

Live Encounters celebrates 7 years 2010-2016

Live encounters

FREE ONLINE MAGAZINE FROM VILLAGE EARTH
JUNE 2017

WHISPERS OF WAR MASOOD KHALILI

DIPLOMAT, LINGUIST AND URBANE POET

Cover photograph by Andre de Haan

SUPPORT LIVE ENCOUNTERS. DONATE NOW AND KEEP THE MAGAZINE LIVE IN 2017!

Live Encounters is a not-for-profit free online magazine that was founded in 2009 in Bali, Indonesia. It showcases some of the best writing from around the world. Civil and human rights activists, animal rights activists, poets, writers, journalists, social workers and more have contributed their time and knowledge for the benefit of the readers of the magazine.

We are appealing for donations to pay for the administrative and technical aspects of the publication. Please help spread the free distribution of knowledge with any amount that you feel you want to give for this just cause.

BANK DETAILS

Sarita Kaul

A/C : 0148748640

Swift Code : BNINIDJAXXX

PT Bank Negara Indonesia (Persero) Tbk

Kantor Cabang Utama Denpasar

Jl. Gajah Mada

Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia

Om Shanti Shanti Shanti Om

markulyseas@liveencounters.net

All articles and photographs are the copyright of www.liveencounters.net and its contributors. No part of this publication may be reproduced without the explicit written permission of www.liveencounters.net. Offenders will be criminally prosecuted to the full extent of the law prevailing in their home country and/or elsewhere.



Whispers of War Masood Khalili

The son of a renowned Afghan poet, Khalilullah Khalili, Masood Khalili is the current ambassador of Afghanistan to Spain and former ambassador to many other countries. He is respected both in his country and internationally as an honest, patriotic, and elder statesman, as well as a political leader.



Naga Framework Agreement and 'Shared Sovereignty' Dr Namrata Goswami

Dr. Namrata Goswami is one of the foremost Indian thinkers on long-term global trends, emerging security challenges, and scenario building. Dr. Goswami is currently a Senior Analyst and Minerva Grantee. She regularly consults with Wikistrat,, and is associated with NATO Partnership for Peace (PfPC) "Emerging Security Challenges" working group. She was formerly Research Fellow at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), New Delhi.



The Thai Southern Insurgency Dr Thomas A Marks

Dr. Thomas A. Marks is Distinguished Professor and MG Edward Lansdale Chair of Irregular Warfighting Strategy at the College of International Security Affairs (CISA) of the National Defense University (NDU) in Washington, DC.

Disclaimer: The following are personal academic views and should not be construed as official commentary.



The Space Between The Laws: Life for Sri Lankans who seek Asylum in Australia Kirsty Anantharajah

Kirsty Anantharajah has degrees in Arts and Law (Hons I) from the Australian National University. She is currently based in Sydney where she is active in refugee legal protection. Kirsty is passionate about the Sri Lankan experience of rights. Her honours thesis was titled: Game playing in human rights regulatory regimes: Sri Lanka's interactions with the Universal Periodic Review. Her writing surrounding various human rights issues in Sri Lanka has been published by OpenDemocracy, the Colombo Telegraph and Sri Lanka's Law and Society Trust Review.



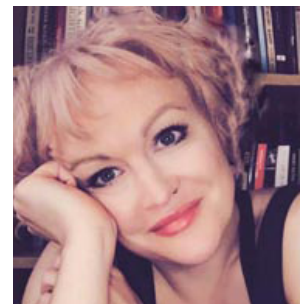
Mwohni, Festival in Bhaktapur, Nepal Joo Peter

Aka Joachim Peter is a Visual artist and writer based in Southwest Germany, presently working on documentary & travel photography in Asia right. He loves to explore and combine all arts in his work. Joo has studied Arts; painting and graphics, worked for theatre (designing stage, costume and light) , did some work for television and film, went into teaching. He writes essays and a blog in his native tongue, German, for he feels his language combines philosophy and humour.



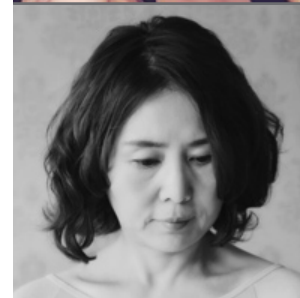
Planescapes Mark Ulyseas

Ulyseas is founder and editor of Live Encounters Magazine and Live Encounters Poetry. He is the author of three books: *RAINY – My friend & Philosopher*, *Seductive Avatars of Maya – Anthology of Dystopian Lives* and *In Gethsemane: Transcripts of a Journey*. <http://www.amazon.com/author/markulyseas>



Good Vibrations: The Myth of the Victorians and the Vibrator Dr Kate Lister

Dr. Kate Lister is a researcher at Leeds Trinity University in historical attitudes to sexuality and sex work. She is the curator of the online project and popular Twitter account @WhoresofYore where she tweets the history of illicit sex and works to promote sex worker rights and challenge stigma to over 82,000 followers.



Yang GuiFei Mikyoung Cha

Mikyoung Cha is a graduate in Oriental Painting from Hyosung Women's University, Daegu, South Korea. She has participated in a number of group art exhibitions in South Korea and Japan. In 2016 she took up photography – the camera becoming her paint brush. This globe trotting photographer is a regular contributor to Live Encounters Magazine.



Mantra of the Mandala for June Patricia Fitzgerald

Patricia studied Visual Education and Communication at Dun Laoghaire College of Art & Design (IADT) and also holds a first class honours degree in Philosophy and Sociology from University College, Dublin. Her first book *Healing Creations: Discover your mindful self through mandala colouring and journaling* was published in September 2016



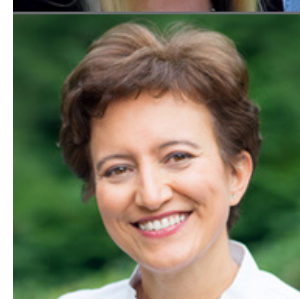
Ireland's Waste - a poet's lament Helen Harrison

Helen Harrison is a published Poetry Writer based in Co. Monaghan, Ireland. *'Helen's poetry is a celebration of the ordinary, and her love of nature is ever present in her poetry as well as a passionate need to preserve it from human depredations. Wildlife doesn't mind absence of human kind, she assures us.'* Carmen Cullen (author)



Transforming Pain through Energy Medicine: Integrate and Receive Dr Candess M Campbell

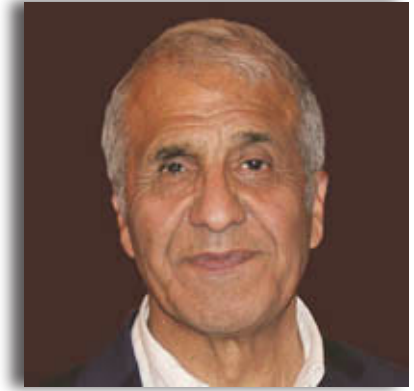
Candess M. Campbell, PhD is the author of the #1 Best-selling book on Amazon, *12 Weeks to Self-Healing: Transforming Pain through Energy Medicine and Live Intuitively: Journal the Wisdom of your Soul*. She is an internationally known Author, Speaker, Intuitive Coach and Mentor and Psychic Medium. She specializes in assisting others to regain their own personal power, develop their intuition and live a life of abundance, happiness, and joy. <http://energymedicinedna.com/>



Sekerpare - Turkish Semolina Cookies Ozlem Warren

International cooking teacher and Turkish culinary expert Ozlem Warren is a native of Turkey, lived there and extensively travelled for 30 years. She has been teaching wholesome, delicious Turkish cookery in the US, Jordan, Istanbul and England. Her recipes have been published in the local media in England, Hurriyet and Sabah national daily newspapers in Turkey. Ozlem also took part at the *"Turkish Chefs of the World"*, *"Dünyanın Türk Seftleri"* TV program aired at TRT, National Turkish TV channel and in 37 countries.

The son of a renowned Afghan poet, Khalilullah Khalili, Masood Khalili is the current ambassador of Afghanistan to Spain and former ambassador to many other countries. He is respected both in his country and internationally as an honest, patriotic, and elder statesman, as well as a political leader.



MASOOD KHALILI, AFGHANISTAN DIPLOMAT, LINGUIST AND URBANE POET

WHISPERS OF WAR, Published by SAGE Publications

The only way a man can mobilize his people to stay in the fight against a super power is to be among them. So, by foot, donkey or horse, I would travel into Afghanistan to talk to my people, from the richest to the poorest, the wisest to the unwise, the oldest to the youngest, I would listen to their stories and they would listen to mine. Our common goal was to win the war against the invading Red Army and their Afghan Communist puppets in power in Kabul city. We were losing thousands of people every month but we believed that we would win the war.

In all my thirteen travels through the country, I had one thing always with me, and those were my three notebooks. One was for political things, the other was for all military stuff and the third I would write for my beloved wife, whom was waiting for me in Pakistan with my two sons and parents. The first two were important because I was the main political officer of my party who would travel the world to gain support from foreign governments but the third was closest to my heart. I would do my best to write as much as I could in this one.



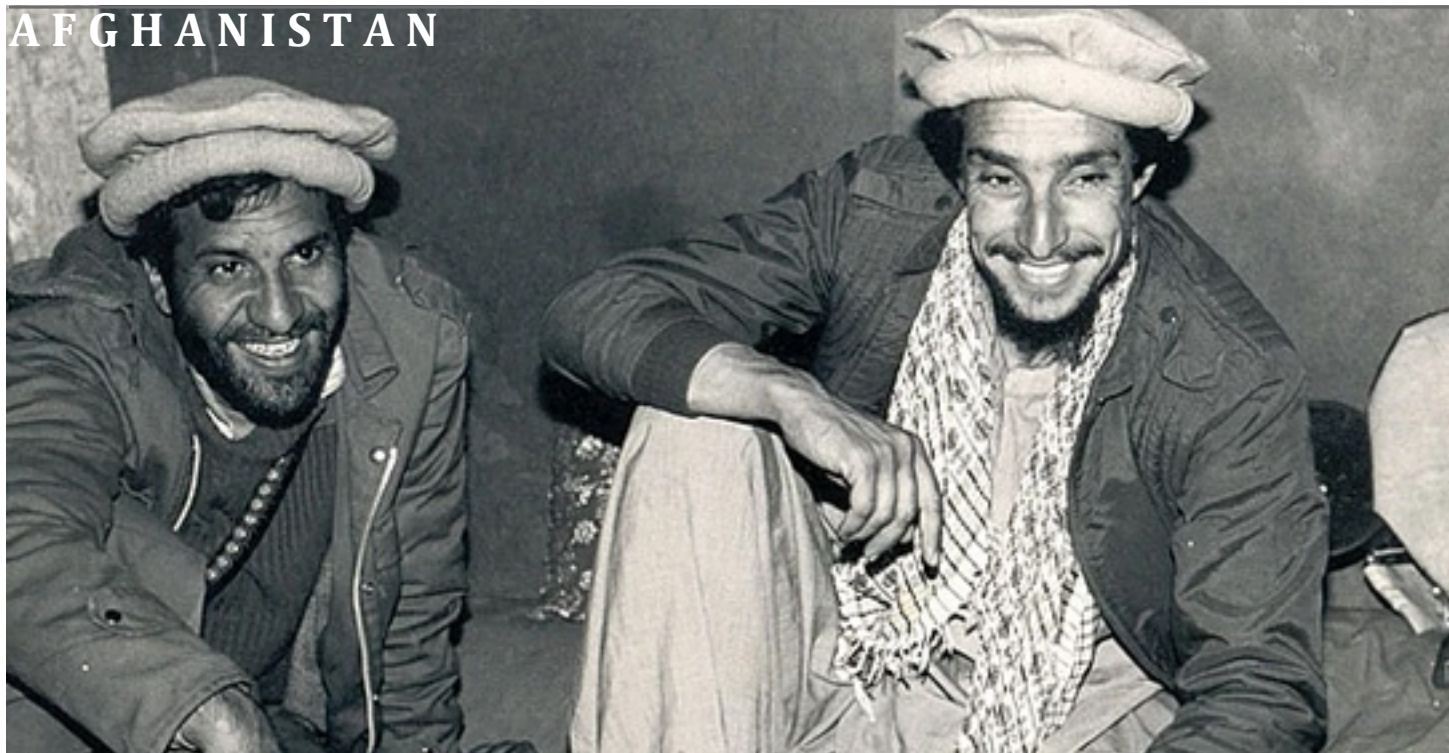
One of my trips to the North of Afghanistan to see my good friend, the famous military commander, Ahmad shah Massoud, I had with me a yellow notebook, which my son picked up and decided to translate and make into Whispers of War. This old yellow notebook was written by me to my wife in 1986 and I still remember how sometimes I would write in it every half an hour even. I wrote to her of everything I experienced, saw, felt, and said, as well as the stories that the common people told me as I travelled through the very high and hard Hindu Kush Mountain range.

The things that I saw and the stories I were told were not easy on the heart and so I would write in my yellow notebook so I would gain some strength and my wife would also be able to understand the plight of our poor people. For example, the following story is so powerful on so many different levels.

My dear, leave last night's story of our nightmares to one side and listen to this one that Commander Massoud told me himself. It is the story of Commander Azmuddin who is one of his political intelligence officers.

The wife and only child of Commander Azmuddin had been internal refugees in Worsaj for a year. After one year, Commander Azmuddin decides to go see them. With a lot of effort, he gets permission from Commander Massoud. He goes speedily along the way on foot, so all the quicker to have his family in his arms and to rain kisses on his child. After all, he has been counting every night for more than 360 nights to see his small family. With no telephone, no postman, no radio communication, and no way to even see a photo of them, it was a great day for him to have the chance to come home. He was dreaming of seeing his baby take his first steps in front of him. He buys a simple toy for his boy and one or two gifts for his wife. He reaches home. His young wife rushes to greet him. This is one of the happiest moments for all of them. Sounds of welcome and joy fill the house. He runs happily to kiss his son. His wife is highly excited and has no words to express how she feels at the sight of her husband playing, kissing, and talking sweetly to their little boy. The sky, the flowers, the trees, the grass, and all of nature seemed to be celebrating in her happiness.

AFGHANISTAN



Masood Khalili and Commander Massoud. Above photograph and on the right courtesy www.masoodkhalili.com

They all go inside. She gets her husband's combat rucksack to put it in a proper place in the next room. Commander Azmuddin shouts to her that he has put some simple gifts for the two of them in the rucksack. Their son frees himself from the embrace of his father and runs after his mother. The sounds of the little one's excitement and of his mother's laughter fill both rooms. All of a sudden, her unlucky fingers hit a hand grenade in the rucksack. By chance, the needle of the grenade is loose, her gentle touch pushes the needle out of its place, and, in an instant, it explodes. Commander Azmuddin hears a loud explosion and runs to find what has happened. He is horrified to find the bodies of his beloved wife and his sweet child smeared and soaked in blood. Not an hour has gone by that the young wife who was eagerly waiting for him to come home, dies in the arms of her husband. His little son does not die but is severely injured. Azmuddin, who had just lost his beloved wife, could not stay for more than one or two days with his injured son, mainly because he had lots of work to do back on the Saalang Highway. He left the house for the war with a weeping heart and no loving wife to greet him when he returns.

