the books say. Thousands of men like you helped to liberate Caen and Arromanches. This is what other D-Day veterans and world leaders have celebrated. But you’re saying that your intervention became self-preservation and that you weren’t welcome, anyway”.

“Oh, the locals wanted our help, make no mistake. They just didn’t want us hanging around begging for basics. Don’t forget, there were thousands of soldiers and the war had been going on for almost five years. So when they saw us walking towards their homes they hid in the back or slammed their front doors in our faces. They just wanted us to disappear once we’d done our job!

“But we – I - got over it. I’m a great British patriot. If I was still young and healthy, despite everything, I’m sure I’d do it all again. But those at the top supposed to be running the show for the Allies made some shocking mistakes. So the rest of us became like the lads who landed before me on Gold Beach – just swept up by the tide of events – tiny bits of wreckage bobbing on the sea.

“What happened to you after D-Day?”

“Things have gone a bit hazy in my memory, but all of us in our unit fought across Europe for what seemed ever-and-a-day until we reached Germany”.

“Did you help to liberate any concentration camps?”

“That’s one question I’m glad you’ve asked. No, I didn’t see any of that. But before I was demobbed, I helped to form the guard for that bloody murdering sadist cow, Irma Grese when she was hanged by Albert Pierrepoint for her crimes at Belsen. That was a good day!”

“Arthur, you seem much more bitter about these events than a lot of other people your age. Is there a reason?”

“It’s not that I’m ‘bitter’. I don’t really understand why myself. I’ve led a quiet life since the war. I’ve not done much. I stayed single and kept myself busy as a cabinet maker. I’ve always been good with my hands and I’ve made a lot furniture for myself but never got far at work although I made sure I did what I was told. At one time I went up north to make coffins for the Co-operative Society but I came back here as it’s where I belong. Now”, added Arthur, wiping his eyes, “it won’t be long before someone makes a box for me”.



The Stigma of Mental Illness

In conversation with a client this morning, we focused on the stigma of mental illness. She had been at a family gathering talking with a friend who volunteered with celebrities Tom Hanks and Glenn Close as advocates for the mentally ill.

Whether it be the mentally ill homeless woman pushing a shopping cart down the streets of downtown, loaded with all her worldly belongings; your elderly neighbor who hoards and rarely makes it out of the house or your daughter who cannot get out of bed; the reminders of the issue of mental illness are everywhere.

Although each illness has its own symptomology and pathology, an underlying issue for most mental illnesses is the lack of self-esteem. Whether this lack of self-esteem is a partial cause for the illness or a response to mental illness, it really doesn't matter.

Kara is a well-know buyer for a large fashion store in London. She awakes every morning at 5 am in her luxurious downtown high-rise apartment. Dressing and accessorizing is a breeze as she has the latest samples to choose from. Every morning she evaluates the fabric and construction of her ensemble. She hurries to catch a taxi across town for her 7 am team meeting. She is well prepared to facilitate their generating business analysis. They track their sales and identify key trends. She enters the well-lit room and takes her place at the front of the room. Her hands begin to perspire and she feels a little shaky. The room begins to wobbly and she can't breathe. She looks out at her colleagues and is terrified. She fears they can see she's feeling paralyzed with an intense sense of dread. She continues to attempt to take a deep breaths as she balances herself by placing her hands on the long cherry wood table. She excuses herself for a moment and rushes out the door.

Kara just had a panic attack.

She enters the restroom and sits on a cushioned bench and tries to regain herself. Her thoughts race as she's saying to herself "I can't do this," "they don't like me," "I should never have taken this job," "I'm not ready," "I'll never fit in," "I don't belong," "I need to go home!"

Some mental health disorders such as bi-polar disorder or schizophrenia are more difficult to treat. These two disorders do need to be treated medicinally and often those who are bi-polar or schizophrenic are not open to taking or staying on medication. With treatment and support from their friends and family, they can be successful, but often end up struggling on their own. Cognitive Behavioral Therapy is well known as a staple in the treatment of mental illness and the symptom of low self-esteem.

What I didn't share is as she sat in the taxi on the way to the meeting; these very thoughts were going through her head. She had recently been hired at this prestigious company and it was her first position where she supervised others. She was responsible for a team of 12 associates. When she met the CEO of the company at a party given by a friend a couple months ago, the three martini's she imbued gave her an expanded vitality and a confidence that waned the next morning. He was happy to meet with her and invited her to apply for the upcoming position. At the insistence of her supportive friend, she put in an application.

What the CEO didn't know is that she suffered from an anxiety disorder and has panic attacks. Although her mental health issue has created problems in other jobs, she's brilliant and has been able to move up in her career, therefore leaving no doubt of her abilities.

You can see that mental illness can affect the most successful of people as well as those who cannot function well in society. With Kara and others who suffer from anxiety disorders; medication, herbal remedies, and dietary changes can be helpful. What I find is many people attempt to "get over it" and by the time they reach out for help, the issue has developed to the point that they lose their job or become so isolated they cannot function.

Without searching for help, their self-esteem plummets and the more they feed the monster of negative self-talk, the stronger it becomes and the longer it takes to recover.

Some mental health disorders such as bi-polar disorder or schizophrenia are more difficult to treat. These two disorders do need to be treated medicinally and often those who are bi-polar or schizophrenic are not open to taking or staying on medication. With treatment and support from their friends and family, they can be successful, but often end up struggling on their own.

Mental health counseling is a necessary component for ongoing recovery when treating mental illness. Many doctors though, who prescribe medication don't require this. A referral to counseling from their doctor can be a powerful impetus for the patient.

Cognitive Behavioral Therapy is well known as a staple in the treatment of mental illness and the

The negative self-talk often recycles itself and so you can jot down a few of the phrases or sentences you say to yourself and then work with them first. To do this, challenge the thoughts. Write the down and then use your conscious mind to nurture yourself and challenge the negativity. Write out the positive comments you can say to yourself and when you find yourself playing the negative self-talk, either replace it with the positives. Although this seems cumbersome, it is well proven to work long-term.

symptom of low self-esteem. This is a modality I have used for many years. CBT is the process of one changing their thinking in order to change their feeling and behaviors. As seen with Kara, self-talk was the most powerful choice in determining how she felt and subsequently, how she behaved.

It is important to understand you are a whole being and your behaviors, thinking, feelings and physiology all affect each other. Therefore, when Kara offered training to her colleagues, it happened like this. Her self-talk was "I am not prepared, I know I will mess this up," and she leaned on the table and eventually left the room (doing). She was terrified and felt dread (feeling) and her hands perspired and she was shaky (physiology). On the other hand, had she said to herself, "I am ready and these are my friends, this presentation will go smoothly," she may have stood tall (doing), being elated (feeling) and her adrenaline would be high from excitement (physiology).

Two common forms of mental illness are depression and anxiety. In both of these, negative self-talk continues to propagate the illness. So what to do?

Firstly, you need to recognize the self-talk. Most people do not slow down and listen to what they are saying to themselves. To do this, you may want to stop during the day and pay attention to what you say to yourself. It is helpful in the beginning to keep a notebook to document your thoughts. Another way may be to listen to what you are saying to others. Here yourself speak and take notes. Again, often people talk without paying attention or realize what they are saying.

The negative self-talk often recycles itself and so you can jot down a few of the phrases or sentences you say to yourself and then work with them first. To do this, challenge the thoughts. Write the down and then use your conscious mind to nurture yourself and challenge the negativity. Write out the positive comments you can say to yourself and when you find yourself playing the negative self-talk, either replace it with the positives. Although this seems cumbersome, it is well proven to work long-term.

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