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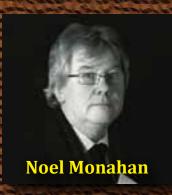
Live encounters

December 2013

Volume One
Free online magazine from village earth



















Guest Editorial

Dr. Ivo Coelho Philosopher & Priest



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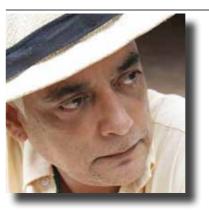
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"You can chain me, you can torture me, you can even destroy this body, but you will never imprison my mind." - Mahatma Gandhi

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Merry Christmas and a Prosperous Peaceful New Year to you all.

Om Shanti Shanti Om

Mark Ulyseas Publisher/Editor

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Islam in Indonesia - The Contest for Society, Ideas and Values **Dr. Carool Kersten**

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The Nonverbal Revolution of Pope Francis

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Natalie Wood

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

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The 1965-66 mass killings in Indonesia: Recent developments towards historical justice Dr. Jemma Purdey

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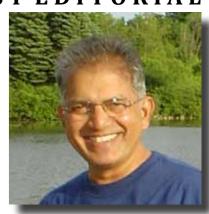


2013 Another year of living foolishly? Mark Ulyseas

This essay was written and published in 2008. Since then I have updated it every year. Except for a few lines here and there the basic essay has remained in its original form. It is a reminder to us that the *inhumanity of humanity* has not changed. In fact it appears to be growing in intensity. Sadly the more things change, the more they remain the same.

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IVO COELHO GUEST EDITORIAL



Dr. Ivo CoelhoPhilosopher, Priest, Author
Rector of Ratisbonne Monastery
Ierusalem



Does Religion Have A Political Role In A Country?

Does religion have a political role in a country? This is a thorny but very actual question, especially in those countries where religions have large and significant presences. We might think most spontaneously of Christianity in its different forms in the West, but we ought to keep in mind also Islam in many countries around the world, Hinduism in India, and Buddhism in several countries of Asia.

The question has a history that is long and *pesante*, heavy, as the Italians would say. After the post-Reformation wars of religion in Europe, for example, there has been a tendency to relegate religion to the private sphere. On the other hand, it is not uncommon for preachers in certain countries around the world to give unambiguous exhortations to direct political action.

In a certain sense, the overlap between religion and politics is inevitable, given that religion is so allencompassing. In my opinion, it would be a poor form of religion that concerned itself only with the hereafter to the exclusion of any concern for the here and now.

I cannot help remembering the question asked to Jesus about paying taxes to Caesar. Jesus is being asked to take a position on the issue of the Roman occupation, and it would seem that, whichever way he answers, he will get into trouble, either with the Romans or else with his own compatriots. His response is wonderful: "Give to Caesar what belongs to Caesar, and to God what belongs to God." I find this astounding. Jesus' questioners are the ones carrying coins with Caesar's image on them. They are, in other words, consenting to the Roman occupation at least in some way. And then, what is it that belongs to Caesar and what to God? Is it not true that, in the final analysis, everything belongs to God, including Caesar and all that belongs to him?

The point is that there is an inevitable overlap between religion and politics, religion and the state. Jesus' answer is profound, but it leaves plenty of room for interpretation, negotiation, learning. And I think we have to learn from history. So I want to say that, despite the fact that everything belongs to God, including Caesar, there is place for the legitimate autonomy of the political sphere. Religion, therefore, cannot become a force that dictates terms to the state. Just as faith does not do away with reason, so religion does not attempt to replace or take over the functions of the state. But it is also true that, just as faith somehow transcends, goes beyond and sublates reason, religion cannot simply withdraw completely from the sphere of the political. So the question before us is not whether religion has anything to do with the state, but simply what its role might be.

One way of putting the matter might be to hold that religion has the role of *Socratic gadfly* – and the more powerless the better. If politics is not merely a mechanism for regulating public life, if its lofty aim is to provide and achieve justice in the here and now for all, then the question inevitably arises, what is justice? And here is where religion is one of several forces that can contribute, by casting light on and by challenging or perhaps inviting to constant and ongoing purification.

Politics tends to be linked to national, special, and even often simply personal interests. Especially when a religion is able to rise above such interests, it can play the role of gadfly, asking questions that no one else seems to be asking, provoking reflection. It will keep in mind, of course, also the fact that Socrates paid for his questioning with his life. So did Jesus, I can't help thinking. He makes shrewd distinctions between Caesar and God, but everything he does has inevitable political implications. He invites himself to spend the night at the house of a Roman collaborator, the tax collector of Jericho, Zacchaeus. He heals the servant of the Roman centurion and even praises the centurion's faith. On the other hand among his disciples there is not only a tax collector but also a zealot, someone who might be termed a terrorist or a patriot, depending on which side we are on. Faced with the ultimate test, however, Jesus does not shirk. To Pilate he says: You say that I am a king, and it is true. But my kingdom is not of this world. I have come to bear witness to the truth.

Jesus is a witness to the truth who does not hate anyone, who is willing to meet and eat with Romans and Samaritans as well as Jews, tax collectors, sex workers, people who like to live it up, but also the more orthodox. He is a witness to the truth who keeps crossing boundaries.

So when John Paul II became instant friends with the young Communist mayor of Rome in the early 1990s, he was not really doing anything new.

And when Jyoti Basu, the Communist chief minister of West Bengal, spent half a silent hour at the body of Mother Teresa, it was not really anything astounding. That is how it should be. We speak, we bear witness to the truth as we see it, but we do not hate, we keep crossing boundaries, we are friends. So when I hear about certain extreme Catholic attitudes towards President Obama, I find myself disturbed. I may not agree with certain of his stances, but I would not be blindly against him. We can work together even if we disagree on certain fundamentals.

GUEST EDITORIAL IVO COELHO

I believe that religions have a right to speak out and say their minds even on delicate issues, and I am fully aware that such speaking out can have large political fallouts, so I hope and pray that a religion that decides to speak out will also be careful not to issue diktats to its faithful. It will speak out, because it is within its rights to speak out. But it will not seek to impose, not even on its own adherents, and it will certainly not stoop to manipulate.



And, besides, religion itself has to keep purifying itself in its concrete incarnations.

A one-track morality frightens me: Catholics, for example, who shout loudly against abortion and homosexuality, but are quite unmoved about war and injustice.

Cardinal Peter Turkson, who was with us here in Jerusalem recently, used a phrase that I like very much: gentle accompaniment. That is a good way of putting it: religion as gently accompanying humanity, politics, as the case may be. Not a heavy-handed religion, not a religion that is *prepotente* or attempting to dominate, but a religion that gently bears witness to the truth. And here, I must say, religion has its own rights to be respected and to be respectfully heard.

Speaking out is not the same as 'interference.' If everyone has a right to speak out and be heard, so do religious bodies. Telling the truth as one sees it is not necessarily 'imposing' oneself on others, and it would be uncharitable to interpret it that way. I believe that religions have a right to speak out and say their minds even on delicate issues, and I am fully aware that such speaking out can have large political fallouts, so I hope and pray that a religion that decides to speak out will also be careful not to issue diktats to its faithful. It will speak out, because it is within its rights to speak out. But it will not seek to impose, not even on its own adherents, and it will certainly not stoop to manipulate.

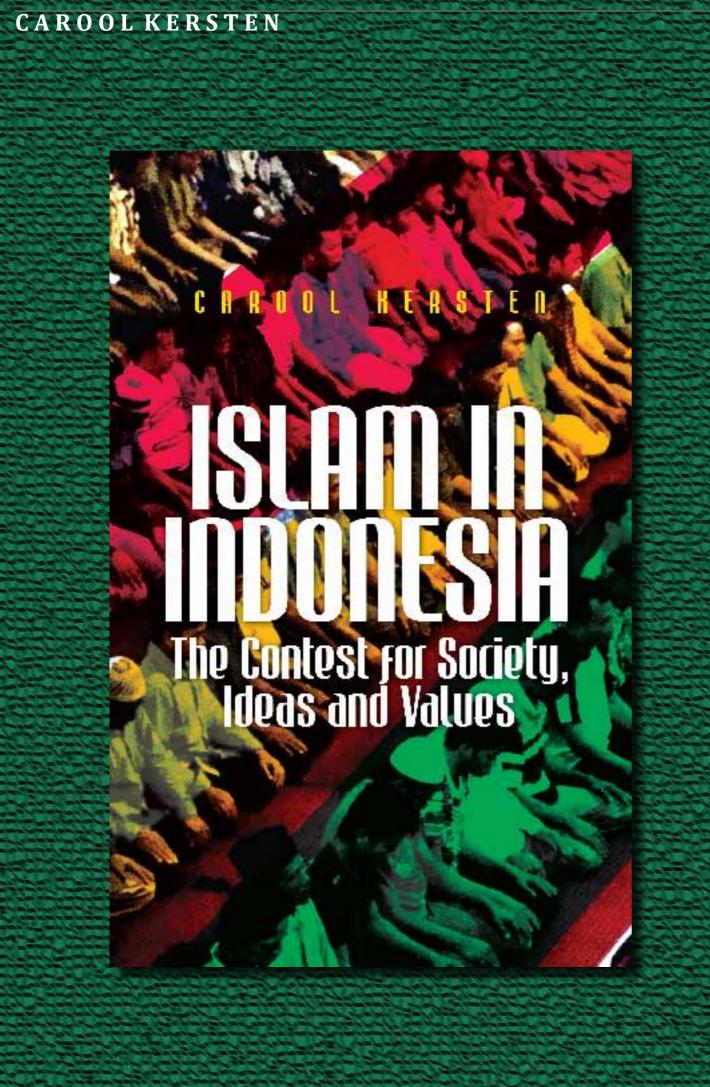
And then there is what Bernard Lonergan calls the dynamic of creation and healing. All religion bears witness also to the existence of Something or Someone by which or whom we are carried beyond ourselves, as it were. We do our little part to improve the lot of humanity, and if we believe, we do it not with cynicism but with hope. Lonergan refers to this component as 'healing': God is at work to redeem, heal, save, in ways that we know and in ways that we do not.