Just like this story, there are dozens more in *Whispers of War*. My son is already talking about translating another notebook of mine, where I travel through the South of the country in order to get to the city of Herat. That is also a great story as I tell my beloved wife about the culture of the South, as it is totally different than the people of the North that I have written in *Whispers*. I hope you enjoy reading this book enough to want to read our second installment.

Sadly, you can still hear similar stories in the Afghanistan of today. We are still fighting but a different enemy. We won the war against the Red Army but we lost peace. Different Afghan warlords fought against one another for power and influence. Kabul City was destroyed by the hundreds of bombs per day by Hekmatyar and Dostum. Both were being paid by the intelligence agency of Pakistan to keep pressure on Commander Masood to give up power. They really destroyed the city and killed thousands of more people. Pakistan was trying its best to have its own puppet in power. It believed and still believes it has the right to rule over Afghanistan.

On September 9th of 2001, I was sitting alongside Commander Massoud in a place called Khaja Bahawodeen, (Northern Afghanistan) when two Arabs posing as journalists, assassinated my friend, Commander Massoud and left me severely injured with over 700 pieces of shrapnel in my body, loss of hearing in one ear and loss of sight in one eye. It seemed as if Al-Qaeda, Taliban and the Pakistani ISI had their victory in hand but fate had something else planned. Two towers in America were attacked and America was out for revenge. Afghanistan had another lifeline.



First press conference 1992 after defeat and withdrawal of Soviet Army from Afghanistan.

Cut to the present and sadly, we still see war in Afghanistan, we still see refugees, poverty and the lack of security. The Taliban, Al-Qaeda and now there is even ISIS. The poor people of Afghanistan have still not seen the sweet taste of peace but just like I dreamed in the mountains of Afghanistan in 1986, some of those dreams are coming true, even though we are still fighting.

Over 5 million boys and girls are going to school. They look so beautiful in their little uniforms. Over 350,000 young men and women are members of the Afghan National Army. We have the freest media in the region, we have universities popping up every year and we have a system of government in place, although highly corrupt, it is still a functioning executive, legislative and judiciary. Over the last 17 years, we have also had three presidential elections with peaceful transitions of power from the Karzai government to the Ghani National Unity government of today.

Once we gain peace, I am sure that Afghanistan and the Afghan people will be able to very quickly develop their country because one of the main things that Afghans never gave up was hope in their hearts. If you have hope, you can achieve anything because you know that every bad situation changes and that wrong cannot stay for long. The spirit of the Afghan people can be seen in a very simple story which I wrote in *Whispers*:

After lunch, I went to visit a boy's school of this village. They were sitting under a big old green poplar tree. I tied my donkey to a rusted nail on its giant trunk. The boys were from 10 to 12 years of age. They were excited but I did not know of what, my donkey or myself. It was again a painful sight to see. Blood fills of one's eyes at seeing the poverty of these boys. Their shoes, their shirts and their overall appearance was very poor. Some of them were barefoot. Their clothes were full of patches.

My dear, now listen to what happened while I was in the small and poor class.

I very proudly told the cute boys, "write azaadee or freedom for me."

Only two little boys started writing.

I abruptly asked the teacher, "Why are only two of the boys able to write?"

While poor eyes of the boys were focused on me, in a soft voice, the teacher said, "Mr. Khalili, they can all write but in the whole class, we just have two pencils"

I was ashamed of my question.

My Dear, when we gain our freedom, it will not only be at the barrels of a guns, firing their thousands of bullets at the enemy but also at the tips of those two pens. I pray that one day millions of kids have schools to attend and endless pencils to write.

Dr. Namrata Goswami is one of the foremost Indian thinkers on long-term global trends, emerging security challenges, and scenario building. Dr. Goswami is currently a Senior Analyst and Minerva Grantee. She regularly consults with Wikistrat, and is associated with NATO Partnership for Peace (PfPC) "Emerging Security Challenges" working group. She was formerly Research Fellow at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), New Delhi where she specialized on ethnic conflicts, insurgency, counter-insurgency and conflict resolution. She has been a Jennings Randolph Senior Fellow at the Congressionally Funded United States Institute of Peace (USIP) in Washington DC, where she explored long-term India-China-US scenarios in order to craft sustainable security frameworks to enable unimpeded human development and security. She was co-lead and editor of two IDSA sponsored works on long-term trends, *Imagining Asia in 2030*, and *Asia 2030 The Unfolding Future*. Her latest book published by Pentagon Press, New Delhi is on *India's Approach to Asia, Strategy, Geopolitics and Responsibility, 2016*.



NAGA FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT AND 'SHARED SOVEREIGNTY'

DR NAMRATA GOSWAMI

Senior Analyst and Minerva Grantee.

On August 3, 2015, there was sudden excitement in Naga inhabited areas. After decades of conflict (ongoing since 1918), and becoming violent since 1956, when the A Z Phizo led Naga National Council (NNC) went underground, there was a sudden flare of hope for peaceful resolution of the 97 years old conflict. With the signing of the 2015 framework agreement between the National Socialist Council of *Nagalim* led by Thuingaleng Muivah and Isak Chisi Swu (NSCN-IM), and the Government of India, a commitment was undertaken to resolve the violent differences to bring about peace to these conflict-affected areas. To be sure, efforts to resolve the Naga conflict had been tried before.¹ In 1964, a Nagaland Peace Mission was established and it succeeded in signing a ceasefire with the NNC. However, differences started cropping up between different Naga tribes, and the ceasefire broke down. In 1975, a Shillong Accord was signed with the NNC but NNC leaders like Thuingaleng Muivah, Isak Swu and S S Khaplang viewed that accord as a complete 'sell-out' to the Indian government, broke away from the NNC and formed the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) in 1980. Muivah, Swu and Khaplang had their differences over leadership styles that ensued into a violent quarrel in the Patkai hills between Muivah and Khaplang, with Muivah barely surviving that ordeal. Subsequently, the NSCN broke into two factions-NSCN (IM) and NSCN (K) in 1988. A decade of bloody conflict was followed by ceasefires between both groups and the Government of India in 1997 and 2001 respectively.

The Muivah-Swu led NSCN emerged dominant and the Indian government held several rounds of negotiations with them since 1997. The issues that have brought the two sides together are a desire to end the violence, given the society that the NSCN (IM) represents wants peace. There are, however, several issues that create divisions; first, the NSCN (IM) demands a sovereign Nagalim, to include territories from neighboring states of Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, and Manipur, where Naga communities reside. Both these demands are difficult to be met.



Prime Minister Narendra Modi with Union Home Minister Rajnath Singh, NSCN (IM) General Secretary, Thuingaleng Muivah, NSA, Ajit Doval and others at the signing ceremony of historic peace accord between Government of India & NSCN, in New Delhi. (Source; PTI)



Isak Chisi Swu and Thuingaleng Muivah (NSCN-IM)

The sovereignty demand challenges the unity and territorial integrity of India. The demand for territorial unification throws up two challenges; first, in order to change any territory in North-east India, the Union government has to acquire the consent of the states, which is unlikely to be given. Second, the Naga inhabited areas are not geographically contiguous and have other communities residing there as well, to include Kukis, Meiteis, Dimasas, Karbis, and they have their separate political demands. Moreover, divisions exist between Konyak Nagas, NSCN (K)'s major societal component, and Tangkhuls, who are represented by the NSCN (IM). This complicates the question of representation with Konyaks believing that they are represented by the NSCN (K) and not by the NSCN (IM). Angami Nagas usually believe they are represented by the NNC, which is led by Phizo's daughter, Adino. The issue of political representation therefore has to be resolved between the Naga tribal communities.

The 2015 Naga framework agreement has thrown up many sceptics as well. There has been hand-wringing amongst security analysts, Naga community leaders and academics, of what the framework agreement amounts to. Some accuse the NSCN (IM) of selling out to the government on the Naga cause;² others suspect that the Naga framework agreement is just an empty piece of paper, with nothing promised.³ Some point out that there is actually no resolution in sight. The lack of clarity, from both the Government and the NSCN (IM), has only added to the anxieties.

... the common person suffers the most from perpetual conflict of this nature. Due to the presence of armed groups, the local industries have failed to take off. Even those interested in local entrepreneurship ventures are afraid due to the demand for 'protection money' from the several Naga armed groups.

Most Naga families, who can afford to, send their children outside of Nagaland to study or to seek work, to ensure they do not fall prey to armed groups. Addressing the issue of taxes or 'protection money' demanded by armed groups like NSCN (IM) should be a part of the final peace agreement. Significantly, the Naga peace agreement may end the violence, and the NSCN (IM) could turn itself into a political party, similar to the Mizo National Front (MNF) in the neighboring state of Mizoram who joined the democratic political process.

A growing perspective amongst those who study the Naga issue is that the framework agreement enables groups like the NSCN (IM) to continue with their parallel governments, including recruitment and training, procurement of illegal weapons and running extortion networks. This perspective has been vindicated by May 8, 2017 arrest of nine NSCN (IM) cadres by the 36 Assam Rifles, with a huge cache of illegal weapons, to include AK-47 and 56 rifles.⁴ Furthermore, the NSCN (IM) continues to levy taxes on local people. These taxes are 'cut at source' for government employees, at a rate of 24 per cent annually, depending on the salary bracket. Recently, the NSCN (IM) announced that it was reducing the taxes from 24 to 12 per cent annually (1 per cent of salary per month).⁵ Ironically, resident Naga tribes are exempted from paying taxes to the state and Central governments.⁶ The annual budget of the NSCN (IM) is Rs. 180 crores (2016-2017).⁷ While most view NSCN (IM) taxes as 'coercive extortions', the non-payment of which could result in severe physical harm, the NSCN (IM) describes these 'taxes' as necessary to continue their fight for the Naga cause.⁸ NSCN (IM) narrative and presence has legitimacy to the extent that the entire democratically elected Nagaland State Assembly of 60 members offered to resign to make way for lasting peace in Nagaland.

It is, however, the common person who suffers the most from perpetual conflict of this nature. Due to the presence of armed groups, the local industries have failed to take off. Even those interested in local entrepreneurship ventures are afraid due to the demand for 'protection money' from the several Naga armed groups. Existing business owners have to pay 'protection money' to the armed groups.⁹ Local markets in Dimapur, Nagaland's main town, pays a percentage of their profit to the armed groups as 'business tax'. Armed groups issue 'work permits' to those from outside the state to work in Nagaland for a fee. As a result, Nagaland lacks entrepreneurship, employment opportunities, tourism facilities, and worst still, is a highly corrupt economy. Ironically, the armed groups appear entrepreneurial with their several money-making ventures, but of course, for a cause. State institutions routinely take bribes from local people to do their jobs, which is then shared with armed groups. This atmosphere is emboldened by the fact that an armed group can collect money in a systematic manner with zero retribution from law enforcement. The common people I spoke to in Naga areas, hopes that such systemic corruption by armed groups, comes to a halt when the final peace agreement is signed. Most Naga families, who can afford to, send their children outside of Nagaland to study or to seek work, to ensure they do not fall prey to armed groups. Addressing the issue of taxes or 'protection money' demanded by armed groups like NSCN (IM) should be a part of the final peace agreement. Significantly, the Naga peace agreement may end the violence, and the NSCN (IM) could turn itself into a political party, similar to the Mizo National Front (MNF) in the neighboring state of Mizoram who joined the democratic political process.

Shared sovereignty in Naga areas would mean that the state is no longer the sole authority in policy making, but that function is shared with the NSCN (IM), NGOS, community leaders, amounting to a supra-state structure encompassing all these actors.

The MNF leader Laldenga went on to become Chief Minister of the state. This would depend on Muivah (83 at the time of this writing) and younger leaders like Phunthing Shimrang, Muivah's nephew, believed to be next in line for NSCN (IM) leadership.

Nevertheless, the timing of the 2015 framework agreement was important. Isak Chisi Swu, who died in June 2016, at least survived to see the signing of the framework agreement. According to R N Ravi, Joint Intelligence Committee (JIC) chief and Interlocuter for the Naga talks, "Swu played a historic role in the framework agreement. It was his idea. His departure is a big loss. For the last several months he has not been actively participating in the talks as he was in hospital. Sometime in March-April, he said now that we have a fundamental understanding on core issues, why don't we sign the agreement?"¹⁰ Many have criticized the Naga framework agreement, without realizing that Swu (86), unwell and hospitalized in Delhi at that time, hoped an agreement of some sort would be signed, as time was running out on him. Swu, soft spoken, deeply religious and ever the gentleman, enjoyed a deep legitimacy due to his decades long struggle for the Naga cause since 1958 (56 years). Muivah and Ravi, by signing a framework agreement, in the presence of Prime Minister Narendra Modi, honored Swu's last wishes. That is something emotive and poignant, and the significance of that should not be lost on the Naga population.

Nearly a year later, after Swu's demise, the NSCN (IM) in a press release on May 9, 2017 stated that they have accepted the idea of 'shared sovereignty' and to co-exist with India.¹¹ The concept of 'shared sovereignty', as understood from the IM's perspective, could imply that the NSCN (IM) may share in Indian Central government initiatives. This has resulted in an increase in local recruitment to the outfit (from 2000 to 5000) with new NSCN (IM) recruits aiming to be inducted into a Central Service.¹² Theoretically, however, the idea of 'shared sovereignty' is far more complex, rather than simply sharing a national government initiative between two in-country national or local entities. Shared sovereignty is defined as "the creation of two new institutions—de facto trusteeships and shared sovereignty arrangements with regional and international organizations or, in some cases, more powerful and better governed states—to help improve governance in these countries".¹³ Given national governments have been unable or unwilling to develop the status of some sections of their population, due to incompetence or lack of material resources, which denies the population access to healthcare, education, limits to individual physical liberty and safety, poor economic well-being, the only viable way, as per the idea of 'share sovereignty' is to include these areas within an international organization or trusteeship that partners with the national government to improve the lives of the common people.



NSCN (IM) Naga Republic Day celebration, Council Headquarter Hebron, Dimapur. Photo by Caisii Mao [Link](#)

Shared sovereignty could result in multi-level governance where responsibility is shared towards foreign affairs, domestic policy, law and order and economics.

So, the serious policy question that arises with the NSCN (IM)'s acceptance of "shared sovereignty" is: what does it amount to, legally and constitutionally? For one, it could suggest that the NSCN (IM) now accepts their future within India, but enjoy an empowered status of crafting their own policies for the Naga areas. This kind of empowerment, however, was already granted when Nagaland became a state in 1963 and enjoyed its own state assembly which has the power to craft laws for Nagaland. Or does the concept of 'shared sovereignty' mean that the NSCN (IM) will evolve into an institution that would share in the development of Naga areas. For this to work, the outfit would have to enjoy vast resources, which cannot be based on 'taxing or extorting' from the very people they claim to work for or develop. Consequently, the NSCN (IM) will have to enjoy the capacity to attract external resources.

Let us be clear. The idea of 'shared sovereignty' understood internationally, is not Nagaland sharing sovereignty with Assam. That's a given and rather obvious, since they both fall within Indian territory. 'Shared sovereignty' implies that external actors, to mean foreign entities, are involved in some of the domestic authority structures of the state.