But there is also the component of 'creating'. God's ongoing work does not take away the need for human creativity, for insightful responses to concrete needs, for an ongoing evolution of systems to meet the needs of human beings on smaller or larger scales. Lonergan is engaged in making two points: first, that creating and healing are both necessary: the creative process, when unaccompanied by healing, is distorted and corrupted by bias; but the healing process, when unaccompanied by creating, "is a soul without a body." Second, that moral or religious theorizing needs to arise from intimate knowledge of economic or political processes.

Thus economic theorists are called upon to work out a new type of analysis that acknowledges the inevitable component of human insight and decision in economic process, and that therefore works out how moral precepts have both a basis in economic process and an effective application to it. Moral theorists, on the other hand, must be able to see the need to descend from abstract and lofty moral principles to "specifically economic precepts that arise out of economic process itself and promote its proper functioning." "When physicists are able to think on the basis of indeterminacy, economists can think on the basis of freedom and acknowledge the relevance of morality. Again, when the system that is needed for our collective survival does not exist, then it is futile to excoriate what does exist while blissfully ignoring the task of constructing a technically viable economic system that can be put in its place."

While economics does not coincide with politics, no one will deny that the two are inevitably connected. So while religion might play the role of Socratic gadfly, witness to the truth, or gentle accompaniment, and while it also is a witness to its conviction that there is a component of healing in world process, there is also the fact that believers and religious and moral theorists, like everyone else, are called upon to contribute to the component of creating, so that their invitations to the purification of reason arise from proper familiarity with the economic, social and political processes in question.

And if I am right in my suspicion that this last part of my essay is intolerably vague, I will try to offset this by referring my readers to Lonergan's essay itself, "Healing and Creating in History," found in a collection of his essays entitled simply *A Third Collection*.





Dr. Carool Kersten

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author of Islam in Indonesia

The Contest for Society, Ideas and Values

Published by Hurst Publishers

in an interview with Mark Ulyseas

"Fifteen years after the fall of the Suharto Regime in 1998, Indonesia's Muslims are still pondering what role religion should play in public life. Although the religious violence marring the initial transition towards democratic reform has died down, in the first decade of the 21st century, the Muslim community has polarized into reactionary and progressive camps with increasingly antagonistic views on the place of Islam in Indonesian society. Debates over the underlying principles of the democratization process have further heated up after a fatwa issued by conservative religious scholars condemned secularism, pluralism and liberalism as un-Islamic.

With a hesitant government dominated by Indonesia's eternal political elites failing to take a clear stance, supporters of the decision feel vindicated to pursue their Islamization agendas with renewed vigour, displaying growing intolerance towards other religions and what they consider deviant Muslim minorities. Extremist and radical exponents of this Islamist bloc receive more international media coverage and scholarly attention than their progressive opponents who are defiantly challenging this reactionary trend. Calling for a true transformation of Indonesian society based on democratic principles and respect for human rights, they insist that this process depends on sustained secularization, religious toleration, and freethinking."

- Kersten

The new freedoms that came with the regime change of 1998 opened up the public space to a diversity of voices that had been unheard of before in Indonesia. This meant that not only those drawing inspiration from Cak Nur and other like-minded Muslim activists had new opportunities for further developing and implementing their ideas, on the other side of the spectrum, reactionary Muslims were now also able to openly advocate their political agendas.

One of the interesting things I discovered is that, contrary to what you would expect, Muslims from traditionalist rural backgrounds were more progressive than their urban modernist peers. In their 'intellectual adventurism', they demonstrated a knack for looking back to the tradition and come up with creative reinterpretations of centuries of Islamic learning which are relevant to the present and future of Muslims in Indonesia.

Could you kindly give us an overview of your book?

Islam in Indonesia: The Contest for Society, Ideas and Values is in part a sequel to my previous book, Cosmopolitans and Heretics, in which I examined the work Indonesia's leading Muslim intellectual of the late twentieth century, Nurcholish Madjid (1939-2005) -- more affectionately known as Cak Nur. His writings have been seminal in developing what is often called a liberal or neo-modernist strand of Islamic thinking, because it rejects an Islamic state or even the need for Islamic political parties, arguing that a secular political system should be perfectly acceptable to Muslims because it leaves ample room for the expression of Islamic values. Although he was not associated with either the Muhammadiyah or Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and never joined any political party, his influence did extend into politics and he was instrumental in convincing Suharto to step down in 1998, thus helping to secure the transition into the Reformasi Era. I ended that book noting how the torch has now been passed on to younger generations of progressive-minded Muslim intellectuals and activists. Islam in Indonesia tells their story.

I think it is an important story to tell at this point in time, not only because Indonesia is the most populous Muslim country in the world – a fact that many people are not aware off – but, more importantly, there are valuable lessons to be learned from Indonesia's experiences during the last decade and a half, especially in view of the seismic shifts that are currently taken place in the Arabic-speaking parts of the Muslim world.

The new freedoms that came with the regime change of 1998 opened up the public space to a diversity of voices that had been unheard of before in Indonesia. This meant that not only those drawing inspiration from Cak Nur and other like-minded Muslim activists had new opportunities for further developing and implementing their ideas, on the other side of the spectrum, reactionary Muslims were now also able to openly advocate their political agendas. This resulted in a mushrooming of a wide range of Muslim political parties, civil society initiatives, NGOs, think tanks, and what have you, but it has also led to the emergence of radical and frequently violent vigilante organizations such as FPI, militias involved in inter-religious armed confrontations, such as Laskar Jihad, and even more sinister exponents of Islamic political extremism like JI.

As a consequence, also debates within Indonesia's Muslim community have become more antagonistic, leading to a growing polarization between the various viewpoints of what kind of role religion -- in this case Islam -- should play in Indonesian society. Politicians, the media, and also academics have paid more attention to the reactionary side of the spectrum than to progressive Muslim voices. In my book I want to restore that balance. This has become all the more important following the release of a controversial *fatwa*, or religious legal opinion, by the Indonesian Council of Islamic scholars (MUI), in the summer of 2005. In this document, they condemned the notions of secularism, pluralism

and liberalism as 'un-Islamic'. Not surprisingly this caused quite a stir, splitting Muslims into two camps: supporters and critics of the *fatwa*. For me, this provided both a motive for writing this particular book and a motif around which to organize my narrative.

Concentrating on progressive Muslim intellectuals who have begun to make a name for themselves in the fifteen years that have passed since the fall of New Order, I use the 2005 *fatwa* as a calibration point for gauging to what extent Indonesia has succeeded in becoming a more democratic country. After all, democratization is not just about the ballot box, and organizing free and fair elections and regular intervals.

I argue that, since 2005, the antagonism among Indonesia's Muslims was further aggravated by a conservative turn within the leadership of both traditionalist NU and the modernist Muhammadiyah, and a government that seems to cow tow to conservative and reactionary Muslims. However, younger generations of Muslim activists do no longer slavishly follow their more senior colleagues or former teachers. The progressive voices also do not form a monolithic bloc. To help the readers in finding their bearings in this intellectual cacophony, the beginning of the book maps different schools of thought, which often took shape through critiques of their intellectual mentors from earlier generations.

One of the interesting things I discovered is that, contrary to what you would expect, Muslims from traditionalist rural backgrounds were more progressive than their urban modernist peers. In their 'intellectual adventurism', they demonstrated a knack for looking back to the tradition and come up with creative reinterpretations of centuries of Islamic learning which are relevant to the present and future of Muslims in Indonesia.

The remainder of the book deals with the ways Muslims engage with specific themes affecting Muslim society and its politics, such as the relation between religion, statehood and democracy; the very hotly debated issue of the place of Islamic law in a multi-ethnic and multi-religious country like Indonesia; and questions of universal human rights, tolerance, and religious education. Many of these issues have been contested since Indonesia gained independence.

For example, after 1998, we saw a rerun of the same debates of 1945 whether there should be any mention of Islam in the country's constitution and the need for Muslims to adhere to Islamic law. These attempts were again soundly defeated, and Islamic parties had to find different ways of fulfilling their political agendas. I don't expect there to be any decisive or final outcome to these debates, but the fact that they are taking place will give direction to Indonesia's political future and – ultimately – to what kind of country Indonesia will be.

Indonesia is somewhat unique in the sense that, since 1945, its political system is defined by the Pancasila or Doctrine of Five Principles: The first principle being the need of every Indonesian citizen to belief in a supreme being, without any further identification. In practice, this has resulted in the formal recognition of only a limited number of religions: Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism, Hinduism, and Buddhism. The Chinese tradition of Confucianism has been in and out a few times, and there is still much debate about indigenous spiritual practices alternately referred to as Kejawen, Kebatinan and Kepercayaan.

It is against this background that one has to situate the current debates among Muslims as to the role of Islam in present-day Indonesia. Some Islamist parties have tried to revive the discussions of 1945 and insert a stipulation into the constitution making it mandatory for Muslim citizens to abide by Islamic law.

Is it true that there is a blurring of lines between religion and state with the growing influence of Islam? And do you foresee Indonesia becoming an Islamic State?

Yes, there is a blurring of the lines between religion and state in Indonesia, but this is neither a new phenomenon, nor a result of a supposedly recent growing influence of Islam. It makes Indonesia a very interesting case study for the phenomenon of secularization.

The way the Indonesian republic has handled the relation between religion and state in the almost seventy years of its independent existence prefigures what political and other social scientists have only begun to realize in the last twenty years or so. And that is that modernization has not so much led to a reduction of the importance of organized religion as to a differentiation between the function of religious institutions and that of the state.

Also the claim that in modernizing societies, religion has been relegated to the private sphere can be challenged. The evidence for that does not only come from the Muslim world, empirical research shows that this also applies to countries with Christian majorities. The United States is a prime example: nobody can deny that religion is of great importance to Americans and it is very much present in the public sphere.