To be precise,

Shared-sovereignty institutions require three pre-conditions: (1) there must be international sovereignty, (2) the agreement must be voluntary, and (3) the arrangement must not ask the third party to contribute large resources. Under this arrangement, state actors have the authority to enter into agreements that would compromise their Westphalian sovereignty, with the goal of improving domestic sovereignty. While states preserve their authority to enter voluntary agreements, they cede their autonomy by pooling their resources into a multilateral organization or their commitments into an international treaty, which then become vehicles for international collective action.¹⁴

This contrast with the general understanding of sovereignty, which has been dominated by the Westphalian notion of sovereignty since 1648, to imply that states are autonomous entities that govern their internal territory, and enjoy legal jurisdiction over their territory.¹⁵ So, if NSCN (IM) is counted as a foreign entity, then it could share sovereignty with the Indian government over Naga inhabited areas.



Graffiti

That would imply there are certain shared norms that are developed that will be shared between the Indian government and the NSCN (IM). Shared sovereignty in Naga areas would mean that the state is no longer the sole authority in policy making, but that function is shared with the NSCN (IM), NGOS, community leaders, amounting to a supra-state structure encompassing all these actors. Given Nagas live across internal state borders in India, this institutional arrangement does make sense. To make this work would however require a strong consensus on the kind of future that is most desired; whether the NSCN (IM) is accepted as a representative body across Naga inhabited areas (this is contested), and if they are democratically elected by those who they claim to represent.

For now, the framework agreement gives us a general sense that the NSCN (IM) has agreed to give up violence and accept the path towards institutional non-violent change. To work out complicated issues like 'shared sovereignty' may take more time, and should be legally vetted so that conflict does not raise its head again. The devil lies in the details of how encompassing institutional change will be worked out.

All views expressed in this article are solely that of the author.

End Notes

01. "Text of the Peace Mission's Proposal", SATP, at http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/states/nagaland/documents/papers/text_the_peace_mission.htm (Accessed on May 17, 2017).
02. Author discussions with Naga activists, New Delhi, August 2015.
03. Sudeep Chakraborty, "Naga Framework Agreement Remains an Inside Job Between the Signatories", The Hindustan Times, July 4, 2016 at <http://www.hindustantimes.com/analysis/the-naga-framework-agreement-remains-an-inside-job-between-the-signatories/story-nEuhzTpOTJR63U1UJOX-p9H.html> (Accessed on May 17, 2017).
04. "Assam Rifles Apprehends 9 NSCN (IM) Cadres", The Times of India, May 8, 2017 at <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/kohima/assam-rifles-apprehends-9-nscnim-cadres/articleshow/58568171.cms> (Accessed on May 17, 2017).

For now, the framework agreement gives us a general sense that the NSCN (IM) has agreed to give up violence and accept the path towards institutional non-violent change. To work out complicated issues like 'shared sovereignty' may take more time, and should be legally vetted so that conflict does not raise its head again. The devil lies in the details of how encompassing institutional change will be worked out.

05. NSCN-IM Halves Tax on State Government Employees", The Hindustan Times, April 23, 2017 at <http://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/nscn-im-halves-tax-on-state-government-employees/story-sXrqTOTvSM9DtX4o4xD2CL.html> (Accessed on May 17, 2017).
06. Ibid.
07. Ibid.
08. Author discussions with NSCN (IM) leadership, Dimapur, Nagaland, 2007 and 2013.
09. Author discussions with business leaders, Manipur and Nagaland, 2013.
10. Vijaita Singh, "Naga Leader Isak Chisi Swu Passes Away in Delhi Hospital", The Hindu, June 28, 2016 at <http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/Naga-leader-Isak-Chisi-Swu-passes-away-in-Delhi-hospital/article14406865.ece> (Accessed on May 17, 2017).
11. Vijaita Singh, "NSCN-IM Settles for "Shared Sovereignty", The Hindu, May 19, 2017 at <http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/other-states/nscn-im-settles-for-shared-sovereignty/article18493154.ece> (Accessed on May 23, 2017).
12. Ibid.
13. Stephan Krasner, "Sharing Sovereignty: New Institutions for Collapsed and Failing States", International Security, Vol. 29, Issue.2, October 2004, pp. 85-120 at <http://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/abs/10.1162/0162288042879940#.WNRTH1UrKUK> (Accessed on May 19, 2017).
14. Hadii M. Mamudu and Donley T. Studlar, "Multilevel Governance and Shared Sovereignty: European Union, Member States, and the FCTC", Governance, 22 (1), 2009, pp. 73-97, at <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2900849/> (Accessed on May 19, 2017). Also see Stephan Krasner, "Stephan D. Krasner, "The Case for Shared Sovereignty", Journal of Democracy, 16 (1), 2005, pp. 69-83.
15. Mamudu and Studlar, n. 14.

Dr. Thomas A. Marks is Distinguished Professor and MG Edward Lansdale Chair of Irregular Warfighting Strategy at the College of International Security Affairs (CISA) of the National Defense University (NDU) in Washington, DC.

Disclaimer: The following are personal academic views and should not be construed as official commentary.

Article republished by permission of www.mantraya.org



Dr. Thomas A. Marks, Distinguished Professor and MG Edward Lansdale Chair of Irregular Warfighting Strategy at the College of International Security Affairs (CISA) of the National Defense University (NDU) in Washington, DC.

THE THAI SOUTHERN INSURGENCY: EXTERNAL VIEW OF THE WAY FORWARD



Source: The National Reconciliation Commission, Thailand

(Figure 1. Southern Border Provinces (SBP) of Thailand; originally available [here](#): (accessed 5 May 2017).

Abstract

As insurgency continues in the Thai Southern Border Provinces (SBP), external commentary, overwhelmingly in academia, remains the primary source of suggestions for how Bangkok should proceed. Discussion falls into three major threads, ranging from designating a special status (e.g., autonomy) to improving the efficiency of the “counterterrorism” effort, with the most relevant treatment distinguished by its specific knowledge of the insurgents themselves within the larger SBP context. Though Thai short-term approaches have been adequate, they throw open the long-term possibility of internationalization of the conflict through institutionalizing process at the expense of a search for a viable political solution.

Insurgency in the Thai Southern Border Provinces (SBP; see Figure 1) has again made the news. Last month (April 2017), an explosion of violence reminded the world that the challenge remains in a struggle that since 2004 has left more than 6,500 dead, most civilians.[i] After more than a decade of what is too often labelled “counterterrorism,” the question remains: just what is Bangkok doing or, phrased in a different manner, what *should* it be doing?

Such a question was avidly pursued some years ago in both Thai official and nonofficial circles. Conferences proliferated, and discussion within Thailand were robust. This is no longer the case, which has left external views those most in the public domain. These necessarily are overwhelmingly academic, though they are an accurate reflection of policy stances, and focus overwhelmingly upon the legitimacy of the structures and mechanisms whereby the Malay-speaking Muslim minority (a minority even within Thailand’s Muslim population) is incorporated into the larger Thai-speaking, Buddhist kingdom.

[i] Figures and wording are those of the Reuters report found in “Southern Thailand Attacks Reflect Tension Over Peace Talks, Conflict Monitor Says,” The New York Times, 20 April 2017; available at: https://www.nytimes.com/reuters/2017/04/20/world/asia/20reuters-thailand-south-attacks.html?_r=0 (accessed 21 April 2017).

[ii] Illustrative works are: McCargo, ed., *Rethinking Thailand’s Southern Violence* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2007); McCargo, *Tearing the Land Apart: Islam and Legitimacy in Southern Thailand* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008); and McCargo, *Mapping National Anxieties: Thailand’s Southern Conflict* (Copenhagen, Denmark: NAIS Press, 2012).

[iii] See e.g. McCargo, “Autonomy for Southern Thailand: Thinking the Unthinkable?” *Pacific Affairs* 83.2 (June 2010), 261-81; and McCargo and SrisompobJitpiromsri, “A Ministry for the South: New Governance Proposals for Thailand’s Southern Region,” *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 30.3 (2008), 403-28.

[iv] Illustrative works are Rohan Gunaratna, Arabinda Acharya, and Sabina Chua, *Conflict and Terrorism in Southern Thailand* (Singapore: Marshall Cavendish, 2005); and Gunaratna and Acharya, *The Terrorist Threat From Thailand: Jihad or Quest for Justice?* (Washington, DC: Potomac Books, 2013). To this may be added the work of Zachary Abuza, *Conspiracy of Silence: The Insurgency in Southern Thailand* (Washington, DC: US Institute of Peace Press, 2009); and Abuza, *The Ongoing Insurgency in Southern Thailand: Trends in Violence, Counterinsurgency Operations, and the Impact of National Politics* (Washington, DC: INSS/NDU Press, September 2011).

[v] Illustrative works by Askew are: *Conspiracy, Politics, and a Disorderly Border: The Struggle to Comprehend Insurgency in Thailand’s Deep South*, *Policy Studies* 29 (Southeast Asia) (Washington, DC: East-West Center, 2007); which was followed by shorter articles as he conducted fieldwork, notably Askew, “Fighting With Ghosts: Querying Thailand’s ‘Southern Fire,’” *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 32.2 (2010), 117-55; Askew, “Review Article – Insurgency Redux: Writings on Thailand’s Ongoing Southern War,” *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 42.1 (February 2011), 161-68; and Askew and Sascha Helbardt, “Becoming Patani Warriors: Individuals and the Insurgent Collective in Southern Thailand,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 35 (2012), 779-809. Subsequently, Helbardt published *Deciphering Southern Thailand’s Violence: Organization and Insurgent Practices of BRN-Coordinate* (Singapore: ISEAS, 2015). This appears to be the most complete published treatment of the insurgents available today.

Though a strong body of external thought supports some form of autonomy as a “solution” for the SBP challenge, Thailand’s strategic insistence upon national integrity has avoided serious challenge. The generally correct conduct of security forces engaged in counterterrorism and counterinsurgency has resulted in critique remaining focused upon operational shortcomings. Acceptable perhaps in the short-run, this posture creates long-term strategic vulnerability.

First, in the absence of moving towards a solution, the state asks its population to fight *against* but not for something. This fails to generate legitimacy and forces the insurgents towards ever more radical options.

Second, these radical options are certain to have second and third order consequences beyond immediate damage (especially to the tourist industry). These could include a demand for a turn to harsher security measures, which would inevitably alienate members of the SBP population and support heightened calls for external intervention, most prominently by the likes of the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) but possibly also by Muslim states and populations (especially those within Southeast Asia). The way forward is a political solution of incorporation built upon legitimacy gained by popular empowerment.

Search for Roots of Conflict

Much that is said about the insurgency in the SBP either lacks adequate operational grounding or proceeds as if what it has to offer is *sui generis*. This is principally because of the limitations placed upon fieldwork, without which the most basic questions pertaining to an insurgency cannot be addressed; to wit: who joins, who stays, who leaves? Be that as it may, there does exist a fairly extensive body of literature on the SBP challenge by external scholars.

This material is overwhelmingly in English. There does not appear to be an equivalent or even similar body of work in other foreign languages or in Thai. The English-language material posits three explanations for the SBP situation. These “threads” are not mutually exclusive, but each has a dominant theme. Neither should the illustrative works chosen be considered the only works available, though certainly they are among the most widely available.

Most common is the view which states issues of geography, history, economics, status (social), and politics have marginalized the Malay-speaking Muslims of the SBP, hence what is at hand is the latest of a more-or-less continuous effort to separate the larger Thai-speaking Buddhist kingdom that is Thailand. The violence is a manifestation of historical separatism rather than terrorism per se or a classic insurgency (using terrorism as one of its weapons). This approach is best illustrated by the work of Duncan McCargo, who is Thai-speaking and well-informed on the non-security aspects of the situation in the South.[ii] Necessarily, these works advance Malay-speaking Muslims as a community that is grappling with Thai oppression, which has taken various forms since the imposition of direct rule over “Patani.” The solution is posited as some form of special status or autonomy.[iii]

This is in contrast to the second body of material, which does not focus upon the contested nature of Thai unity but rather examines the challenge to that unity as posed by insurgency using terrorism (or, as often presented, of terrorism which includes aspects of insurgency). The focus is much more upon the threat posed to the state by radical challenge and the approach of the state in meeting that challenge. Mistakes loom prominent in this narrative, because the focus is upon a security battle between contending sides. This necessarily requires examination of Malay Muslim marginalization and alienation.[iv]

Finally, a third body of material blends the two threads above and distinguishes itself by insisting upon examination of the individual/local level (*micro*) to support the conclusions at the organizational (*meso*) or societal (*macro*) levels. This may confuse, but the scholars concerned are emphatic that meta-narratives, whatever their validity, do not explain just who is doing the rebelling and just what their objectives are. Further, they take issue with the notion that the “Thai South” or “Thai Muslims” are in revolt, highlighting that no published work delimits well geographic areas of alienation or even particular segments of population who are disaffected. Rather, these scholars see a highly complex situation in which numerous factors have come together to result in the present violence. This necessarily makes solution far more complicated than that advanced by the discussions of either the first or second thread. The approach is perhaps best illustrated by the work of Marc Askew and Sascha Helbardt.[v]

[vi] Thomas I. Parks, “Research Note – Maintaining Peace in a Neighbourhood Torn by Separatism: The Case of Satun Province in Southern Thailand,” *Small Wars and Insurgencies* 20.1 (March 2009), 185-202.

[vii] Tragically, given the advanced ages of key personalities from the successful effort that saw reincorporation of the CPT, there is limited work, in either Thai or English (the prime linguistic candidates), that deals with Thai counterinsurgency as derived from the effort against the CPT. See e.g. Saiyud Kerdphol, *Where Did the CPT Go? The Communist Party of Thailand: Form Over Substance* (Bangkok: S. Research, 2011); in Thai. My own graduate school efforts remain adequate but dated; see e.g. Marks, *Making Revolution: The Insurgency of the Communist Party of Thailand in Structural Perspective* (Bangkok: White Lotus, 1994). The CPT case is compared to other Maoist cases, most recently, in my *Maoist People’s War in Post-Vietnam Asia* (Bangkok: White Lotus, 2007).

[viii] This statement can certainly be challenged. A perusal, for example, of the relevant postings on Thailand by Human Rights Watch (see <https://www.hrw.org/asia/thailand>) reveals ample critique of the present actions of the state, to include in SBP, and thus could support a different conclusion. To my reading, though, such postings do not appear to claim that in SBP abuse is systematic or a matter of policy. There may be other cause-oriented positions, though, which require qualification of my assessment.

[ix] Michael K. Jerryson, *Buddhist Fury: Religion and Violence in Southern Thailand* (NY: Oxford University Press, 2011); and Vladimir Tikhonov and Torkel Brekke, eds., *Buddhism and Violence: Militarism and Buddhism in Modern Asia* (NY: Routledge, 2013).

Contending Narratives

It should be readily apparent that contained in each of these approaches is the potential to offer support for a particular view of the “Southern Insurgency.” The first and second bodies of work are those most often seen as contending, since the first approach questions the legitimacy of the state in its embrace of a restive minority, while the second approach focuses upon separatist outrage. The legitimacy of the state is accepted. If the first approach, then, sees the only alternative to the present situation as some form of special status (e.g., autonomy), the second approach focuses upon more astute operational methodologies, whether these lie in better addressing roots of conflict or dealing more effectively with insurgent narrative and strategy. The first approach further is decidedly uncomfortable with the language and approach of counter-terrorism and/or counter-insurgency, while the second approach can be said to have emerged from this language and analytical framework.

Ironically, the third approach, which is the most compelling, has received far less attention than the first and second, possibly because its published works are fewer. This is entirely logical given the difficulty of conducting fieldwork, but it serves to obscure its central tenet: absent the sort of detailed local work reflected in Askew and Helbardt, the claims of the first and second must necessarily be problematic. Indeed, there seems to be no published work that provides a coded SBP map (or even a verbal assessment) that identifies classic “go, no-go, contested” areas. If, for instance, as appears to be the case, Than To *Amphoe* (alternatively, Thanto *Amphur*) is more heavily insurgent-affected than Be Tong *Amphoe* (alternatively, Betong *Amphur*), why is this so? An explanation cannot simply identify disaffection but also loyalty. The (apparently) only effort that endeavors to do this, by Thomas I. Parks, deals with Satun, which is outside SBP.[vi] This said, the third approach does not in any way overlook what it feels is the string of state errors that has made the situation much more difficult.

Rather than go into tactical detail, it suffices to note that all three approaches express a certain frustration with Thai counterinsurgency in the SPB. In this manner, scholars mirror attitudes held at the policy level by external observers, who are overwhelmingly Western or Western-influenced (e.g., Japan). The concern voiced may be found in the growing number of works that touch directly upon the manner in which cultural interaction is based upon mutual benefit and respect.

[x] See e.g., Amnesty International, *Thailand: Torture in the Southern Counter-Insurgency* (London: January 2009).

[xi] Strong examples are: Michel Gilquin, *The Muslims of Thailand*, trans. Michael Smithies (Chiangmai: Silkworm Books, 2005); Wattana Sugunnasil, ed., *Dynamic Diversity in Southern Thailand* (Chiangmai: Silkworm Books, 2005); Chaiwat Satha-anand, *The Life of This World: Negotiated Muslim Lives in Thai Society* (Singapore: Marshall Cavendish, 2005); Michael J. Montesano and Patrick Jory, eds., *Thai South and Malay North: Ethnic Interactions on a Plural Peninsula* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2008); Joseph Chinyong Liow, *Islam, Education and Reform in Southern Thailand: Tradition and Transformation* (Singapore: ISEAS, 2009); and Patrick Jory, ed., *Ghosts of the Past in Southern Thailand* (Singapore: ISEAS, 2013).

[xii] E.g. Thanet Aphornsuvan, *Rebellion in Southern Thailand: Contending Histories*, no. 35 (2007); John T. Sidel, *The Islamist Threat in South-east Asia: A Reassessment*, no. 37 (2007); and John Funston, *Southern Thailand: The Dynamics of Conflict*, no. 50 (2008). Joseph Chinyong Liow has authored a related assessment in *Policy Studies* 24, *Muslim Resistance in Southern Thailand and Southern Philippines: Religion, Ideology, and Politics* (2006), as well as Liow and Don Pathan, *Confronting Ghosts: Thailand’s Shapeless Southern Insurgency* (Australia: Lowy Institute for International Policy, 2010), which was one of the subjects for review of Askew, “Review Article” (above).

This is a key matter, because there is no point in even assessing the policy positions of authoritarian states/dictatorships (e.g., Russia and China), since their positions are based upon a frame which holds that if there is unrest in an area, those “causing the trouble” are the problem and must be eliminated (as e.g. in Tibet and Xinjiang or Chechnya). This is diametrically opposed to the Thai CSOC/ISOC approach which seeks the reasons for disaffection.[vii] Present operationalization of ISOC strategy in the dual SBPAC-CPM structure is to Thailand’s credit. Indeed, there are no works of which I am aware – or policy pronouncements – that label the kingdom as a *systematic* human rights abuser in the SBP.[viii]

What is of concern is the perception among some that there is a hardening of attitude towards the alienated, focusing upon them as the problem as opposed to the challenges of legitimate state-incorporation of a Malay Muslim minority area (in which the minority is the majority). These concerned are reflected in recent work by Michael K. Jerryson, as well as the appropriate chapters in a volume edited by Vladimir Tikhonov and Torkel Brekke, which touch directly upon the role of Buddhism in the conflict.[ix] Such work has been impacted by the role of the Buddhist clergy in recent conflicts, such as that in Sri Lanka, where the nature of intercommunal strife seriously damaged the reputation of the *Sangha* and the faith in general, as is further happening today in Burma/Myanmar. The concern is reflected in charges of legal violations levelled by international human rights organizations (refer to n.3 of this review).[x] Such charges must be treated seriously and should prompt investigation and action, but they have to date not reached the level seen in the critique of Sri Lanka and Burma.

All serious academic work on the Thai South and on Thai Muslims in general – the sort that informs policymakers when they seek background knowledge – is respectful of both the majority and minority traditions and emphasizes the efforts of local communities to live together. Of particular interest has been exploring the nature, both past and present, of relations between the two communities under discussion here, with the best work disaggregating both to look at local interactions.[xi]

As the publication dates indicate, there has been a continuous interest in the nature of Thai Muslim society in general and Southern Thai Muslim society in particular as both interface with the larger Thai-speaking, Buddhist population of the kingdom. To the works just listed may be added East-West Center Policy Studies (Southeast Asia) publications (beyond Askew) that deal specifically with the insurgency and are noteworthy for their rigor and empathy.[xii]

[xiii] E.g. W.K. Che Man, Muslim Separatism: The Moros of Southern Philippines and the Malays of Southern Thailand (Manila: Oxford and Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1990); and David Brown, The State and Ethnic Politics in South-East Asia (London: Routledge, 1994).

[xiv] The signal case today is the Israeli presence in the Occupied Territories. Most states that condemn Israel as a “settler colonial” society are themselves implicated by the same mechanism in the theory of “internal colonialism” – yet seem quite unaware that in voting against Israel they are laying the foundation for future challenges to their own legitimacy and national boundaries. Historically, for the U.S., the case of Native Americans well illustrates the dynamic. For the legal framework mentioned, see Christopher O. Quayle, Liberation Struggles in International Law (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1991).

[xv] Useful for approaching this complex topic are: Gareth Evans, The Responsibility to Protect: Ending Mass Atrocity Crimes Once and For All (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2008); Anne Orford, International Authority and the Responsibility to Protect (NY: Cambridge UP, 2011); Philip Cunliffe, Critical Perspectives on the Responsibility to Protect: Integrating Theory and Practice (NY: Routledge, 2011); and Luke Glanville, Sovereignty and the Responsibility to Protect: A New History (NY: Chicago, 2014).

[xvi] See e.g. Damien Kingsbury, Sri Lanka and the Responsibility to Protect (NY: Routledge, 2012)

Contending Narratives contd...

The topic of “interface” itself is not new, with the place of minority Islamic traditions within larger Southeast Asian non-Muslim polities being a subject long-explored in excellent works.[xiii] The appropriate fifth chapter (pp. 158-205) in the Brown (see n.13), “Internal Colonialism and Ethnic Rebellion in Thailand,” highlights the reality that the focus of the first approach discussed above has long been in existence. While Brown uses the Northeast for his Thai case study, his “internal colonialism” framework addresses not only *Isan* (alternatively, *Isaan*) but also the North and South.

Further, the precise terminology (i.e., “internal colonialism”) is now widely used in academic analysis and in spirit informs much policy discussion. It advances the central question: does a diverse polity exist as a consequence of legitimacy or force? To the extent force is used by the center to incorporate peripheral social formations, a claim is advanced that there is a lack of legitimacy. This lack of legitimacy is all the more serious when an “outside” force is judged to be dominating a local population, especially seizing its land and destroying its culture. The consequent lack of legitimacy signals that the structure of the state itself may be challenged, and outside assistance to the peripheral formations can to some extent be considered under the relevant provisions of international law dealing with “liberation struggles.”[xiv]

Conclusion

This leaves us at the point which appears to be of greatest concern to Thailand: the possibility of outside intervention, either tangibly (e.g., direct intervention) or intangibly (e.g., information warfare). Trends in international law, as reflected in the existence of the International Criminal Court (ICC), support the tenets of “Responsibility to Protect” (R2P); that is, the sanctity of life (as concerns a national or sub-national population) is paramount, and repression may rise to such level as to justify external intervention (in a variety of forms).[xv] This issue surfaced prominently during the conflict in Sri Lanka, especially when the 2009 destruction of the LTTE insurgency inspired a number of prominent international organizations to demand external intervention to halt the final battle.[xvi] In the event, rather than entering Sri Lankan national space, the concerned parties launched a campaign (of considerable effectiveness) to isolate Sri Lanka internationally and threaten its public servants with the prosecution inherent to universal jurisdiction.

This leaves us at the point which appears to be of greatest concern to Thailand: the possibility of outside intervention, either tangibly (e.g., direct intervention) or intangibly (e.g., information warfare). Trends in international law, as reflected in the existence of the International Criminal Court (ICC), support the tenets of “Responsibility to Protect” (R2P); that is, the sanctity of life (as concerns a national or sub-national population) is paramount, and repression may rise to such level as to justify external intervention (in a variety of forms).

Nothing even remotely similar to this has surfaced in the SBP case, but a possible strategic move of the insurgents would be to work tactically to create a situation destructive and disruptive enough to internationalize the conflict. This is but a step beyond using destructive methods for the purpose of disrupting the economy, for it simply requires focusing upon provoking a majority backlash such that the minority can claim it is threatened by genocide. Thailand’s counterinsurgency doctrine, based as it is on achieving a proper mix of kinetic and non kinetic approaches, is capable to preventing any such slide into barbarism, but the danger does need to be explicitly recognized.

Similarly, the current kinetic (CPM) and non-kinetic (SBPAC) synthesis has ossified to the extent that the ultimate goal has been forgotten: legitimacy achieved through democratic empowerment. It was this objective that allowed the original CSOC/ISOC operational approach to gain traction and defeat the CPT; its absence keeps alive the possibility of a blow to Thai legitimacy and thus national integrity.

Kirsty Anantharajah has degrees in Arts and Law (Hons I) from the Australian National University. She is currently based in Sydney where she is active in refugee legal protection. Kirsty is passionate about the Sri Lankan experience of rights. Her honours thesis was titled: *Game playing in human rights regulatory regimes: Sri Lanka's interactions with the Universal Periodic Review*. Her writing surrounding various human rights issues in Sri Lanka has been published by OpenDemocracy, the Colombo Telegraph and Sri Lanka's Law and Society Trust Review. Kirsty's latest publication, 'Crisis of Legal indeterminacy' (in *The Search for Justice: The Sri Lanka Papers* Zubaan: 2016), was co-authored with Kishali Pinto Jayewardene, and examines Sri Lankan women's experience of sexual violence and injustice during and after the civil war.

Article reprinted by permission of [Regarding Rights](#)



Kirsty Anantharajah, Centre for International Governance & Justice, RegNet

The Space Between The Laws: Life for Sri Lankans who seek Asylum in Australia



Image: [The Kettle Press](#)

When liberties are taken away and when democratic institutions die, is it even worse than human beings dying? ...when institutions die, people end up living as if they were dead.[2]

In 2014, a boat carrying 157 Sri Lankan asylum seekers who had been living in limbo in India was intercepted near the coast of Christmas Island, Australia. The asylum seekers were transferred to an Australian customs boat where they were detained at sea for a month. Their location was not disclosed to the Australian public. They were held against their will, in windowless rooms. Australia attempted to return the asylum seekers to India which refused to accept them. Finally, they were transferred to Nauru, the site of one of Australia's offshore detention centers.

The cruel irony is that the breakdown of the rule of law that originally pushed them from their homes in Sri Lanka confronted them again in Australia and its offshore camp. The lived experience in both cases is eerily similar.

The rule of law has great power to determine whether life proceeds with security and hope or if uncertainty and insecurity will be the norm. Sri Lanka's rule of law crisis is characterised by a climate of arbitrariness, in part created by corrupt institutions and abhorrent security legislation. This breakdown is felt by Sri Lankan citizens in their experience of disappearances, torture and sexual violence.[3] This has motivated some to leave the country and begin their journey as irregular migrants.

The conditions in the detention centres funded and managed by Australia on Nauru and on Manus Island in PNG, coupled with the mental anguish caused by the arbitrary and enduring nature of detention, has been deemed to constitute torture. UN Special Rapporteur Juan Mendez, has [reported](#) that Australia's offshore processing policy contravenes its obligations under the [Convention Against Torture](#).

Through its 'Operation Sovereign Borders', Australia has militarised its response to asylum seekers. It intercepts and 'pushes back' boats carrying asylum seekers, sometimes to the country they fled. In May 2016, after having their refugee protection claims cursorily considered while they were held on board a boat at sea, a group of asylum seekers were returned to Sri Lanka. The Australian public is not informed about these 'on sea' operations. The Australian people do not know how many Sri Lankans have been prevented from reaching the country's shores.

Provision of services in the detention centres has been privatised and accountability is obscured. Daily life for detainees is shrouded in secrecy; NGOs, the media and the Australian public are prevented from even bearing witness to the atrocities that occur.

[Documents leaked](#) to *The Guardian* in 2016 revealed abuse, sexual violence, suicide attempts and extreme hopelessness. Whilst security personnel who have been implicated in serious abuses are contracted by the Australian government, they have not been held accountable for their actions.

Through its 'Operation Sovereign Borders', Australia has militarised its response to asylum seekers. It intercepts and 'pushes back' boats carrying asylum seekers, sometimes to the country they fled. In May 2016, after having their refugee protection claims cursorily considered while they were held on board a boat at sea, a group of asylum seekers were returned to Sri Lanka. The Australian public is not informed about these 'on sea' operations. The Australian people do not know how many Sri Lankans have been prevented from reaching the country's shores.

Meanwhile, thousands of Sri Lankans are part of a large group of asylum seekers who were released some years ago from Australian immigration detention. They have been forced to wait, often for years, to be 'invited' to apply for temporary protection visas. They reside in Australia on bridging visas that frequently expire before the asylum seekers have the opportunity – or the legal assistance necessary – to apply for temporary protection visas when they finally become eligible to do so. The implications of this visa system are that peoples' access to health care and education may be restricted, some have only limited rights to work, and others are denied work rights altogether. Those who left behind families are unable to sponsor them to come to Australia.

Many have spent years doing their best to survive and to become a part of Australian society, only to be denied permanent protection and to face a return to detention and eventual deportation. The self-immolation of 29-year-old Sri Lankan man [Leo Seemanpillai](#) in Geelong, trapped in this cycle of uncertainty, illustrates this pain. A friend of the young man gave voice to the precariousness of Leo's position:

'He went through so much in his life, and when he came to Australia he was given a visa that [was] filled with plenty of uncertainty, he couldn't accept that.'

Sri Lankan asylum seekers, from their origin to their destination, are forced to remain in the shadowy margins of the law; they are forced to endure a living death. We must do more than give voice to this unique form of suffering. Broken institutions, at both ends of the journey, must be rebuilt.

The rule of law does not govern Australia's refugee and asylum seeker policies. The tragedy is that in leaving Sri Lanka, people have been forced to relive the nightmares of perpetual uncertainty, and of arbitrary detention and torture hidden from the public gaze. Australia is in the throes of a rule of law crisis, and the full burden of this falls on those who dare to seek asylum. The true horror is that this is intentional. The people languishing and suffering as a result of Australian policies are suffering by design; their bodies are a message to deter their countrymen and women who may, one day, seek safety in the same way.