Indonesia is somewhat unique in the sense that, since 1945, its political system is defined by the Pancasila or Doctrine of Five Principles: The first principle being the need of every Indonesian citizen to belief in a supreme being, without any further identification. In practice, this has resulted in the formal recognition of only a limited number of religions: Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism, Hinduism, and Buddhism. The Chinese tradition of Confucianism has been in and out a few times, and there is still much debate about indigenous spiritual practices alternately referred to as *Kejawen, Kebatinan* and *Kepercayaan*.

Some observers refer to this as Indonesia's 'soft secularism', which stands in contrast to the 'hard secularism' found in, for example, France, or to mention another Muslim country, Turkey. Since the political success of the AKP, that country has in fact moved closer to the Indonesian situation.

It is against this background that one has to situate the current debates among Muslims as to the role of Islam in present-day Indonesia. Some Islamist parties have tried to revive the discussions of 1945 and insert a stipulation into the constitution making it mandatory for Muslim citizens to abide by Islamic law.

However, this was not just rejected by parties such as Golkar or the PDI-P, but also moderate Muslim parties. Although, in contrast to the New Order years, it is no longer mandated that all political parties

and mass organizations (including Islamic ones such as the Muhammadiyah and the NU) accept Pancasila as their 'sole foundation' or *asas tunggal*, many progressive Muslims remain convinced that the Pancasila forms an important safeguard for pluralism and tolerance in an ethnically and religiously diverse country such as Indonesia.

That is also the reason why they corralled the Pancasila in the wake of the notorious *fatwa* of 2005. Criticizing the condemnation of the principles of secularism, pluralism and liberalism by conservative Muslim scholars because they were supposedly running counter to Islamic values, together with other segments of Indonesian society progressive Muslim circled the wagons to protect the toleration of religious minorities, including Muslim groups which are considered 'deviant sects' by their conservative and reactionary adversaries.

There is no denying that the Islamists remain very vocal, and in the early *Reformasi* years, when there was a momentary breakdown of law and order as the military was forced to retire from its former predominant role in politics and wider Indonesian society, some of the more radical and extremist elements constituted a real danger to the integrity of the state and the fabric of Indonesian society.

Also the release of the 2005 *fatwa* and the conservative turn in important organizations such as the Muhammadiyah and NU is a reason for concern. But at the same time, I think the phenomena which I discuss in my book show that there is also a very substantial counter current of progressive Muslims who have every intention to defend the gains that have undoubtedly been made in turning Indonesia into a more democratic country.

Why, in your opinion, do the radicals get more 'publicity' than those intellectuals who seek to 'democratize' Indonesia, to turn it into a truly 'open' society?

That question can be answered very cynically: Because the actions of radicals are more 'newsworthy' than measured intellectual debates, or average Indonesian Muslims going about their daily business.

And, obviously, the most extremist exponents of Islamism are also a security risk, which means that government bodies dealing with such developments and -- I should add -- academic studies of religious violence will find it a lot easier to secure funding than NGOs involved in community cohesion building or grassroots level development initiatives, let alone scholars – like myself – who are interested in what Muslim intellectuals discuss.

The latter often takes place in scholarly circles or, at the very least, among highly educated Indonesians, who are still a relatively small minority of the total population.

Indonesia's own track record is ambiguous in this respect. Internationally, Megawati Sukarnoputri was one of the first to jump on the Bush bandwagon after 9/11. When Islamic radicalism hit home in Indonesia with bombings in Bali and Jakarta, it briefly seemed that domestically the gloves were coming off too. However, pursuing the mentors of the terrorists was only done half-heartedly. As I have mentioned earlier, especially since 2005, ambivalence and hesitation seem to be the hallmarks of the government attitude vis-à-vis undesirable aspects of Islamic political activism.

Progressive Muslims are countering this 'creeping shariatization' of Indonesian society, not by rejecting Islamic law out of hand, but by pointing at what Shari'a really means. Generally, the term is used as shorthand for 'Islamic law', but that is a misunderstanding. Shari'a is actually a very general principle offering Muslims an ethical code or moral compass for proper Islamic conduct. Concrete stipulations pertaining to dress codes, segregation of the sexes, and the more notorious examples of stoning adulterers or cutting off hands, are not part of that.

There appears to be little resistance from government for it often succumbs to the diktats of extremists: attacks on minorities and places of worship, etc. Please comment.

Since 2005, religious intolerance has certainly been on the rise, affecting not just non-Muslims, but also Muslim minority groups such as the Ahmadis and Shi'ites. That is not only due to the fact that vigilantes such as the FPI feel vindicated by that fatwa, but also due to a government that gives mixed signals. On the one hand, they claim to uphold Pancasila, on the other they refuse to step in when acts of violence are perpetrated against religious minorities. Instead of speaking up for freedom of conviction and expression, the Indonesian government only stepped onto the international stage to propose a UN protocol against blasphemy.

It is very surprising how the incumbent SBY administration has failed to capitalize on the extended and expanded mandate following its 2009 re-election – usually a rare feat for a sitting government. In part this is due to SBY's own passivity and indecisiveness. On the other hand, I believe the resilience and survival instincts of what I call Indonesia's 'perpetual elites' are still holding Indonesian society in its grip. Even fifteen years after *Reformasi*, you still see the same names recurring in politics, business, and even in Muslim circles too. NU leader Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) may have been the first freely elected president Indonesia ever had, but he was the grandson of the founder of the NU, and his father had served as minister of religious affairs under Sukarno, his career was only cut short when he died in a tragic car accident in 1953. Although an opposition figure, throughout the 1980s and 1990s, Gus Dur was very much a fixture of Indonesia's political mainstream. These elites are not adverse from manipulating less savoury elements from Indonesia's social underbelly for their own purposes. The recent statement by the interior minister that the thugs of the FPI should be 'empowered' to play a more prominent role in Indonesia than the vigilante actions and persecutions they have been involved in so far does not bode well. It offers an eerie reminder of the involvement of paramilitary organizations such as the Pemuda Pancasila and the Muslim Ansor in some of the more sinister episodes in Indonesia's recent history.

The continued 'war on terror' and the rising Islamophobia particularly in the West, have been partly instrumental in creating a 'fear psychosis' and thus maligning all Muslims. What affect has this been on Islam in Indonesia?

Indonesia's own track record is ambiguous in this respect. Internationally, Megawati Sukarnoputri was one of the first to jump on the Bush bandwagon after 9/11. When Islamic radicalism hit home in Indonesia with bombings in Bali and Jakarta, it briefly seemed that domestically the gloves were coming off too. However, pursuing the mentors of the terrorists was only done half-heartedly. As I have mentioned earlier, especially since 2005, ambivalence and hesitation seem to be the hallmarks of the government attitude vis-à-vis undesirable aspects of Islamic political activism.

Did the power vacuum left by Suharto become fertile ground for the breeding of Islamic extremists who took the opportunity to impose their sense of religiosity?

Certainly, the initial chaos in the immediate aftermath of the changes taking place in 1998 and 1999 played in the hands of organizations and activists with very dubious agendas. On the other hand, the new openness of *Reformasi* also means that those with whom one disagrees also deserve an open forum to voice their opinions and a platform for developing their agendas for Indonesia's future, provided they stay within the confines of the law, of course. Such challenges are an important test for the robustness of the democratization process. A clear example of this is the issue of the introduction of Islamic law. When it became clear that there would be no reference to Islamic law in the new constitution and that the central government would not enforce Islamic law on a national level, Islamists changed tactics by using one of the achievements of the democratization process under *Reformasi*: The decentralization of Indonesia's state administration and the devolution of powers to regional and local authorities offered a new window of opportunity by introducing Islamic law on these lower levels through so-called 'Local Religious Orders', or *Perda Syariat*, in staunchy Islamic area such as Aceh and certain districts in Java and Sulawesi.

Progressive Muslims are countering this 'creeping shariatization' of Indonesian society, not by rejecting Islamic law out of hand, but by pointing at what Shari'a really means. Generally, the term is used as shorthand for 'Islamic law', but that is a misunderstanding. Shari'a is actually a very general principle offering Muslims an ethical code or moral compass for proper Islamic conduct. Concrete stipulations pertaining to dress codes, segregation of the sexes, and the more notorious examples of stoning adulterers or cutting off hands, are not part of that. They are the outcome of legal practices during the early centuries of Islam's formative period, which were incorporated in a historical body of Islamic jurisprudence, or *fiqh* in Arabic. Such rulings were constantly debated among scholars in order to determine their continuing relevance or obsoleteness. Reactionary Muslims think the only right way forward is to reintroduce these rulings, which by now have become anachronisms.

How can the right thinking educated Muslims of Indonesia repulse this growing trend of radical Islam? How can their voice be heard above the 'war cry' of the extremists who have become the self appointed gendarmes of the faith?

Progressive Muslims try to recapture the spirit of Shari'a by shifting the attention from archaic jurisprudence to the underlying principles developed in a juridical specialism called *maqasid alshari'a*, the 'objectives of shari'a'. In effect, this is a philosophy of law not dissimilar to the natural law debates of the Western tradition. The moral guidelines that can be teased out from such a purpose-based approach to legal debates are fully compatible with a political system such as democracy and with the universal human rights standards that have now gained global acceptance.

...progressive Muslims have been at pains to develop ways of modernizing Indonesian society, including its Muslim segment, without losing its Indonesian distinctiveness. That also means they are just as much opposed to the 'Arabization' of Indonesian Islam. To their mind, the kind of Islam propagated by reactionary Muslims who try to copy their Salafi brethren in the Middle East, is just as alien to Indonesia as many aspects of Western culture. Nurcholish Madjid called his variant Islam Kemodernan Keindonesiaan, while Abdurrahman Wahid spoke of Pribumasi Islam, or the 'indigenization of Islam'.

I am currently a senior lecturer in the study of Islam and the Muslim world. But my interest in that part of the world actually dates back to my high school years in the late 1970s and early 1980s. This was the time of the Iranian revolution, the Camp David accords, and the assassination of the Egyptian President Sadat. The fascination I had for the Middle East made me decide to specialize in this area during my university studies. Eventually, I graduated with an MA in Arabic language and culture, writing a dissertation on Islamic international law.