Sri Lankan asylum seekers, from their origin to their destination, are forced to remain in the shadowy margins of the law; they are forced to endure a living death. We must do more than give voice to this unique form of suffering. Broken institutions, at both ends of the journey, must be rebuilt.

[1] This post is an edited version of an article that appeared in the *Colombo Telegraph* under the title, 'The Space Between the Laws: Insights into Sri Lankans' Irregular Migration Into Australian Waters'. The original article can be viewed [here](#).

[2] Kishali Pinto Jayawardene, 'Our Death Chant for Democracy', Sunday Times, 12 September 2010. Available [here](#).

[3] See Kumari Jayawardena & Kishali Pinto-Jayawardena (eds), *The Search for Justice: The Sri Lanka Papers* (New Delhi, India: Zubaan, 2016); my previous Regarding Rights post, '[The Role of Civil Society in Sri Lanka's Universal Periodic Review](#)', and Jacinta Mulder's post, '[Two Approaches to Human Rights Review in Post-War Sri Lanka](#)'.

Aka Joachim Peter is a Visual artist and writer based in Southwest Germany, presently working on documentary & travel photography in Asia right. He loves to explore and combine all arts in his work. Joo has studied Arts; painting and graphics, worked for theatre (designing stage, costume and light) , did some work for television and film, went into teaching. He writes essays and a blog in his native tongue, German, for he feels his language combines philosophy and humour.



MWOHNI FESTIVAL IN BHAKTAPUR, NEPAL

PHOTOGRAPHS BY
JOO PETER

I visited Bhaktapur in 2011, four years before the massive earthquake in 2015, to witness the Mwohni Festival (Newar) aka Durga Puja and Dashain at the end of September: over nine days nine incarnations of goddess Durga are celebrated. Newar culture is famous for blending Hindu and tantric Buddhist traditions.

I watched buffalo sacrifices being performed at temple shrines and public places for the community as well as families sacrificing goats in small streets. This was followed by a trance dance with swords by priests at the Navadurga temple.

Since the earthquake in 2015, the proud Nepalese have worked hard to rebuild their sacred places and homes.

The following photographs are a glimpse of the fascinating Newar Culture.



01. Public sacrificing of buffalos.



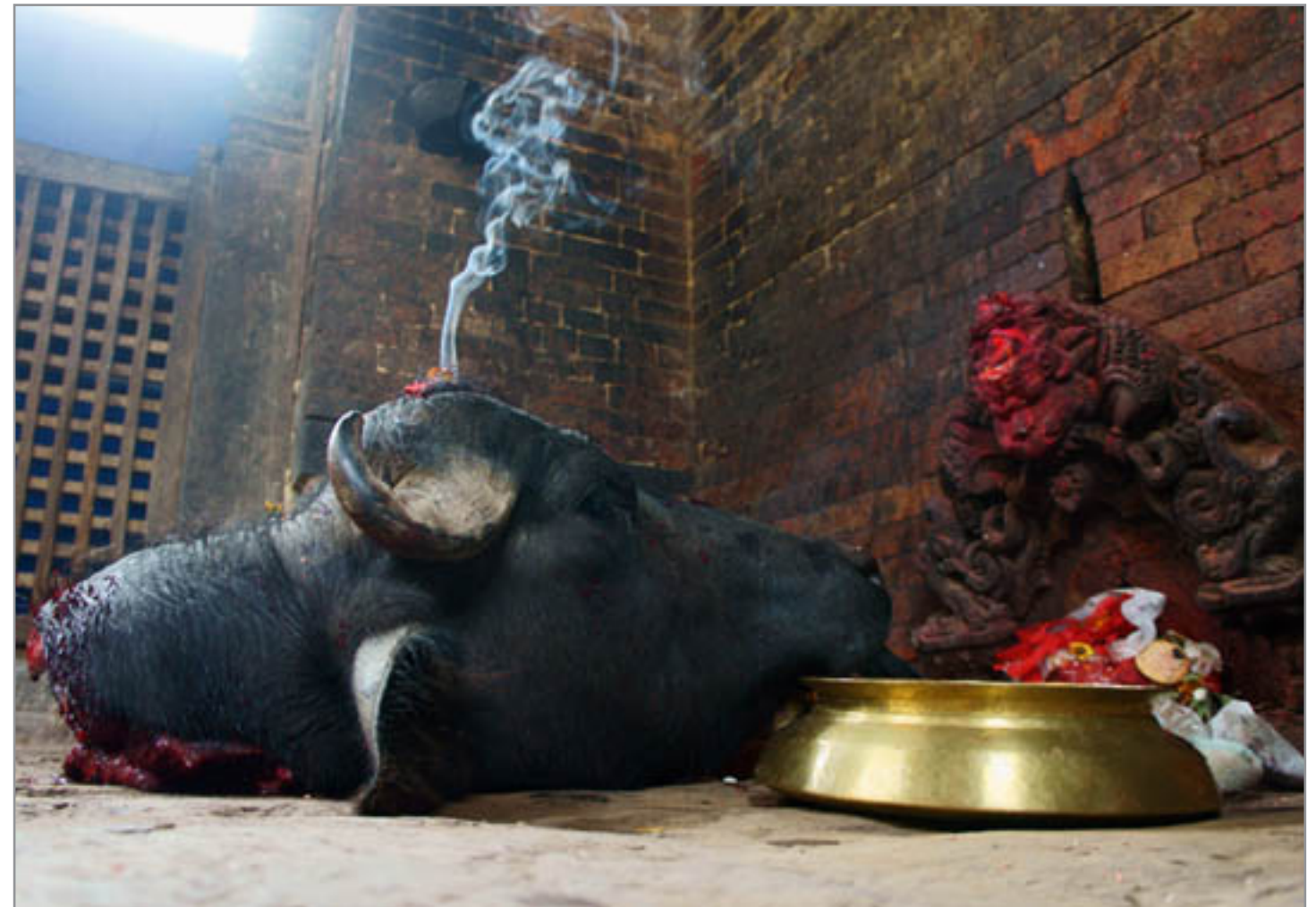
02. Children watching the beheading of a buffalo.



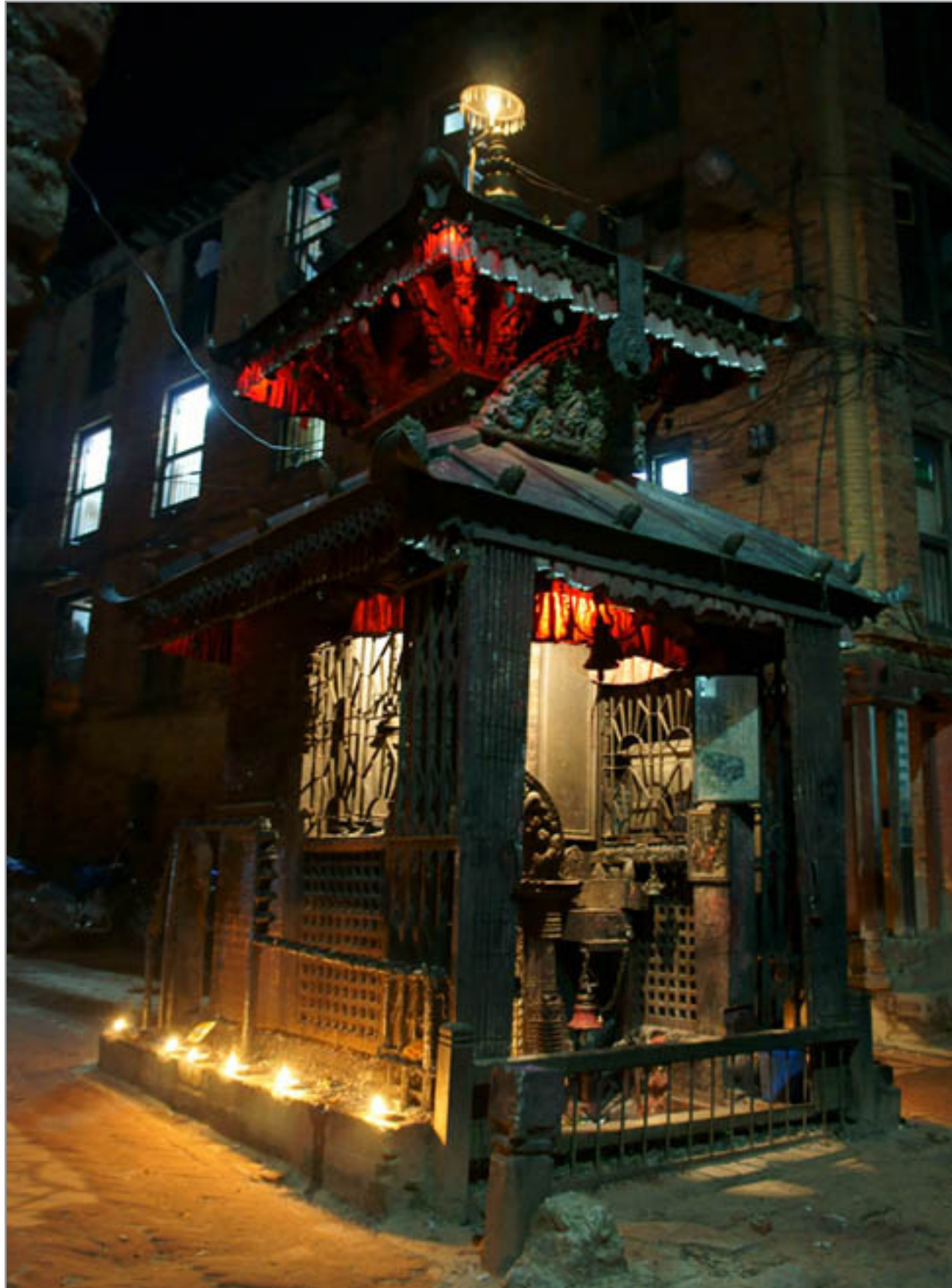
03. Children watching the beheading of a buffalo.



04. Goat slaughtered to appease the Goddess.



05. Head of buffalo offered to the Goddess.



06. Shrine



07. Offering for the Goddess



08. Floral offering for the temple.



09. Floral offerings for the shrine.



10. Trance dance with swords by priests at the Navadurga temple.



11. Oil lamps to light up holy places and homes.

Ulyseas is founder and editor of Live Encounters Magazine and Live Encounters Poetry & Writing. He is the author of three books: *RAINY – My friend & Philosopher*, *Seductive Avatars of Maya – Anthology of Dystopian Lives* and *In Gethsemane: Transcripts of a Journey*. www.amazon.com



PLANESCAPES

PHOTOGRAPHS FROM A PASSENGER AIRPLANE

BY

MARK ULYSEAS

The sky as seen from the window of an airplane is perhaps the most enduring image of celestial beauty.

Many among us never really look out of the window as we are too busy reading, sleeping, talking, eating or with inflight entertainment.

Next time you are on a flight and it is daytime and you are blessed with a window seat...peek out of the window. It will be a truly enriching experience.

Om Shanti Shanti Shanti Om



01



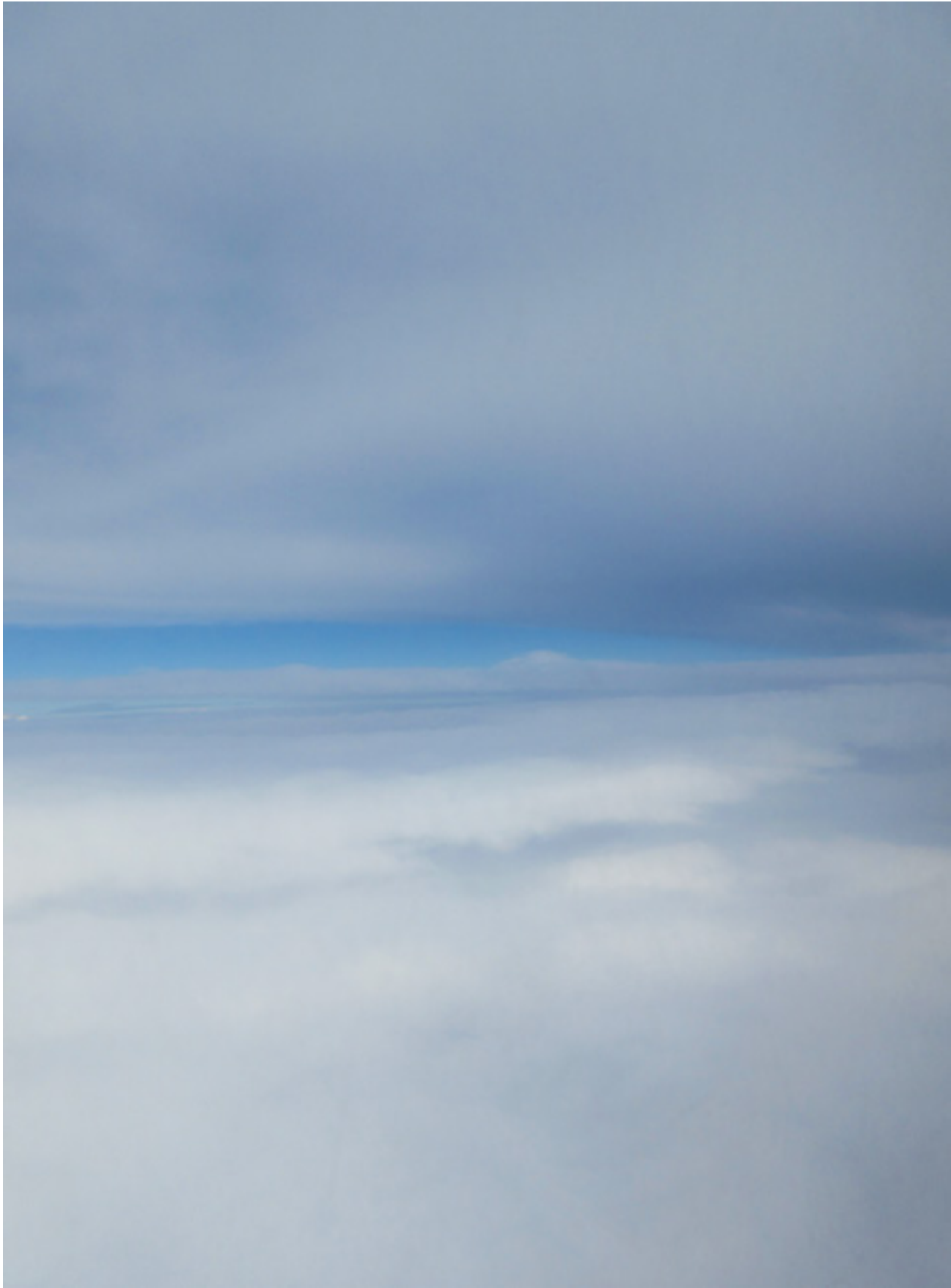


02

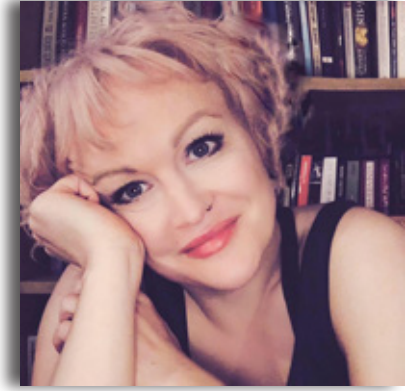


03





Dr. Kate Lister is a researcher at Leeds Trinity University in historical attitudes to sexuality and sex work. She is the curator of the online project and popular Twitter account [@WhoresofYore](#) where she tweets the history of illicit sex and works to promote sex worker rights and challenge stigma to over 82,000 followers.