There is no need whatsoever, progressive Muslim intellectuals argue, to create a parallel alternative Islamic political and human rights system, let alone make certain reservations to these universally accepted standards in terms of the rights of religious minorities or the participation of women.

These debates are far from finished. In fact, when Abdurrahman Wahid was impeached in 2001 due to his mercurial behaviour, supposedly progressives in moderate Muslim parties tried nevertheless to prevent Megawati Sukarnoputri from becoming president because she was a woman. That was a moment when a generation gap became apparent between some of the pioneers of innovative Islamic thinking in the 1970s and the younger generations of progressive Muslims.

Are the radicals using Islam as a weapon to fight the growing 'modernisation' or 'westernisation' of Indonesia because they see it as a threat to Indonesian culture, in the process maligning Islam?

The conflation of modernization with westernization has been plaguing the debates between progressive and reactionary Muslims since the late 1960s. At that time, Nurcholish Madjid -- whom I mentioned at the beginning – was the leader the country's largest Muslim student organization. In 1968 he had written an article in which he argued that modernization meant a rationalization of Muslim thinking, not the wholesale Westernization of Indonesian society and culture.

Since then, progressive Muslims have been at pains to develop ways of modernizing Indonesian society, including its Muslim segment, without losing its Indonesian distinctiveness. That also means they are just as much opposed to the 'Arabization' of Indonesian Islam. To their mind, the kind of Islam propagated by reactionary Muslims who try to copy their Salafi brethren in the Middle East, is just as alien to Indonesia as many aspects of Western culture. Nurcholish Madjid called his variant *Islam Kemodernan Keindonesiaan*, while Abdurrahman Wahid spoke of *Pribumasi Islam*, or the 'indigenization of Islam'.

Younger generations of Muslim intellectuals continue exploring new avenues of this cultural or cosmopolitan Indonesian Islam. They also exhibit a growing assertiveness towards Muslims in the Arab world who very frequently take a rather patronizing attitude towards Indonesians. Many of these Indonesian Muslims are not just fluent in Arabic, but also English and often other foreign languages too. They have spent time abroad, studying at universities in the Middle East, as well as in North America, Europe or Australia. Thus they are not only intimately familiar with the cultural heritage of Islam, but also very well informed of the latest advances of Western academe in the humanities and social sciences. This has led to new intellectual initiatives, which they have presented under names such as 'Islamic post-traditionalism' or 'transformative Islam' and which I have tried to unpack in my book.

Could you give us a glimpse of your life and works?

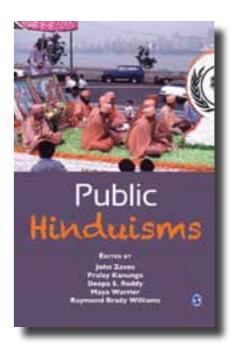
I am originally from the Netherlands, but I have been working at King's College London since 2007, where I am currently a senior lecturer in the study of Islam and the Muslim world. But my interest in that part of the world actually dates back to my high school years in the late 1970s and early 1980s. This was the time of the Iranian revolution, the Camp David accords, and the assassination of the Egyptian President Sadat. The fascination I had for the Middle East made me decide to specialize in this area during my university studies. Eventually, I graduated with an MA in Arabic language and culture, writing a dissertation on Islamic international law.

Subsequently, I found myself working for more than ten years in Saudi Arabia as a translator and personnel manager, interrupted by a sabbatical year during which I went back to my old university in the Netherlands to study philosophy. By the end of 2000, I thought it was time for a real change. Now married and with two children, we moved to Thailand where my wife is from. I gave myself another sabbatical and obtained a diploma in Southeast Asian Studies. Rather unexpectedly, the university offered me a job as an instructor in Asian history and religions, and I also found some time to write two books on the Dutch in Southeast Asia. I became increasingly convinced that I wanted to turn this into an alternative career, and in 2005 I decided to pursue a PhD. With 9/11, the incidents in Indonesia, and new troubles in Thailand's Muslim south just behind us, I was looking for a subject where I could combine my earlier background in Arabic and Islamic studies with my new found interest in Southeast Asia. Having already done a course in Indonesian language during my graduate and postgraduate studies in the Netherlands, I applied to the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) in London to write a thesis comparing three contemporary Muslim intellectuals from Indonesia, Egypt, and Algeria, which also became the basis for the book *Cosmopolitans and Heretics*.

I was exceptionally fortunate to be offered a job at King's College London even before I had finished my PhD. Since then, I have been involved in a variety of research projects on contemporary Islam. This has resulted in book collaborations on the caliphate and on new strands in Islamic thinking and the consequences for religious authority. My next writing project will be yet another book on Indonesia, this time a history of Islam for the Islamic surveys book series published by Edinburgh University Press. When that is finished I can dedicate myself to another contract I have signed with Routledge for an overview of contemporary Muslim thought, in which I also envisage saying something about the repercussions of the Arab uprisings for Muslim thinking in the present-day world.

Apart from indulging in research, I continue to teach and advise PhD students. Being based in London, I also have regular opportunity to comment in the media on current affairs in the Muslim world.





Dr. John Zavos

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Public Hinduisms

Published by Sage Publications

Late in 2005 a controversy unexpectedly surfaced in the everyday procedures of the California State Board of Education. In the course of a public consultation exercise which forms a regular part of its review of Social Science and History textbooks for use in public schools, the Board ran into some diametrically opposed views about references to Hinduism and Indian history. The initial protagonists in this controversy were, on the one hand, two Hindu groups, the Hindu Education Foundation (HEF) and the Vedic Foundation (VF) who had suggested some edits to the textbooks, and on the other, Michael Witzel, Professor of Sanskrit and Indian Studies at Harvard University, who had written a letter supported and signed by nearly 50 other academics from around the world, objecting to the involvement of these two Hindu groups. Deepa Reddy, one of the contributors to a recent book entitled *Public Hinduisms*, takes up the story:

public awareness of the controversy was growing and various groups representing disparate sets of interests began to identify their positions vis-à-vis the issues. ...An array of groups joined in the chorus of opposition to the HEF/VF edits; most prominent among these were the Friends of South Asia, Federation of Tamil Sangams of North America, and the Coalition Against Communalism. Their opposition then precipitated further public debate: the Hindu American Foundation supported the HEF/VF edits, as did many other far more loosely organized groups and individuals (academics and others) writing into local media or directly to the SBE.

And so the controversy rumbled on, echoing to some extent a similar controversy that had emerged a few years earlier in India, where the National Council of Educational Research and Training was similarly embroiled in a struggle over historical representations in school textbooks. The way in which these controversies developed demonstrates a fundamental point about religions and the communities associated with them: public representation is an unpredictable, sometimes fraught process, both framed and influenced by a range of agents, both 'within' and 'outside' the fuzzy boundaries of the community itself.

PUBLIC HINDUISMS JOHN ZAVOS

This is an edited volume with a title that challenges the reader to think carefully about the concept at its heart. It purports to study Hinduisms, rather than Hinduism, invoking a plurality justified by reference to theoretical work over the last twenty years or so which has emphasised the constructed nature of the concept of Hinduism (and in fact, of the concept of 'religion' on which it is based). This current volume explores how these historical processes have played out in the era of postcolonialism, how the idea of Hinduism continues to be produced in the complex public arenas of the contemporary world.

The importance of politics in the process of public representation means that there is one modern phenomenon associated with Hinduism which cannot be ignored in this book: the ideas and actions associated with Hindutva or Hindu nationalism. The book embraces this challenge, but the approach is influenced by a recognition, gleaned through the many debates that shaped the intellectual approaches in the volume, that this phenomenon has to be comprehensively situated – socially, culturally, religiously. We can only understand its development if we recognise the loose weaves through which it appears in the everyday articulations of Hindu-ness across the globe.

The book from which the above quotation is drawn is concerned with this process. It looks at modern Hinduism, and the practices of Hindus in some areas of the world where this religion has a particularly significant public presence. India, not surprisingly, is at the heart of this study, but it also looks at the ways that Hindus have asserted and maintained a public presence for the religion in two key diaspora contexts: the US and the UK, where large numbers of Hindu migrants have settled over the past 50 years. Of course, this is by no means an exhaustive study geographically: Hindus are spread much more broadly than this. But it does provide some critical interventions focused on these three important sites, providing some models for further research on this important and rapidly developing field.

This is an edited volume with a title that challenges the reader to think carefully about the concept at its heart. It purports to study Hinduisms, rather than Hinduism, invoking a plurality justified by reference to theoretical work over the last twenty years or so which has emphasised the constructed nature of the concept of Hinduism (and in fact, of the concept of 'religion' on which it is based). Lots of work has looked at the ways in which the varied traditions of South Asia were brought together through a range of discourses in the early modern and colonial period, organised or even, some argue, disciplined by an overarching discourse of religion which articulated those traditions as a religious 'system' called Hinduism. This current volume explores how these historical processes have played out in the era of postcolonialism, how the idea of Hinduism continues to be produced in the complex public arenas of the contemporary world.

Not all public representations of Hinduism are as hotly contested as those in the so-called California Textbook controversy described at the start of this article. But more generally speaking, the book argues that the processes involved are implicitly political (often with a small 'p'), in that they involve the public assertion of particular representations by particular groups; a claim to the power of representation, then, which may or may not be contested, depending on contexts and on the relative power of other groups with an interest. All this may sound rather general, and it has to be so, as the processes that the book theme encompasses are multidimensional, from the birth anniversary celebrations of the Nath Yogi sampradaya (or Hindu sect) in a Rajasthani ashram, to the representations of Hindu deities on underwear, toilets and even chocolates by various US companies.

As this suggests, just as there are a diversity of Hinduisms to take into account, there are also a wide range of public spaces that are potential sites for the representation of religious identities. In the contemporary world of advanced communication and media technologies, the complexity of these public spaces – how they relate to, interact and overlap with each other – is intensified. For example, our understanding of the development of Hindu communities has long been framed by the location of these communities 'at home' in India, or 'away from home' in the diaspora.

Many of the papers in this book, however, demonstrate that this divide is being progressively breached, as the internet and other forms of virtual public space provide new and critical avenues to representation, which are not constrained by national, or, for that matter, any other geospatial contexts. One organisation which has done much to develop its presence in these environments is the Bochasanwasi Sri Akshar Purushottam Swaminarayan Sanstha, a comparatively modern sampradaya which was established in Gujarat in western India, but now has a global reach and sophisticated internet presence. The book explores this organisation through four articles, including one focused explicitly on its websites.

The importance of politics in the process of public representation means that there is one modern phenomenon associated with Hinduism which cannot be ignored in this book: the ideas and actions associated with *Hindutva* or Hindu nationalism. The book embraces this challenge, but the approach is influenced by a recognition, gleaned through the many debates that shaped the intellectual approaches in the volume, that this phenomenon has to be comprehensively situated – socially, culturally, religiously. This approach challenges what the editorial group perceives as a damaging faultline in some previous scholarship, isolating the politics of Hindu nationalism from broader developments in the articulation of Hinduism as a religion. The book locates Hindu nationalism in this broader perspective, exploring the continuities and ruptures which inform the relationship between Hindu nationalism and movements and ideas which are not manifestly part of this project. This is evident, for example, in chapters which explore such diverse organisations as the Krishna Pranami sampradaya and the Hindu Forum of Britain, and resonant diaspora ideas like the 'practising Hindu'. Pathologising Hindu nationalism does not lead to critical clarity. We can only understand its development if we recognise the loose weaves through which it appears in the everyday articulations of Hindu-ness across the globe.

Such insights point to a complex and developing set of ideas underpinning manifestations of public Hinduisms. The project from which this book is drawn seeks to continue to explore these manifestations, not just in and across the three countries that form the focus here, but more generally as a feature of the contemporary world. Recently, I have produced an article on the development of public Hinduism in the context of the European Union, and Europe more generally LINK.

Other recent work on this area of study includes a book entitled *The Guru in South Asia: New Inter-disciplinary Perspectives* **LINK**. This book is edited by Jacob Copeman and Aya Ikegame, two scholars who took part in the network debates which also produced *Public Hinduisms*. These developments show how the research agendas explored in the *Public Hinduisms* project have been sustained, and the steering group is now looking to develop these agendas through further research and productive scholarly debate. Please refer to the network website for news of these developments **LINK**.

This article is an excerpt from his forthcoming book on Gandhi and the Popes.

The Nonverbal Revolution of Pope Francis



with a little help from McLuhan



Pope Francis kisses the feet of the poor, Photograph: blogs.telegraph.co.uk

Catholic anthropology appreciates and nurtures symbols and sacraments as essential vehicles of faith expressed and grace received. But Bergoglio's battery of startling and unexpected modifications meant that the changes were not unintended. They betrayed a steely determination to by-pass conventional codes and petrified habits accumulated over centuries. The fact that they were done in full view of his flock of over one billion members across the world gave them an intensely revolutionary emphasis. His biographer, Andrea Tornielli confirms: "In a single stroke, some displays and rituals of the papal court seemed to belong to a bygone era."

Pope Francis later explained: "I want a Church that is poor!"

And, his nonverbal communication effectively added, 'I want the change to begin with me!'

Dr. Peter Gonsalves

Associate Professor, Faculty of the Sciences of Communication Salesian Pontifical University, Rome

As I put the finishing touches to this article in the second week of October 2013, Jorge Mario Bergoglio is entering his eighth month as Pope Francis. In a little over two hundred days of his papacy, he has already secured a special place in history for the informal titles he has garnered ever since he assumed office in mid-March. He has been called 'the pope of surprises', 'the pope for the poor', 'the people's pope', 'a miracle of humility in an age of vanity', 'a man of peace and purpose and a voice for the voiceless'. One journalist called him 'the least popey Pope in papal history'. Most Vatican observers are convinced that an unprecedented 'revolution is underway'.

Undoubtedly, during his first seven months Pope Francis has set the tone of his papacy which has led to a change in the public perception of the Catholic Church. News reports have recorded a major transformation marked by an increase in attendance at church services and a renewed interest in Catholic charities. This global phenomenon, perhaps the most talked-about of the year 2013, has been christened the 'Bergoglio Effect' and the 'Francis Effect'.

It has also taken the mass media by storm. During his first hundred days in office, news agencies and mass media companies aggressively vied with each other to be the first to publish a new episode, a striking metaphor, a catchy photograph or a touching sermon. Statistics of social networking sites registered a giant leap in papal enthusiasm. At the end of March, barely two weeks after his appearance, data revealed that Pope Francis was being 'searched', 'followed' and 'shared' by billions.

It all began at the loggia of St. Peter's Basilica. As soon as Pope Francis emerged from behind the red curtains, he smiled, waved and then stood motionless as the band played and the people in the square cheered enthusiastically. He greeted them and invited them to pray for the bishop emeritus, Benedict XVI, for the Church of Rome, and for the whole world. He concluded in a manner that was to bring to light his most visible characteristic: humility.

And now I would like to give the blessing, but first – first I ask a favour of you: before the Bishop blesses his people, I ask you to pray to the Lord that he will bless me: the prayer of the people asking the blessing for their Bishop. Let us make this prayer in silence: your prayer over me.1

THE NONVERBAL REVOLUTION OF POPE FRANCIS



Francis washed the feet of a dozen inmates (including the feet of two girls - a Serbian Muslim and an Italian Catholic) - at a juvenile detention center in a Holy Thursday ritual that he celebrated for years as archbishop and is continuing now that he is pope.

Yet, even before his greeting, his very appearance had broken through centuries of sacrosanct papal tradition. Arthur Urbano, a scholar of early Christianity who has studied the representation of clothing in early Christian literature and art, highlights the revolutionary aspects of Bergoglio's attire.

From his first appearance, Pope Francis has communicated his vision of the Petrine ministry through a visual code of sartorial choices. When he first appeared on the balcony of St. Peter's Basilica, what he was wearing—and in this case, what he was not wearing—spoke volumes before he even said his now famous "Buona sera!" That Francis chose not to wear the red mozzetta [cape] with white ermine trim and the gold embroidered papal stole – a tradition since at least the time of Pope Pius XI's election in 1922 went unnoticed by most, but to those who understood the language of ecclesiastical garments, this was a shout. Moreover, instead of the gold pectoral cross, Francis emerged wearing the silver cross he had worn as bishop of Buenos Aires. He donned the stole for the papal blessing, then promptly removed it. Like his choice of the name of Francis, the new pope was sending several messages, not all of them immediately clear. 2

More 'messages' made the headlines in the weeks that followed. His papal ring would neither be brand new nor solid gold, just gold-plated silver made from a mold created for Pope Paul VI. His papal shoes would not be elegant crimson like those of his predecessors but ordinary black like the common man. Hours after his appearance, he chose to return to the hotel with his fellow cardinals in a bus rather than in the escorted papal limousine. At the hotel he collected his belongings and showed up at the reception to pay his own pre-conclave hotel bill. He shunned life in the papal apartments – the opulent 12-plus-room in the Apostolic Palace overlooking St. Peter's Square – choosing instead to reside in a more modest accommodation at the Vatican's guest house.

The morning after he travelled with his Cardinal-electors to the hotel by bus, he presided at the mass but did not read the speech prepared by the Secretary of State, as was the long-standing tradition. He spoke off the cuff, commenting on the Scripture readings while maintaining eye contact with his audience. He stood as he preached and without the mitre – unlike his predecessors who read the homily while



Photograph: www.telegraph.co.uk

seated on the papal throne. As for his mitre, it was not embroidered in gold but made of simple cloth like the one he used in Buenos Aires.

Catholic anthropology appreciates and nurtures symbols and sacraments as essential vehicles of faith expressed and grace received. But Bergoglio's battery of startling and unexpected modifications meant that the changes were not unintended. They betrayed a steely determination to by-pass conventional codes and petrified habits accumulated over centuries. The fact that they were done in full view of his flock of over one billion members across the world gave them an intensely revolutionary emphasis. His biographer, Andrea Tornielli confirms: "In a single stroke, some displays and rituals of the papal court seemed to belong to a bygone era." Pope Francis later explained: "I want a Church that is poor!" And, his nonverbal communication effectively added, 'I want the change to begin with me!'

Two weeks after his election, on Holy Thursday, he began by demonstrating the type of Church he wanted to see. It was the day Catholics commemorate how Jesus invited his apostles to be servant-leaders by bending down to wash their feet. It was an action that was reserved for Roman slaves not for teachers. Like Jesus, Pope Francis was transgressing the dictates of dramaturgical conventions. Whereas his predecessors used to wash the feet of twelve priests amidst sacrosanct symbolism in the gigantic Archbasilica of St. John Lateran at the heart of Rome, Pope Francis reached out to the nondescript Casal del Marmo Juvenile Detention Center and knelt down to wash the feet of twelve young offenders, ten boys and two girls, not all of them Catholics.

In the weeks and months that followed, there were more significant 'massages' in servant-leader-ship. He visited sick children and their parents at a local hospital. He celebrated the feast of the Trinity with parishioners on the outskirts of Rome.

In summer, while many in Rome were holidaying, he set out for the small Italian island of Lampedusa, the first port of call for illegal immigrants from parts of Africa. He paid a visit to the people of Varginha, located within the favela of Manguinhosto in the north of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. He dropped in at the Jesuit-Run Astalli Center that receives thousands seeking asylum in the heart of Rome. Here he spent time listening to refugees and consoling them with words of hope.

THE NONVERBAL REVOLUTION OF POPE FRANCIS

Marshall McLuhan's opinion of the body as the foundation of media extensions that cut across barriers of space, time, speed and memory has found in Pope Francis a unique exemplar. His body – the warmth of his physical presence, his smile, his gestures, his eye-contact, his hugs and kisses, his interaction with people, his simple living – is his primary message. His revolutionary concern is not merely about a change of content in sermons, rituals and texts. It is about being and becoming an embodied 'culture of encounter' – a whole new environment within which processes gravitate towards making a 'welcoming church' the norm. Not a Church that is centred on its own ideology but one that reaches far out to soothe and heal.