Dr Kate Lister, Researcher at Leeds Trinity University in historical attitudes to sexuality and sex work. Good Vibrations: The Myth of the Victorians and the Vibrator

I can't recommend it enough, Florence. All you have to do is tell the doctor you've got something called hysteria.



I am sure you have heard this one; Victorian doctors invented the vibrator to masturbate women to 'hysterical paroxysm' (orgasm) because they had developed repetitive strain injury in their fingers from manually rousing patients to multiple hysterical paroxysms. We love this story. I love this story. Hollywood loved this story so much that the 2011 film *Hysteria* was based on this story. So it is with a heavy heart that I have to tell you, this really is just a story. But, like all the best stories, there are flashes of truth in it. I will tread lightly and salvage as much as I can because I know how pervasive and popular this myth is. Not only is it much loved, it's well established and is referenced in numerous texts, documentaries, online sources and has become part of our collective history. We love it because it goes straight to the hysterical heart of the Victorian sexual hypocrisy that we enjoy rolling our eyes at; 'did you know Victorian doctors were diddling female patients, but considered exposed table legs to be sexually obscene? So glad we're not like that now!' (Except the table legs thing is also myth, but that's another post for another day.)

The root of the vulva massage theory is Rachel Maine's book, *The Technology of Orgasm* (1999). Here, Maines hypothesises that doctors masturbated women to orgasm for health reasons, and that the vibrator was nothing short of a 'God send' for the physicians suffering from cramp in their index fingers. More than this, Maines makes the case that this practice can be traced back to Classical times. However, it has to be said that her evidence for medical vulva massage in the ancient World has been discredited, most notably by Professor Helen King (2011). It's also important to remember that Maines herself refers to her argument as a hypothesis; and to be fair, it's a damn interesting one. In an online interview in 2010, Maine said,

'People just loved my hypothesis and that's all it is really, it's a hypothesis, that women were treated with massage for this disease, hysteria, which has supposedly existed since the time of Hippocrates, 450 B.C., and that the vibrator was invented to treat this disease. Well, people just thought this was such a cool idea that people believe it, that it's like a fact. And I'm like, 'It's a hypothesis! It's a hypothesis!'. But it doesn't matter, you know? People like it so much they don't want to hear any doubts about it' (Maines, 2011).

An article in the 1871 *Good Health* journal outlines exactly how the electrical ‘vibrator’ is to be used. ‘The Vibrator is simply a labor-saving machine in the matter of agitating or exercising particular portions of the body.’

So, let’s unpack this hypothesis a little further. Make no mistake, Victorian doctors were obsessed with sex and health, and there were some highly questionable medical theories flying around; from Dr Kellogg’s thoughts that masturbation was terminal, to Italian criminal anthropologist, Cesare Lombroso’s theories that sex workers had no sensation in their clitorises, as they had been rendered ‘insensible’ through ‘overuse’ (Lombroso et al, 2009). But the theory that Doctors invented vibrators to induce orgasm and cure hysteria is doubtful for a number of reasons.

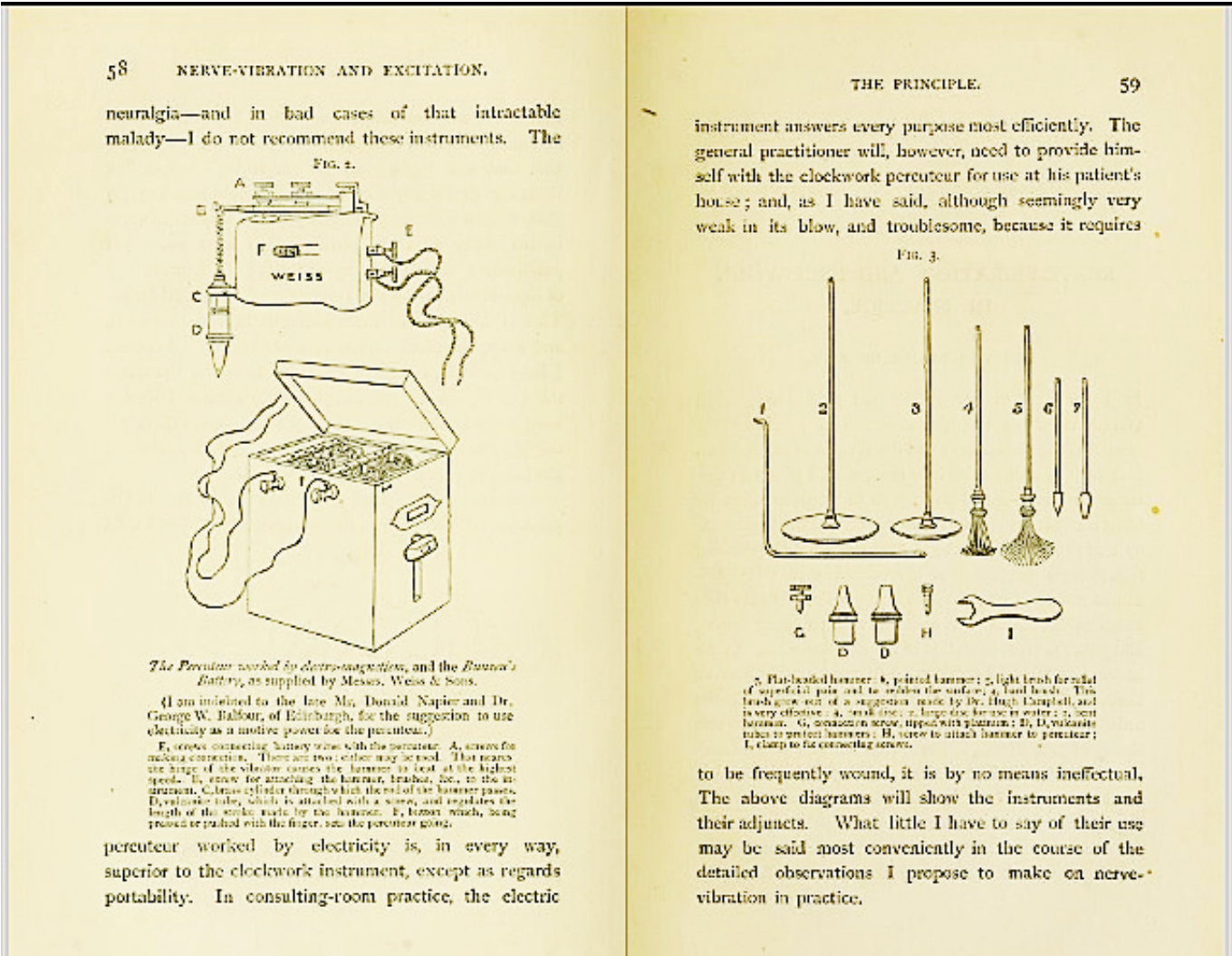
British doctor, Joseph Mortimer Granville, patented the first electrical vibrator in the 1880s, not as a sexual device but as a massager to relief the aches and pains of men – NOT women; he was quite clear on that. His invention was known as the ‘Granville Hammer’ as it was designed to strike to body in a percussive motion. In his book *Nerve-Vibration and Excitation as Agents in the Treatment of Functional Disorder and Organic Disease* (1883), he wrote, “I have never yet percussed a female patient ... I have avoided, and shall continue to avoid the treatment of women by percussion, simply because I do not wish to be hoodwinked, and help to mislead others, by the vagaries of the hysterical state” (Granville, 1883). Furthermore, one look at this contraption and I am sure we can all agree that this electrified hammering device is not something you would want anywhere near your genitals without adult supervision and a safe word. This was clearly not designed for internal use.

Answers to Correspondents.
VIBRATOR.—M. M.: “Dr. R. T. Trall: Please inform a subscriber of the nature and rationale of the new ‘movement-cure’ apparatus, called the Vibrator.”
The Vibrator is simply a labor-saving machine in the matter of agitating or exercising particular portions of the body. It is a substitute for hand-rubbing, percussion, &c. It is operated by turning a crank. The feet, hands, abdomen, back, or any other part of the body, can be “percussed” with any required degree of force, by properly adjusting the apparatus. The process is no better than that of the hand, or of an electrical battery, but is more convenient; and where a large number of patients are to have similar treatment it saves time and work. We have one in use which was invented by one of our students during the last college term. The cost of this Vibrator was \$200.

Other vibrating massagers soon followed suit on a wave of pseudo-scientific theories about electricity and vibrating massage, which was touted as a cure all panacea, along with rectal dilators and radium. Vibrating massage promised to alleviate all manner of mental and physical disorders (including the mysterious ‘hysteria’), but they were not designed for use on the genitals, and, more importantly for this article, they were not used by Doctors to induce orgasm.

An article in the 1871 *Good Health* journal outlines exactly how the electrical ‘vibrator’ is to be used. ‘The Vibrator is simply a labor-saving machine in the matter of agitating or exercising particular portions of the body.’

British doctor, Joseph Mortimer Granville, patented the first electrical vibrator in the 1880s, not as a sexual device but as a massager to relief the aches and pains of men – NOT women; he was quite clear on that. His invention was known as the ‘Granville Hammer’ as it was designed to strike to body in a percussive motion.



Design of the 'Granville Hammer' from Nerve-Vibration and Excitation as Agents in the Treatment of Functional Disorder and Organic Disease

Not only is there no known mention of Doctors and vibrators in Victorian pornography, there is also no mention of it in the work of the early and pioneering sexologists. Iwan Bloch, Havelock Ellis, Richard von Kraft-Ebing and Freud meticulously catalogued every fetish, paraphilia and known expression of sexual behaviour, but not one of them mention doctors, vibrators and orgasm. Ellis and Bloch even describe some women deriving sexual pleasure from sewing machines and beetroot, but there is no mention of a vibrator.

And if we are to believe that vibrators were common knowledge and widely used to induce orgasm, we have to account for the fact that there is not one mention of this in any known Victorian pornography (textual or visual). Not one. However, there are many references to dildos, and occasionally the odd cucumber put to good use. Sex toys are not new. The earliest dildo found was excavated in Germany and is over 28,000 years old. The Victorians knew how to design a good sex toy – the design has (unsurprisingly) changed very little in over 28,000 years. It tends to be, well, penis shaped. Victorian dildos were made from wood, leather and even ivory, and they were certainly a lot of fun, as this extract from *The Pearl* (1880) demonstrates:

"As we are five to two you will find I have a stock of fine, soft, firmly made dildoes to make up the deficiency in males, which alternated with the real article will enable us to thoroughly enjoy ourselves" (The Pearl, 1879).

Then, there was this jolly song published in *Choyce Drollery: Songs and Sonnets* (1876) that opens with,

With a dildo, dildo, dildo,
With a dildo, dildo, dee,
Some say 'twas a man, but it was a woman
As plain report may see.
She first climb'd up the Ladder
For to deceive men's hopes,
And with a long thing in her hand
She tickled it on the ropes

Not only is there no known mention of Doctors and vibrators in Victorian pornography, there is also no mention of it in the work of the early and pioneering sexologists. Iwan Bloch, Havelock Ellis, Richard von Kraft-Ebing and Freud meticulously catalogued every fetish, paraphilia and known expression of sexual behaviour, but not one of them mention doctors, vibrators and orgasm. Ellis and Bloch even describe some women deriving sexual pleasure from sewing machines and beetroot, but there is no mention of a vibrator. Fifty years later, in his seminal *Behaviour in the Human Female* (1953), Alfred Kinsey does not mention vibrators in his lengthy and comprehensive chapters on female masturbation.

The 'Thure Brandt method' of pelvic massage and 'manipulating the womb' proved very popular. *The International Record of Medicine and General Practice Clinics* (1876) described the technique in some detail.

But, what about medical texts themselves? Surely there must be some mention of doctors conducting 'pelvic massage' or the 'hysterical paroxysm'? Well, yes! Yes, there is and lots of it. The medical craze for pelvic massage came from the work of Swedish obstetrician and gynaecologist, Thure Brandt (1819-1895), who began treating women in 1861. The 'Thure Brandt method' of pelvic massage and 'manipulating the womb' proved very popular. *The International Record of Medicine and General Practice Clinics* (1876) described the technique in some detail.

DISEASES OF WOMEN.

Brandt's Treatment of Uterine Diseases.—More than ten years ago, Major Thure Brandt, of Stockholm, Sweden, began to apply massage to the treatment of uterine diseases. His method has gradually attracted the attention of the Scandinavian physicians, and was made the special subject of discussion in the meetings of the Christiania Medical Society during November and December, 1874, and January, 1875 (*Norsk Mag. for Lægevidenskaben*, Nos. 1-4, 1875). Brandt claims that his method of treatment is useful in prolapsus and protrusion of the uterus; prolapse of the vagina; hypertrophy and induration of the uterus; ulcerations; abnormal hæmorrhage, depending on relaxation of the uterus; tendency to miscarriage; slight hypertrophy of the ovaries. The method is simple, consisting of three motions:

1. Stroking the loins and sacral regions. In this, the patient assumes a position leaning forward, resting her hands against a wall or door.

2. Pressure with the points of the fingers of both hands on both sides, over the loins and sacral region, as well as over the upper and anterior surfaces of the ischium. The pressure is combined with vibratory shaking. The patient assumes a dorsal, semi-reclining position, and the knees are bent to relax the abdominal muscles.

3. Elevation of the uterus during the vibratory shaking. The position of the patient resembles the previous one. The operator endeavors to press the finger-points of both hands just over the horizontal ramus of the arch of the pubis of both sides down into the pelvis minor, and then to lift up the uterus. This attempt at elevation is also made during vibration.

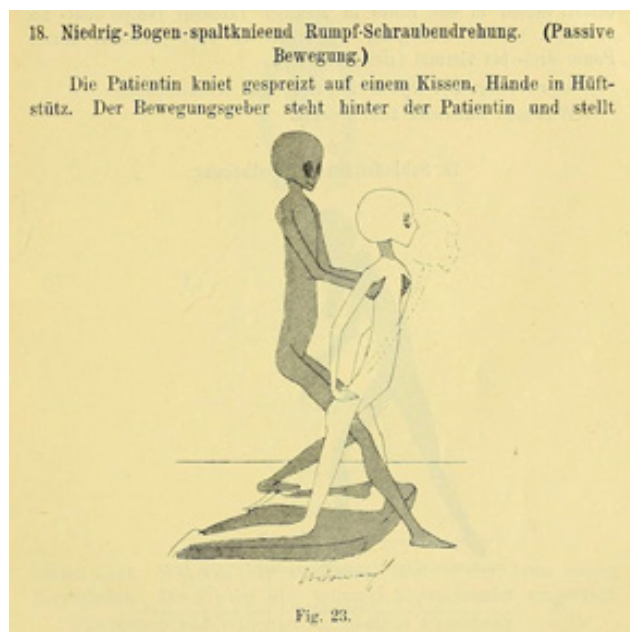
Brandt states that the force and repetition of these movements are so dependent on individual conditions that it is impossible to give general directions for them. He advises great circumspection in their application. He also directs a fourth movement, which consists of a slight pressure for several seconds with the flat of the hands over the lower portion of the abdominal region. This gives the patient a quieting and pleasant sensation.