Even babies were caressed by his tender touch. The number of children he kissed, hugged and blessed earned him the title, 'Daddy Francis'. It was conferred on him by Vincenzo Paglia, President of the Pontifical Council for the Family. And children seem to have endorsed it with their spontaneity in his presence – like the embrace of little Nathan De Brito from Brazil who was overwhelmed by the joy of sharing his deepest desire to be a priest; or the 'boy in yellow' who wandered onto the stage to hang out with him, to hug him and even occupy his chair while he spoke to more than 100,000 families from 75 countries on World Family Day.

Intended or unintended gestures like these, display a capacity for lucid, highly effective nonverbal communication that inspires and motivates millions. Through humanely relevant choices on what to wear, how to travel, where to live, how to relate with people, Pope Francis has inadvertently given prime emphasis to the role of his 'body', his embodied self. It would become the visible justification on which to build and promote the revolution that he hopes to see in his Church.

Consequently, he earned the moral authority to challenge young people to go against the tide of materialism by beginning with their lives; to admonish a German bishop for a lifestyle that was not in conformity with his preaching; to dare his priests and bishops to abandon careerism and mediocrity with a forthrightness that was unlike any of his immediate predecessors.

Marshall McLuhan's opinion of the body as the foundation of media extensions that cut across barriers of space, time, speed and memory has found in Pope Francis a unique exemplar.

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It is about being and becoming an embodied 'culture of encounter' – a whole new environment within which processes gravitate towards making a 'welcoming church' the norm. Not a Church that is centred on its own ideology but one that reaches far out to soothe and heal.

PETER GONSALVES



Photograph: www.telegraph.co.uk

Not merely 'a Church for the poor' as described in dozens of encyclicals, but also 'a poor Church', the natural home of the marginalized and 'a field hospital after battle'. The medium is the message yet again: the Pope's visible openness is the McLuhanian 'light bulb' that makes it possible for the Church to light up the world with its embrace.

An important detail has been added to the tomes of papal history: Pope Francis' revolutionary symbolic actions speak louder than any encyclical ever written, and perhaps louder than any encyclical that even he is likely to write.

Peter Gonsalves is the author of *Clothing for Liberation, a Communication Analysis of Gandhi's Swadeshi Revolution,* (Sage, 2010) and *Khadi: Gandhi's Mega-Symbol of Subversion* (Sage, 2012). The above article is an excerpt from his forthcoming book on Gandhi and the Popes. He teaches the Sciences of Social Communication at Salesian Pontifical University, Rome.

^{1.} Translation based on live telecast of Pope Francis' Apostolic Blessing "Urbi et Orbi" in Vatican.va, 13-03-2013, http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/francesco/elezione/index_en.htm (15-03-2013).

^{2.} Arthur P. Urbano, "Clothes and the Man, How popes communicate through clothing", in America, 30-05-2013, http://americamagazine.org/issue/clothes-and-man (14-06-2013).

^{3.} Andrea Tornielli, Jorge Mario Bergoglio Francis, Pope of a New World, Bangalore, ATC, 2013, 135-136.

^{4.} Philip Pullella and Catherine Hornby, "Pope Francis wants Church to be poor, and for the poor", Reuters, Vatican City, 16-03- 2013, http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/03/16/us-pope-poor-idUSBRE-92F05P20130316 (24-03-2013)

^{5.} McLuhan liked to play with the words 'message' and 'massage', with the conviction that over time, any technological medium creates an environment that structures the way communication takes place independently of the content that is transmitted.

GALILEE NATALIE WOOD



GLEANINGS

"And when ye reap the harvest of your land, thou shalt not wholly reap the corner of thy field, neither shalt thou gather the gleaning of thy harvest" (Leviticus 19:9).

Jewish tradition so prizes the tender, pastoral story of the convert, Ruth that the text is placed next to *The Song of Songs* in *The Tenach* – Hebrew Biblical Canon.

"Her mother-in-law said to her, 'Where have you picked today and where have you wrought? May your benefactor be blessed" (Ruth 2:19).

It's therefore natural for it to have prompted some of English literature's most cherished works, including John Keats's verse (below) and Somerset Maugham's story, *The Alien Corn*.

"Perhaps the self-same song that found a path Through the sad heart of Ruth, when, sick for home, She stood in tears amid the alien corn"

'Ode to a Nightingale' – John Keats

The poet and the master prose writer both turned the biblical tale upside down, making their subjects mourn their emotional exile, whereas Ruth was anxious to leave Moab to return to Judea with Naomi, her widowed mother-in-law and to be part of Israelite society.

I was aged only 16 when I first saw Maugham's story adapted for television and was captivated by the romantic anguish of the failed musician who killed himself. But reading the original as an adult, it becomes clear that the author, a closet bi-sexual in an age when practising homosexuality was illegal, wrote it to reflect his own sense of isolation and estrangement.

While the plot and characterisation are pervaded by the popular anti-Jewish stereotypes of the European inter-war years, in real life Maugham was personally friendly with Jews. So I insist that *The Alien Corn* cannot be about wealthy German Jews desperate to be accepted as members of the British aristocracy. Instead, I view it as an extended metaphor for Maugham's personal condition, representing first his family who uprooted themselves from Yorkshire to become urbane metropolitans and then himself, someone who was not only unable to satisfy his voracious sexuality but was forced also to acknowledge that his own talent, like that of the would-be pianist, George Bland was no more than "in the very front row of the second rate".

Hungry Israeli Kids? That's Hard To Stomach!

All of this returns me to present-day Israel where it doesn't take the droppings from a back-breaking investigation to discover that in barely a decade **Leket** ('Gleanings') has become the country's largest charitable food bank and food rescue network.

Arriving as a western immigrant I was surprised to learn that about one-third of Karmiel residents lived on benefits. This is not just an Arab issue as the only real poverty I've witnessed has been among former Russians, like the man scavenging for cigarette butts in a public dustbin or another ahead of me at a supermarket check-out paying for his goods with a thick wad of vouchers.

The cost of living in Israel is at least twenty per cent higher than in Europe yet jobs are hard to find and wages are very low. How do people balance this paradox? I've been told that if they earn enough to open a bank account, they live on permanent overdrafts! But the strange anomaly of being urged to emigrate to Israel – to live in the Jewish State but without the means to enjoy it - is no laughing matter for those at the sharp end.

Some privation is self-inflicted by people who simply refuse to work. More is suffered by new immigrants from countries like Ethiopia who arrive after extraordinarily courageous journeys with only the clothes they wear and then discover they face many more years of grinding poverty while they become accustomed to western life. But most upsetting is the apparently unending line of needy school children whom Leket helps to feed daily.

This is what hurts: Leket estimates that 1.9M Israelis live in poverty and "... nearly a quarter of the country's population suffers from an imbalanced or insufficient diet" due to that hardship. Indeed, if Leket did not do its sterling work, about 850,000 Israeli children of all backgrounds would go hungry each day while hundreds of thousands of tons of food would simply rot away.

No matter where they live, there are always those on the poverty line and below who are constitutionally unable to provide even the basics for themselves as they do not understand how to budget and find it difficult to save. These are the type of people who need help.

When I volunteered during the summer at Leket's storage depot in Nesher, Haifa, I met other volunteers along with paid staff who confirmed that Leket also assists Israel's 'at-risk' sector and the non-profit organisations which offer nutrition education among other facilities.

GALILEE NATALIE WOOD



But when I helped to sort vegetables and load crates at the depot or enjoyed a couple of invigorating sessions pulling turnips and kohlrabi from Leket's specially designated field at Moshav Nahalal in the Jezreel Valley, I was only one of 45,000 volunteers helping in a wide range of activities which include rescuing more than 770,000 hot meals, 110,000 loaves of bread and more than 18M pounds of produce and perishable goods. Other volunteers make more than 7,600 sandwiches each day to feed underprivileged children at 113 schools in more than 30 cities throughout Israel. Furthermore, food is reclaimed from hundreds of suppliers which is then redistributed to 190 non-profit organisations which help a wide range of people of all ethnic groups. No-one, no matter their background, is denied assistance. My most recent volunteer picking session took place in September during the harvest festival of Succot – Tabernacles when I was part of a very large crowd which pulled 95,000 lbs of kohlrabi to help feed more than 12,000 needy families. These sessions invariably exude a jolly party atmosphere so it's no wonder that families celebrating a barmitzvah or batmitzvah often participate as a treat which ends with the child receiving a commemorative certificate to mark the day. Even less surprising is that this year's World Food Day harvesting project became so popular that some applicants had to be turned away!

Before closing, I want to commend Leket Israel for producing an outstandingly attractive website which displays its aims and achievements while offering readers an ingenious look at traditional Jewish 'soul food': Its new 'Parasha (Biblical portion) Project' involves celebrated scholars offering bi-lingual food-related commentaries on the biblical portion of the week. Their essays are supported by relevant recipes from well-known food writers and chefs. Typical was the commentary and accompanying recipe for the week ending Sabbath 09 November when the study passage was written by US poet Professor Alicia Ostriker of Rutgers University while the recipe for 'Sinyeh - Kebab Patties baked in Tahini' - came from Miriam Kresh of Israeli Kitchen.com.

Sinyeh - Kebab Patties baked in Tahini

Ingredients for Kebabs

- 1 kg/2 lbs ground lamb (beef, turkey or chicken may be substituted), coarsely ground
- 2 tablespoons olive oil or, if available, 25 gr./1 oz. ground lamb fat
- 1/2 onion, chopped fine or grated into the meat
- 1 heaped teaspoon finely chopped garlic
- 1/2 bunch fresh parsley, chopped fine
- Salt and freshly ground black pepper.



Recipe and Picture © Miriam Kresh, www.israelikitchen.com - miriamkresh1@gmail.com

Tahini

2 cups (use unprocessed tahini paste straight from the jar, preferably whole-grain) Juice of 2 lemons

1 cup of cold water (important that it be cold)

1 large clove garlic

1/2 teaspoon salt

Note: do not use shop-bought ready-to-eat tahini. It will separate in cooking.