The International Record of Medicine and General Practice Clinics (1876)

The other persistent part of the medical vibrator story is that of “hysterical paroxysm”; which Maines understands as being ‘the female orgasm under clinical conditions’ (Maines, 1999). But, when we start to investigate the medical texts of the era, a hysterical paroxysm doesn’t sound like any orgasm I’ve ever had.

However, it seems that it is here, in the confusing practice of pelvic massage and fancy fingering, that the myth about doctors collectively draining the national grid as they buzzed their patients into post orgasmic delirium, developed.

As you can see, the technique is performed outside the body and with a noticeable lack of a vibrator or an orgasm. “Vibrating” is part of the massage, but it means vigorously shaking the patient whilst applying pressure to the pelvic area with the hands. In 1895, Brandt published *The physiotherapy in gynaecology and the mechanical treatment of diseases of the uterus and its appendages* by Thure Brandt, which contains possibly the most terrifying illustrations of gynaecological techniques ever produced in the history of humanity.



(Brandt, 1895)

Once you have moved past the fact that the doctor and patient strongly resemble escapees from Area 51, you will notice that the technique is about applying pressure to the pelvic area in a variety of odd positions. We can also see that some of the massage was internal (this was a gynaecological procedure after all!), and involved inserting a finger and applying the other hand on the abdomen and pushing downwards. But, at no point is an orgasm, sexual arousal, or a vibrator required. Brandt published this work almost fifteen years after Granville had patented his “hammer”, and there were numerous vibrating massagers available, and yet they do not feature in technique.

The theories behind ‘pelvic massage’, and the techniques employed are frankly bizarre, but it should not strike us as odd that gynaecologists would perform internal examinations; doctors carried them out then, just as they do now. When a medical text is describing pelvic massage - it means massage of the pelvic area (and maybe the odd finger.) However, it seems that it is here, in the confusing practice of pelvic massage and fancy fingering, that the myth about doctors collectively draining the national grid as they buzzed their patients into post orgasmic delirium, developed.

The other persistent part of the medical vibrator story is that of “hysterical paroxysm”; which Maines understands as being ‘the female orgasm under clinical conditions’ (Maines, 1999). But, when we start to investigate the medical texts of the era, a hysterical paroxysm doesn’t sound like any orgasm I’ve ever had. *Hysterical and Nervous Affections of Women: Read before the Harveian Society* describes a hysterical paroxysm as ‘an uncontrollable attack of alternate sobbing and laughter’ (Anderson, 1853). Andrew Whyte Barclay’s *A Manual of Medical Diagnosis* (1862), describes it as a ‘fit’ and ‘a simulation of epilepsy’ (Barclay, 1862). John Henry Walsh describes the hysterical paroxysm as beginning with uncontrollable giggling, and lasting ‘for at least an hour, and often for five or six’ (Walsh, 1858); and Dr Henry Beasley noted that ‘flatulent distension of the bowels’ often precedes an attack of hysterical paroxysm (Beasley, 1855). Medical theories of the time do link this strange phenomenon to a gynaecological issue. Walsh wrote that a ‘copious secretion of pale urine accompanies the disease’ (Walsh, 1858). George Bacon Wood wrote that hysterical paroxysm was ‘apt to be worse around the menstrual period’ (Wood, 1852); and James Copland lists menstruation, amenorrhea and ‘morbid conditions of the ovaries’ as leading causes of the hysterical paroxysm (Copland, 1860). But, this should not be surprising as the word ‘hysteria’ comes from Latin hysterica, meaning “of the womb”; and from the Greek hysterikos, meaning ‘suffering in the womb’.



Victorian woman with ‘hysteria’

Not only did Victorian doctors know what an orgasm was, but nineteenth-century medical theories taught that orgasms were potentially dangerous and needed to be limited. Masturbation in women was thought to cause hysteria, not cure it. *In The Generative System and Its Functions in Health and Disease* (1883), James George Beaney claimed that a disease ‘associated with, and very often closely depending on, female masturbation is hysteria’ (Beaney, 1883).

But, here is the crucial thing; Victorian doctors may have been manipulating, sedating, institutionalising and pummelling the pussies of their poor farting female patients – but they were not masturbating them to ‘hysterical paroxysm’ with electrical vibrators.

However, one defines hysteria, by the mid nineteenth century, it had reached near epidemic proportions and its links with the womb and menstruation were well known. Dr. John Burns in his *The Principles of Midwifery* (1811) wrote that menstruation is ‘to be considered as a disease’ (Burns, 1811). It was not only a disease but a dangerous one which, if not controlled properly, could lead to madness. The theory of uterine madness held a tight grip on the understanding of even the most prominent of nineteenth century physicians. Dr. William Rowley, professor of medicine at Oxford University and member of the Royal College of Physicians, eagerly wrote of the ‘passio hysterica’ repressed menstruation, or amenorrhea, could bring about in women; ‘The tongue falters, trembles, and incoherent things are spoken; the voice changes; some roar, scream or shriek immoderately; others sigh deeply, weep or moan plaintively’ (Rowley, 1800). Dr. Althaus agreed and wrote that ‘hysterical attacks almost always occur after a sudden suppression of the menstrual flow’ in 1848 (Althaus, 1848). It is significant to note that menstrual madness is frequently understood to be violent and the sufferer liable to commit criminal acts of savagery. Dr Jacobi feared that during the time of menstruation women were prone to some very disturbing behaviour, ‘At such times a woman is undoubtedly more prone than men to commit any unusual or outrageous acts’ in 1868.

A hysterical paroxysm was simply another ill-defined category of hysteria, linked to the womb, that can be found in nineteenth-century medical manuals; along with the hysterical coma, hysterical headaches, hysterical excitement, hysterical convulsive affections, and (of course) hysterical flatulence. But more than this, the Victorians knew what an orgasm was! There was no need to dress it up in euphemistic language. Even a cursory glance at the erotic literature of the time will tell you, the Victorians knew what an orgasm was. ‘I felt her crack deluged with a warm, creamy spend whilst my own juice spurted over her hand and dress in loving sympathy’ (*The Pearl*, 1879). ‘She came again three times in the next six nights; each time we renewed our mutual joys, with ever increasing voluptuous indulgencies’ (*Romance of Lust*, 1873). ‘How many times I made her spend it would be impossible to say’ (Saul, 1881). As Fern Riddell, one of the leading academics in Victorian sexuality, argues ‘Victorian doctors knew exactly what the female orgasm was; in fact, it’s one of the reasons they thought masturbation was a bad idea’ (Riddell, 2014).

Not only did Victorian doctors know what an orgasm was, but nineteenth-century medical theories taught that orgasms were potentially dangerous and needed to be limited. Masturbation in women was thought to cause hysteria, not cure it. *In The Generative System and Its Functions in Health and Disease* (1883), James George Beaney claimed that a disease ‘associated with, and very often closely depending on, female masturbation is hysteria’ (Beaney, 1883).

Gunning S. Bedford wrote that ‘excessive sexual excitement, masturbation, etc., are all so many causes capable of giving rise to this nervous disturbance’ (Bedford, 1869). In 1852, Samuel La'mert drew a clear distinction between hysterical paroxysm and masturbation when he wrote ‘females devoted to libidinous and solitary pollutions, are more particularly exposed to hysterical paroxysm’ (La'mert, 1852). In 1894, Dr A.J. Bloch of New Orleans referred to female masturbation as a "moral leprosy." So dangerous was female masturbation thought to be, that it was cited on numerous patient admission forms to Victorian lunatic asylums. Dr Issac Brown famously pioneered clitoridectomies as a cure for female masturbation. He was widely criticized at the time, but he was allowed to continue and publish his findings in esteemed medical journals. Sparse diets were recommended to subdue lust, and purity crusaders, such as John Harvey Kellogg (1852-1943), manufactured plain cereals to suppress urges. Kellogg argued that masturbation could cause "cancer of the womb, urinary diseases, nocturnal emissions, impotence, epilepsy, insanity, and mental and physical debility'. If women were habitual masturbators, Kellogg recommended burning out the clitoris with carbolic acid as an ‘excellent means of allaying the abnormal excitement, and preventing the recurrence of the practice (Kellogg, 1888).

Now, I ask you, does this sound like a group of people likely to prescribe masturbation?

So, what can we salvage from this much loved and widespread myth? Well, we can take some comfort that there are nuggets of truth here. It is true that Victorian doctors were fascinated with the female reproductive system, and, like their medical predecessors, linked madness to the womb. In an attempt to cure hysteria, in all its weird manifestations, they prescribed all manner of kinky sounding treatments; including pelvic massage. They also had some very strange ideas about orgasm and masturbation damaging health and causing hysteria. There was also such a thing as a ‘hysterical paroxysm’, which is described as some kind of giggly, gassy meltdown that can last for hours. It's also true that vibrating massagers became popular in the late nineteenth century.

But, here is the crucial thing; Victorian doctors may have been manipulating, sedating, institutionalising and pummelling the pussies of their poor farting female patients – but they were not masturbating them to ‘hysterical paroxysm’ with electrical vibrators.

Sorry to be such a buzzkill.

Mikyoung Cha is a graduate in Oriental Painting from Hyosung Women's University, Daegu, South Korea. She has participated in a number of group art exhibitions in South Korea and Japan. In 2016 she took up photography – the camera becoming her paint brush. This globe trotting photographer is a regular contributor to Live Encounters Magazine.



YANG GUIFEI

PHOTOGRAPHS BY
MIKYOUNG CHA

Poppies are called Yang Guifei in South Korea, after one of the [Four Beauties of ancient China](#). Yang Guifei means Imperial Consort Yang. She was also known as the Taoist nun *Taizhen*. Perhaps the poppy was given this name because it grows wild and its beauty outshines all the other flowers in Ulsan (South Korea).

The following photographs are of wild poppies growing in Ulsan.



A









MANTRA OF THE MANDALA

Patricia studied Visual Education and Communication at Dun Laoghaire College of Art & Design (IADT) and also holds a first class honours degree in Philosophy and Sociology from University College, Dublin. Her first book *Healing Creations: Discover your mindful self through mandala colouring and journaling* was published in September 2016 by The Collins Press. She hosts workshops on the art of mandala and meditation both in Ireland and abroad. You can see more about her work at www.healingcreations.ie



MANTRA OF THE MANDALA FOR JUNE ENLIGHTENMENT BY PATRICIA FITZGERALD

This mandala seeks to balance opposites. The circle and the square. The circle symbolizes the feminine, the left, intuition, the dark, spirit and the mystical. The square represents the masculine, the right, logic, light, matter and the physical.

These are energies that are embodied in each and every one of us regardless of gender. Seeking to balance and harmonise both the feminine and masculine qualities within us will lead us to greater flow in life. Both in the physical and in the spiritual. When one is in flow or balance, one's life seems to happen almost without apparent effort. Doors open easily and opportunities present themselves.

By meditating on this piece and these qualities within the self, you can begin to bring awareness, balance and flow into being.

www.healingcreations.ie
www.facebook.com/healingcreationsbymandalaflame

PATRICIA FITZGERALD



Enlightenment



Helen Harrison is a published poet based in Co. Monaghan, Ireland. *'Helen's poetry is a celebration of the ordinary, and her love of nature is ever present in her poetry as well a passionate need to preserve it from human depredations. Wildlife doesn't mind absence of human kind, she assures us.'* Carmen Cullen (author)



Litter picking - Helen with husband Ken. Photograph courtesy Helen Harrison

IRELAND'S WASTE – A POET'S LAMENT

*They picked the ribs clean
Inside the frozen carcass
No waste in nature.*

- Helen Harrison, *Scavenged*

If only humans were the same. Their waste is putting us all to shame.

Ireland is no exception: after a recent report that plastic pollution has entered the human food chain, it's time for strong legislation to tackle this problem. Already much of the harm has been done. "We know they're in the human food chain because they're in fish, the world's oceans, arctic ice and the stomach of marine animals" says Dr Anne Marie Mahon of the Marine and Freshwater Research Centre at the Galway-Mayo Institute of Technology. These results are cause for concern since we all know plastic is carcinogenic and the impact on human health is yet to be discovered. At the moment there is no regulation for micro plastic in here in Ireland.

It is suspected that even 'Sea Salt' is contaminated with plastic.

Many plastic particles such as microbeads are present in toothpaste, face scrubs, cosmetics and cleaning agents, which all cause harm to the marine environment. As far as I and many others are concerned these unnecessary components in our products don't make for beautiful and shiny; only an uglier environment. While there is some hope on the horizon as local Government Minister Simon Coventry has moved to introduce a ban on products containing microbeads, stating that "Microplastic pollution is one of the most significant marine environmental challenges of the 21st century", while also stating that no one country could solve the problem unilaterally. So unfortunately we still have a long way to go. [LINK](#)

Fibres from our synthetic clothing are being found in water from machine washing our clothes. These fibres have been found in Mussels, honey and sea salt. [LINK](#)



Microbeads from an exfoliating daily wash. [LINK](#)

Refundable Scheme, a necessary step for Ireland

Only 14% of the world's waste is recyclable, 8m tons of plastic, much of it packaging ends up in the oceans each year. There will always be pressure for profits from the large corporations. It is up to us to keep the pressure on them to make drastic steps to reduce these harmful products from our shops. Some large companies have developed plant-based alternatives instead of petroleum-based plastic to enable them to break down without contaminating our soil and water, though not enough companies involved to prevent at least 30% of plastic packaging ending up in landfills. One of the things we can do is insist on a 'Refundable Scheme for plastic bottles in Ireland' which will naturally lead to less rubbish entering our environment. Scotland is introducing one & numerous other countries like Germany have deposit refund schemes in place. There is a campaign created by Zero Waste Ireland at present calling for Denis Naughten TD (minister for Climate Action and Environment) to introduce one. Many have been signing and sharing this petition. I was involved in recent local litter picking during April as part of 'tidy-up month' which was taking place countrywide; I learnt lots about the problem of throwaway plastic and much of the rubbish collected from the roadsides were plastic bottles.

We live in a rural community far from shops and takeaways, but still have a significant problem with roadside litter. It should be compulsory for all householders to have to pay for regular bin collections (subsidised for those in the lower wage bracket) as some are just dumping their household waste along roadsides.

'When it comes to waste Ireland landfills more and recycles less than the EU average'.
From the most recent: 'Measuring Irelands Progress CSO report'.

Plastic bags are still being sold in shops. I think change is needed here and people will adapt since humans are one of the most adaptable species on earth. Wildlife won't adapt or recover from the pressure placed on them from human waste.

David Attenborough is all too aware of the danger of plastic and the reality of fish eating them.