Vegetables:

1 onion, sliced

1 bell pepper, any colour, sliced

1 large tomato, sliced

1 lemon, sliced thinly

Mix all the kebab ingredients. Cover and put in refrigerator to mellow for 30 minutes.

Prepare the tahini. Mix all the ingredients, stirring with a whisk. The mixture might be lumpy at first. Don't worry; keep stirring. If it is too thick, add a little more cold water. The consistency should be thin. It will thicken with cooking.

Correct taste. It should be lemony.

Preheat oven to 180°C. - 350°F.

Roll kebabs into 5 cm/2" balls. Sauté, in batches, in olive oil until browned on both sides but not cooked through. Remove to a platter.

Add the onion and bell pepper to the hot oil used for frying the kebabs. Fry 2-3 minutes until onion just starts to change colour.

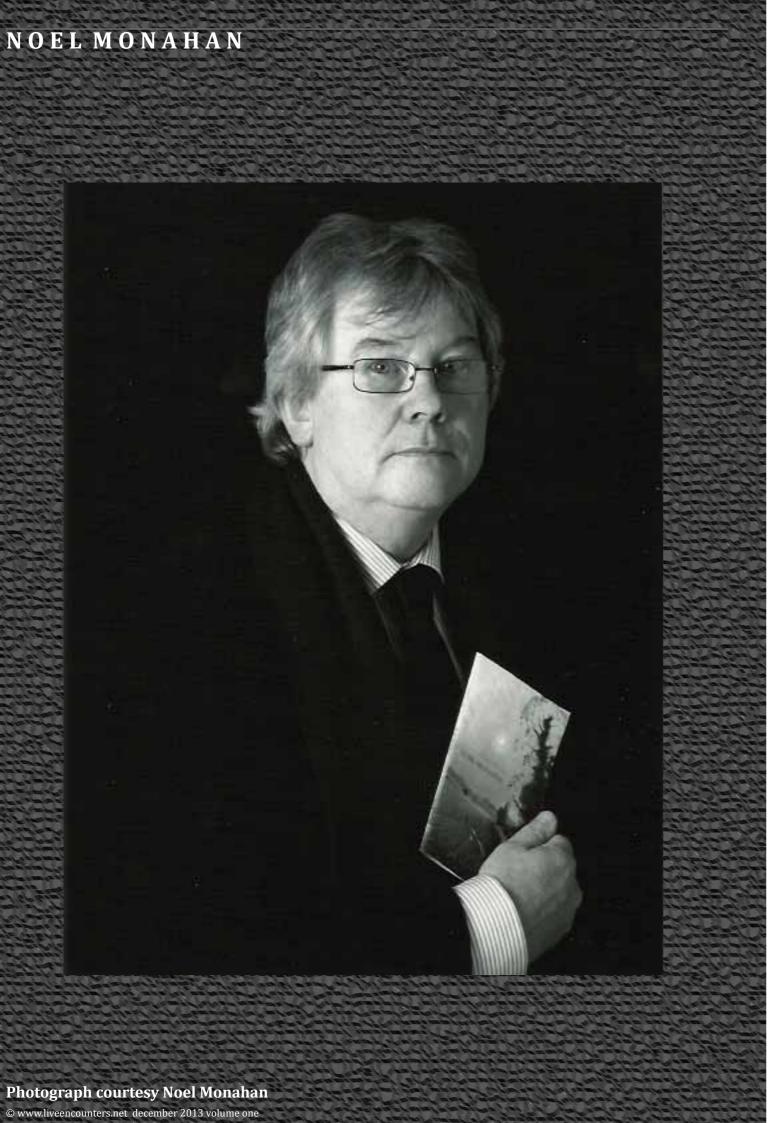
Place kebabs on a clean frying pan (or oven tray). Cover with fried onion and bell pepper slices. Scatter sliced tomato and lemon over all.

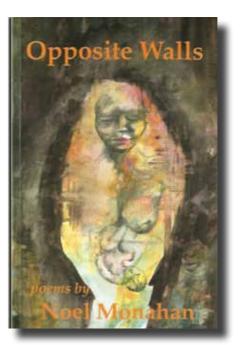
Pour tahini over the kebabs and jostle the pan a little so it seeps between the kebabs and spreads evenly. Place the frying pan over medium heat or oven tray in oven.

Cook for 5 minutes, until the tahini thickens and changes colour from white to light brown.

Look for the golden-tinged edges.

Serve with plenty of pita to mop up the sauce.





Noel Monahan Celebrated Irish Poet speaks on a United Ireland to Mark Ulyseas

"Geographically, the island of Ireland is incomplete because the Northern part of the country is separated. Now one of the distinctive features of nationalism is the perception and recognition of geographic islands as one unit and supposedly governed by one authority. But life is not as simple as this. You see, the Ulster Plantation in 1609 was the most successful plantation in Ireland. Its effective colonisation plan planted a new people in the North. Their race, religion and cultural background were different. They have occupied these parts since the early 17th century. They have kept themselves apart from the South of Ireland. They have pledged their loyalty to England and were closely associated with the greater industrial revolution there. It is occupied territory but that happened over 400 years ago.

Many countries have been occupied in Europe since then. Are we to redress the wrongs of the 17th century? Are we to continue the historical conflicts? We cannot expect to force a people against their will and squeeze them into a geographic unit of a so called united Ireland.

Let us respect our differences. Let us enjoy the different cultures. Let us continue to work towards peace."

- Monahan

Above: Noel Monahan's first collection of poems titled Opposite Walls, 1991

UNITED IRELAND

NOEL MONAHAN

The Gaelic word draiocht, meaning magic, has the same root form as druid, so we can assume the druids were associated with magic of some kind. There are many gods mentioned in Irish Celtic legends. The more prominent being: Ogma, Brigid, Lugh, Nuada and the fearsome Crom Cruach. Crom Cruach had twelve sub gods and it is generally accepted that he received human sacrifice. His place of veneration was Magh Slecht in Co. Cavan.

The Nine Years War 1594-1603 resulted in the military defeat of the Irish chieftains of Ulster. This defeat brought about what is known in Irish history as The Flight of The Earls. Irish chieftains like O'Neill and O'Donnell headed to the continent to seek military help from Catholic Europe. Their land was confiscated and given to English and Scottish planters/settlers and thus began the Ulster Plantation and the start of the Northern Ireland Troubles.

Are Celts the indigenous people of Ireland?

In so far as the Celts have been in Ireland since the Iron Age, I think it is reasonable to say they are an indigenous people here. But the Celts were not the first people. Leabhair Gabhála Éireann, The Book of Invasions lists a number of peoples predating the arrival of the Celts. They mention The Firbolg and the Tuatha Dé Danann, people of the goddess Danu. This Leabhair Gabhála is a loose collection of stories, legends and myths. The text has come down to us in a number of medieval manuscripts compiled in the 11th century and not the reliable primary sources that true historians like to work with. As we all know today, the Celts occupied central Europe spreading over to the Balkans. Now the Celtic group we are interested in here is the branch of the race which spoke the Goidelic tongue, the language we now call Gaeilge, present day Irish. I think it is fair to say the core of Irish heritage is Celtic. Our very home addresses, townlands are Celtic in origin.

Many poets today are interested in the *Dinnseanchas*, place-name lore. For instance I live in Stragelliffe, Strath An Ghála translates as Meadow of Storm. Two of my plays: *Deirdre of Sorrows* and the *Children of Lir* are ancient Celtic stories and only last year I told in modern day Irish the famous story of the mad King Sweeney who was banished to the trees by St. Ronan at the time of the coming of Christianity to Ireland. Celtic archaeological sites pepper our landscape. In the 1980s an Iron Age Road was discovered in a bog in my home county of Longford. It is true to say the Celts still engage us and provoke our curiosity. In a post- modern Ireland of today, the Anglo-Irish Revival of the late 19th and early 20th century hasn't quite vanished.

In the mid-5th. century CE St. Patrick arrived on the island bringing Christianity. What was the prevailing "religion" at that time and how did Christianity become The "main religion"?

Very little is known of the specific paganism that existed then in Ireland. It is generally accepted that there was a class of druids, a priestly society similar to that of the Indo-European tradition. Certainly, ancient history seems to paint a picture of man's fears and vulnerability and the constant reliance on nature to provide food. There was an urgent need to offer sacrifice to placate the gods.

The Gaelic word *draíocht*, meaning magic, has the same root form as druid, so we can assume the druids were associated with magic of some kind. There are many gods mentioned in Irish Celtic legends. The more prominent being: *Ogma*, *Brigid*, *Lugh*, *Nuada* and the fearsome *Crom Cruach*. Crom Cruach had twelve sub gods and it is generally accepted that he received human sacrifice. His place of veneration was Magh Slecht in Co. Cavan.

St. Patrick arrived in Ireland circa 432 to a backdrop of paganism as I have already indicated. St. Patrick's arrival not only announced the message of Christ but also initiated an education system that had not being experienced before. Christianity was like a new technology. It liberated us into a new way of thinking, we moved away from pagan ways and human sacrifice. It led to a new enlightenment in Ireland. Monasteries were set up and became centres of education. The Irish were introduced to a new language. Latin was taught in the monastery schools and this led to a golden age we later shared with Europe. I am not saying the change-over happened suddenly. I am sure it was gradual and in some cases the old pagan ways persisted well into Christian age. The legend of King Sweeney and St. Ronan, *Buile Suibhne/ Mad Sweeney*, is one example of the opposition to Christianity. This legend is well documented in Seamus Heaney's *Sweeney Astray*, 1983 and I have a modern Irish version of the same, *Suibhne Faoi Bhodhráin Ghealaí/ Sweeney Under A Full Moon*, due for publication in 2014.

In the last 400 years Ireland has faced unprecedented invasions, witnessed bloody battles and been the victim of foreign [British/English?] religious-political machinations that has resulted in the present day divide of the country, as well as, between Catholics and Protestants. What is the historical background that has lead to Ireland being partitioned into Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland? And has religion played a pivotal role in this division?