Rural Spring clean initiative builds on campaign to tackle litter dumping in rural Ireland. [LINK](#)

"I've just finished a film on them. An albatross chick waiting five weeks for its parents to come back with food, and when the baby opens up its mouth and the mother regurgitates the contents every single thing that comes out is plastic. Everything. Everything. We are destroying Wildlife Habitats through human encroachment? We are going to be on their turf and there's nothing you or I or anybody else can do about it. Population growth of humans is terrifying." - *David Attenborough, Radio Times.*

Use it or Lose it

Those green fields unused
By human hand
Must be reclaimed
As development land,

Says the bird to the bees
Nobody sees,
Wildlife don't mind
Absence of human kind

Speaks the squirrel and mouse
Herron and grouse
To the trees and grass
Where no fox-paws pass.

To the owners of Acres
Ready for takers
Cut flowering wastelands so:
Human waste can grow.

- Helen Harrison



Candess M. Campbell, PhD is the author of the #1 Best-selling book on Amazon, *12 Weeks to Self-Healing: Transforming Pain through Energy Medicine and Live Intuitively: Journal the Wisdom of your Soul*. She is an internationally known Author, Speaker, Intuitive Coach and Mentor and Psychic Medium. She specializes in assisting others to regain their own personal power, develop their intuition and live a life of abundance, happiness, and joy. She specializes in DNA Activation and Karmic Clearing with a group of Ascended Masters called [The Lords of Karma](#), who have been guiding her since she was young. Her business, *Vesta Enterprises* is committed to assisting others to become self-aware and to make positive changes in a safe environment that increases their personal power and enjoyment of life. Dr. Campbell's life work is bridging spirituality and mainstream beliefs to promote and foster healing at all levels. www.candesscampbell.com

Transforming Pain through Energy Medicine: Integrate and Receive

Where Does My Energy Go?

Do you notice you are tired in the morning when you first awake? Do you have a difficult time concentrating? Where does your energy go? I love the work of Caroline Myss—especially her image of the hundred circuits of energy we are given each day. In a course called Medical Intuition Training that she taught in April of 2004, she described these energy circuits as your power or your Spirit. She had us imagine one hundred circuits coming out from the top of our heads. She then asked us to follow the circuits to see where they were going. We imagined that 20% of the circuits were in the future, as people thought about what they were going to do later in the day; 40% in the past, connected to a childhood wound; and 30% in present time, leaving 10% unaccounted for. When your energy is not in present time, you don't have the energy to fuel your body-mind. To be able to heal your body, you need to have a large percentage of your energy in the present. This explains partially why some people are able to heal themselves quickly and others are not. In previous articles in this series you have received several tools to bring your energy back.

Body Work

In the field of integrative medicine, there are many helpful modalities and healing tools. I particularly like Reiki. The knowledge that an unseen energy flows through all living things and is connected directly to the quality of health has been part of the wisdom of many cultures since ancient times and discussed at length in this writing. We have seen how the existence of this life force energy has been verified by recent scientific experiments, and medical doctors are considering the role it plays in the functioning of the immune system and the healing process. Reiki is a form of laying on of hands healing. Its origins have been traced to Tibet. The word Reiki is made of two Japanese words—Rei, which refers to God's Wisdom or the Higher Power, and Ki, which is life force energy. So Reiki is actually life force energy. In China, this energy is called chi or qi; it is known as prana in India, mana in Hawaii, and orenda in Native American cultures. Another name for this energy is aura, which is the electrical force field that surrounds the physical body.

Healing Touch is another energy therapy you may be interested in receiving or learning. It helps to balance your physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual well-being. Like Reiki, Healing Touch works with your energy field to support your natural ability to heal.

Reiki is used to apply life force energy to relieve pain, promote the healing process, revitalize, regenerate, and calm. It differs somewhat from touch healing in that the position of the hands over (or on) the body aligns more closely with the chakras.

Disease begins first on a non-physical level and then manifests on the physical level. Reiki will stimulate the aura and heal at that level. Lack of vitality is the cause of dis-ease in the non-physical, and Reiki stimulates the life force energy in the aura, giving the body more energy and vitality as well. Reiki eases trauma and shock, reduces stress and pain, and keeps tissue damage to a minimum. Your body holds the cellular memory of perfect health within. Reiki assists the body in remembering this perfect health. It is especially helpful for renewal when you find yourself too busy and working without rest. It is a technique for stress reduction and relaxation that allows everyone to tap into an unlimited supply of life force energy to improve health and enhance the quality of life.

Healing Touch

Healing Touch is another energy therapy you may be interested in receiving or learning. It helps to balance your physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual well-being. Like Reiki, Healing Touch works with your energy field to support your natural ability to heal. Founded in 1989 by Janet Mentgen, an RN, Healing Touch was used as a continuing education program for nurses. Today it is used widely in hospitals and other medical settings. You may find many of the massage therapists in your area are also Healing Touch practitioners.

After a car accident in 2006 in which I was rear-ended, I went to a massage therapist friend for treatment. She used Healing Touch on me, and I could immediately feel the energy shift and release. I was impressed. It took the kinks out of my muscles quickly, and I felt like myself again.

Massage Therapy

Many massage therapists will use different techniques to augment their practice, such as hot rock massage and massage with therapeutic oils, but massage alone is very beneficial. It can be a great preventative measure in addition to helping with pain relief. We addressed chi deficiency earlier, and massage can be helpful for this lack of energy. Also, the joints become less elastic as you age, and massage can help keep your muscles, joints, and ligaments more supple.

When I hurt my shoulder in London schlepping my bags around in and out of the Tube, a massage therapist was extremely helpful in releasing the pain and tension in the muscle, as well as teaching me how to employ a pillow while sleeping so the arm could be elevated a little and not strained as I slept. Massage is also very nurturing. If you live alone or don't receive touch, massage is a blessing.

Many massage therapists will use different techniques to augment their practice, such as hot rock massage and massage with therapeutic oils, but massage alone is very beneficial. It can be a great preventative measure in addition to helping with pain relief.

Electromagnetic Protection

According to the online dictionary found at Dictionary.com, electro pollution is defined as:

Nonionizing electromagnetic radiation propagated through the atmosphere by broadcast towers, radar installations, and microwave appliances, and the magnetic fields surrounding electrical appliances and power lines, which is believed to have polluting effects on people and the environment; also called electromagnetic smog.

In Week Ten, we discussed your biofield. Although there is much controversy over what will or will not help protect us from electromagnetic pollution, much of what I have read concludes that there is indeed a problem. Earlier I shared the story of how wearing a pendant helped me to quickly recover my energy and health. My understanding is that the vibrations coming from cell phones, televisions, microwaves, and other items that are plugged into the electrical system are man-made waves, not natural to the environment and not natural to the environment of the human energy field or biofield. The BioPro (now Gia Wellness) pendant supports my body's own self-healing ability by changing the vibration of the electropollution into a wave against which my body can defend itself. There are many studies that support this claim, and I encourage you to decide for yourself. You can learn more [here](#), use your newfound skill of kinesiology, your intuition, or find a combination of the three that works for you. If you decide to use products to protect you from the electromagnetic pollution, there are even more sources that you can find on the Internet.

If you choose not to explore this option, but do believe that electromagnetic pollution is dangerous, here are some things you can do:

1. If you have an electric clock or radio next to your head when you sleep, either get a battery clock or move the clock as far from your sleeping space as you can.
2. Unplug anything that you are not using.
3. If you do not want to unplug items, it is helpful to get power strips so you can plug several items into one strip and turn them all off at once. This works well with computers and printers.
4. If you use a microwave, stand several feet away from the microwave when you are using it.
5. Use land phones when possible, and do not let children use your cell phone.
6. Use headphones rather than Bluetooth earpieces.

The simplest and most productive way to feel good naturally is to meditate in the morning and early evening. Morning is also a good time to stretch, play, move your body, and check in with your body. Experience the outdoors as often as possible, and become conscious of your surroundings.

Manifesting

What you focus on increases. This is a large part of manifesting. Use the following simple steps to bring what you truly desire into your life:

1. Imagine the END result.
2. Clearly IDENTIFY what you want. Write it down.
3. ENVISION what it is that you are manifesting. Use all of your senses.
4. Be RECEPTIVE. Maintain your desires, but be unattached to the specifics of the outcome.
5. Practice an ATTITUDE OF GRATITUDE! Be generous with others.
6. RELEASE any fears or doubts regarding your deserving this manifestation.
7. RECEIVE what comes your way. Be aware of what is coming and be careful not to block the gifts of the Universe.

Overall Health

You have been given a lot of information in this series on [12 Weeks to Self-Healing: Transforming Pain through Energy Medicine](#) and if you have it, in the book. I hope that you are able to reread sections and practice the tools and exercises so that they become daily habits in your life. In summary, ultimately, you create your health by your choices. The external world, including your body, acts as a mirror reflecting your inner beliefs and expectations. Your doing, thinking, and feeling affect all aspects of your physiology, which results in good health or disease, as well as happiness or depression.

The simplest and most productive way to feel good naturally is to meditate in the morning and early evening. Morning is also a good time to stretch, play, move your body, and check in with your body. Experience the outdoors as often as possible, and become conscious of your surroundings. Eat healthy food that is not processed, and eat the largest meal in the middle of the day. Avoid alcohol and other drugs, including sugar. Drink eight glasses of un-chlorinated water daily.

Experience and express your feelings. Take time to understand what you are feeling and the origin of the feeling. See a counselor or a body worker to help you release your feelings. Relax before bed with a book, bath, or some light organizing. Be positive in your thoughts, and allow yourself to belong, to be loving and forgiving, and to experience yourself in a process of health and healing. Take responsibility for your own health. And, I would like to add, be grateful!

The whole process of self-healing involves becoming conscious and activating your own life force energy and directing it consciously. Have fun with this. Use the tools that you find to be the most helpful and share them with friends.

Tools and Exercises

1. Ground yourself, close your eyes, and breathe deeply. Take a moment to imagine you have 100 circuits of energy emanating from the top of your head. See where your energy is going. You can do this by seeing what memories and feelings surface. Do a timed writing for twenty minutes to get more information.
2. Assess your home for electropollution. Research on the Internet what is said to be harmful, and take some precautions by investing in protective products or using the ideas I gave you in this week.
3. Make an appointment for Reiki, Healing Touch, massage, or another nurturing experience. If you do this kind of work as well, do not trade sessions. Allow yourself to receive.
4. Go to your local independent bookstore and spend some time looking through the books. Allow your intuition to take you to the book that will be activating for you.

The whole process of self-healing involves becoming conscious and activating your own life force energy and directing it consciously. Have fun with this. Use the tools that you find to be the most helpful and share them with friends. If you need more support, this audio program will assist you through the process. [LINK](#)

There are a couple of points I have not yet made, but I find them to be very important. The first is to be sure to forgive yourself for anything you may be holding without letting go. Forgive others as well, because as we hold resentments of the past, the resentments hold us much tighter. The second is a word I have learned to love as I embrace it. The word is surrender. The more I have learned to surrender my will to God, the Universe, the Divine ... the simpler my life has become.

When you understand that you are not alone, that there is a part of you that is much wiser and much more capable, it becomes easier to let go and trust that your own Higher Self, your Inner Guide, the Holy Spirit will create for you in a manner beyond what you could imagine yourself.

“Doctor, I’d like a bottle of placebo please.”

www.ozlemsturkishtable.com
www.ozlemwarren.myforever.biz



SEKERPARE

TENDER & MOIST TURKISH SEMOLINA COOKIES IN SYRUP

Sekerpere is a much loved Turkish dessert, made in Turkish homes and a huge favorite of my dear brother-in-law, Mehmet. You can also find Sekerpere in bakeries and patisseries, pastane as we call it, all around in Turkey. Semolina based national favorite Sekerpere would always appear at my mother's tea time spread, during celebrations with family and friends, as well as at religious festivities as when marking the end of Ramadan.

Sekerpere means "a piece of sweet" in Old Turkish and I love the crumbly, lighter texture semolina brings to Sekerpere, it simply melts in your mouth. My version is a little lighter and less sweet, fragrant with lemon juice and lemon zest.

Afiyet Olsun,

Ozlem

TURKEY



Make sure to leave enough space between each sekerpare on the baking tray, as they expand during baking. Pour the cooled syrup over hot Sekerpare and let the Sekerpare cookies absorb the syrup as they cool. Pics © Ozlem Warren

Serves: 20 pieces

Ingredients:

- Zest of 1 small lemon
- 115 gr/ 4 oz. / ½ cup sugar
- 125 gr/ 4 ½ oz. unsalted butter
- 300 gr/ 10 ½ oz. /2 cups plain (all – purpose flour)
- 95 gr / 3 ¼ oz. / ½ cup fine grained semolina
- 2 eggs
- 15 ml/ 1 tbsp. baking powder
- 30 ml/ 2 tbsp. light olive oil (and a little extra to grease the baking tray)
- 20 blanched almonds or hazelnuts
- Small bowl of cold water (to help shape the sekerpare cookies)
- For the syrup:
- Juice of 1 small lemon
- 345 gr/ 12 oz. /1 ½ cup sugar
- 480 ml/ 16 fl. oz. / 2 cups water

Instructions

1. Preheat the oven to 180 C/ 350 F/ Gas mark 4
2. First make the syrup. Grate the lemon zest into a bowl and set aside for the dough.
3. Squeeze the lemon juice into a cup.

OZLEM WARREN



Sekerpare; tender and moist Turkish semolina cookies in syrup. Pic © Ozlem Warren

4. Combine the 345 gr/ 12 oz. /1 ½ cup sugar and 480 ml/ 16 fl. oz. / 2 cups water in a heavy sauce pan over the medium heat and bring to the boil. Stir and let the sugar dissolve.
5. Add the lemon juice, reduce the heat and simmer for a further 15 minutes for the syrup to thicken slightly. Turn the heat off and set the syrup aside to cool.
6. Now, let's make the dough. Gently melt the butter in a small saucepan over low heat (or cut in small chunks and melt in microwave for 30 – 40 seconds, mixing half way).
7. Sift the flour into a large mixing bowl and stir in the semolina. Make a well in the middle and pour in the butter. Stir in the 2 eggs, 115 gr/ 4 oz./ ½ cup sugar, lemon zest, 2 tbsp. light olive oil and the baking powder.
8. Knead for 5 minutes, until you achieve a soft, moist dough. Cover with a damp cloth and set aside to rest for 15 minutes.
9. Have a small bowl of cold water nearby. Knead the dough again for 5 minutes. Then wet your hands lightly with cold water and divide the dough and shape into twenty ping pong sized balls.
10. Grease a baking tray with a little of light olive oil (about 1 tbsp.) and place the sekerpare dough balls side by side, making sure you leave extra space between them to expand. Gently press down on top of each ball to flatten slightly.
11. Push an almond or hazelnut in the center of each sekerpare ball.
12. Bake in the preheated oven for 20 – 25 minutes, until they start to turn light brown.
13. Remove the sekerpare from the oven and pour cooled syrup over hot sekerpare cookies. Leave to cool and let the sekerpare cookies absorb the syrup for 15 minutes; they will get soft and tender.
14. Serve cooled sekerpare with Turkish tea or coffee. You can keep sekerpare cookies covered in a container at room temperature for 2-3 days.

Live Encounters celebrates 7 years 2010-2016

Live encounters

FREE ONLINE MAGAZINE FROM VILLAGE EARTH
JUNE 2017

Photograph by Andre de Haan