The Nine Years War 1594-1603 resulted in the military defeat of the Irish chieftains of Ulster. This defeat brought about what is known in Irish history as The Flight of The Earls. Irish chieftains like O'Neill and O'Donnell headed to the continent to seek military help from Catholic Europe. Their land was confiscated and given to English and Scottish planters/settlers and thus began the Ulster Plantation and the start of the Northern Ireland Troubles. It is important to state that the Irish chieftains themselves operated a landlord/tenant system. However, the fact that the new landowners were English and Scottish didn't help and the policy of colonisation had one intention and that was the Anglicisation of Ulster .It was a Protestant colonisation. English planters were mainly Church of England and Scottish planters mainly Presbyterian. So from the very beginning religious differences played a major role in the conflict. It is important to address your your question on bloody battles. The 1641 rebellion was a rising of Irish against English rule in Ulster. This was a fierce and bloody event often glossed over in Irish history. One of the main reasons for Cromwell's invasion of Ireland was to avenge the atrocities of the 1641. Cromwell's slaughter of the Irish was a bloody affair. It is important to view this conflict at this point in history with that of the religious wars in Europe. Religious differences did mark out the divides but there were always the economic and political differences.

UNITED IRELAND

NOEL MONAHAN

Between 1800 and 1921 Irish political energy was either military or constitutional. Popular constitutional movements sought the Repeal of the Union and a form of Home Rule by debating in the chamber. The roots of the IRA in its many avatars featured in many military campaigns such as Young Irelanders in 1848 and IRB (Irish Republican Brotherhood) in the 1860s.

We have to take into account a broader puicture. The role of the Catholic church has diminished in our lives. The Queen of England visited Ireland, attended a ceremony in the Garden of Remembrance, spoke a few words in Irish at a dinner in Dublin Castle and her visit was very popular with media and all concerned. What is a United Ireland? A unity of space whereby all the island of Ireland is under the same government. I favour more a unity and understanding of our differences.

Has the IRA, in all its avatars, been solely responsible for the major part of Ireland becoming a Republic? And can another large scale program of violence against Britain bring about a united Ireland?

"Avatars" is a very important word here and one must know the IRA had many incarnations. The 1798 Rebellion in Ireland was first airing of republicanism after the French Revolution. It was a military failure with risings North and South of Ireland. It is important to note here that one of the leaders, Henry Joy McCracken, was a Belfast Presbyterian. So republicanism was not a simple war of Catholic Ireland against British Protestantism at that point. The Presbyterians both North and South fought on the same side as Catholics in the 1798 Rebellion. As a result of the 1798 rebellion the Union of Great Britain and Ireland was set up in 1800. This is a key towards a long range understanding the Troubles in Northern Ireland. Now Irish politicians were sitting in Westminster, London.

Between 1800 and 1921 Irish political energy was either military or constitutional. Popular constitutional movements sought the Repeal of the Union and a form of Home Rule by debating in the chamber. The roots of the IRA in its many avatars featured in many military campaigns such as Young Irelanders in 1848 and IRB (Irish Republican Brotherhood) in the 1860s. Continuous military failure lead to the popularity of the Home Rule Movement of which Charles Stewart Parnell was main leader. The famous Home Rule bills came before Westminster, the first in 1886 and 2nd.

In 1893 and although both were defeated it looked as if the 3rd. Home Rule Bill might be passed in 1912. The Protestants of Ulster favoured Unionism and were totally opposed to Home Rule and this is the beginning of a divided Ireland of North and South. Ulster Unionism used slogans such as "Ulster Will Fight and Ulster Will Be Right" "Home Rule Will Be Rome Rule" The Orange Order rallied the troops, the Solemn League and Covenant was signed by Ulster Unionists, pledging loyalty to the crown of England and Ulster Unionism. World War 1 intervened, England's difficulty was perceived as Irish Republicanism's opportunity and the famous Easter Rising happened in 1916. This was a city revolution confined to Dublin. It was a rising of poets, intellectuals, trade unionists and republicans. It lasted a week and then you had unconditional surrender and the executions of the leaders of the rising.

Most historians agree that the manner in which the executions were carried out led to a change of heart by the collective Irish in the South of Ireland and the results of the 1918 General Election led to a landslide victory for SINN FÉIN (Ourselves Alone) the new political party with its unofficial army of the IRA.

A war weary England (post WW1) offered negotiating opportunities to the Irish after two years of gorilla-warfare in the War of Independence and there followed the famous Irish treaty and partition, with Ulster still part of the British Empire. To answer your question, yes the IRA in all its avatars was responsible then in achieving the establishment of The Irish Free State.

The second part of your question takes us to present day Ireland. Ireland is a totally different country today. Politics in the South of Ireland has changed. The concept of nationalism has changed. I feel we no longer perceive nationalism in military terms. We are living in post Celtic Tiger Ireland. Our collective body of people belong to a post-modern secular Ireland. One should consider the diaspora and how nationalism lives abroad. The population of Ireland is about four million but beyond the geography of this island 93 million claim to be of Irish descent .

We have to take into account a broader puicture. The role of the Catholic church has diminished in our lives. The Queen of England visited Ireland, attended a ceremony in the Garden of Remembrance, spoke a few words in Irish at a dinner in Dublin Castle and her visit was very popular with media and all concerned. What is a United Ireland? A unity of space whereby all the island of Ireland is under the same government. I favour more a unity and understanding of our differences. Human rights for all people is more important than the nationalism of the past. Nationalism like everything else has to evolve and move on. For me the nationalism felt when England played Ireland in rugby in Croke Park is a greater indicator of nationalism for the future. I do not agree with any program of violence to achieve a so called united Ireland. If it happens in the future let it evolve peacefully.

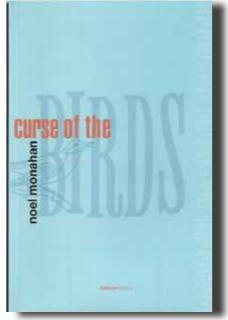
Are there people to people contact (Trade, Arts, Education, et al) between the Northern and Free Ireland? If so, can you give us some examples?

Much has been done in the arts and education to promote a proper understanding of the cultural differences that exist between the North and South. The Arts Council of Northern Ireland have had joint ventures with the Arts Council of the South to promote peace and understanding.

The National Rugby team is chosen from the thirty two counties (The whole of Ireland). Gaelic football and the G.A.A. (Gaelic Athletic Association) is open to an all Ireland contest every year and the six counties participate. The Peace 111 movement promotes peace and understanding especially in border counties. Politicians both North and South, together with British and American initiatives have worked tirelessly over the years to promote peace in Ireland.

UNITED IRELAND

NOEL MONAHAN



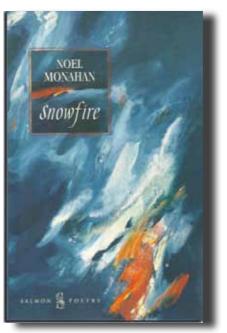
Curse of the Birds

As a celebrated Irish Poet what role do you think the Irish poets, writers and other artists of the isle can play to bring about the unification of Ireland? And do you think this (unification) will happen in your life time?

I feel poets and artists have played and continue to play a major role in the peace movements. Take for example The William Carleton Summer School. This school was set up in Clogher, Co. Tyrone in 1982 to commemorate the life and works of the writer William Carleton. This summer school takes place every August and writers, academics and scholars deliver papers on the works of Carleton. William Carleton (1794- 1869) was born a Catholic but as he was about to launch on his literary career he changed religions and became protestant. A study of his many novels illustrates the difficulties of the Irish Catholics in Northern Ireland in the 18th. century and the pain endured as they gradually moved from speaking Irish to the English tongue. Much of Carleton's work is written in a special type of English known as Hiberno-English, where the Irish idiom and syntax of words is like direct translation from the Irish language. This is especially true of his famous work: *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry*. I have had the pleasure of reading at this great summer school over the years.

In July of this year I read at the John Hewitt Summer School in Armagh. John Hewitt was an Ulster poet of planter stock. His life and works take us through his search for identity in protestant Ulster. His writing has a strong sense of the Ulster landscape and his MA thesis was based on research of the Ulster Weavers Poets of Down and Antrim. Being involved as a poet and reading at such summer schools helps to further our understanding of the complex cultural situation that is Ulster. Also this summer I edited an Anthology: Writing Across Borders. The book featured the work of writers from Monaghan, Barnavan Writers group from Cookstown and Lough Neagh Writers' group from Craigavon. The writing dealt with the inner thoughts of a people who came through the Troubles. Writing Across Borders was brought about by Monaghan Community Forum's "Hands Together 2"Peace 111Project. This project used the tools of Art and Heritage to bring communities and individuals from different religious and political backgrounds together. The Writers In School Scheme, under the umbrella of Poetry Ireland have organised readings and workshops of poetry both North and South of the border.

Getting back to answering your question, I feel such summer schools and literary workshops and publications help to educate all of us. At this point in time, we are not focusing on a political unification. We are happy to bring about a deep understanding of our cultural differences and the great need for respect and understanding of each other. If we have peace and understanding we have a real



Snowfire

unification. It doesn't have to be political. Such a unification cannot be forced. It may and can evolve.

Could you share with us a glimpse of your life and works?

I was born in Granard, County Longford, Ireland on Christmas Day, 1948 and that might account for my many poems on the subject of winter celebrations. I grew up on a farm there and I feel the fields and the landscape had a strong influence on my later work as a poet. Granard was a market town then with a population of one thousand people. As a child I was an observer and people fascinated me and the Granard of the 1950s is celebrated in the long poem, *Diary Of A Town*, published in my fifth collection, *Curve Of The Moon*.

Many of my early poems are based on subject matter retrieved from childhood. Having completed my national school education in Granard, I went as a border to St. Norbert's College, Kilnacrott, Co. Cavan. Here I spent five years in preparation for the Leaving Certificate Examination. It was a typical boarding school of its time with a strong emphasis on the Catholic religion. I spent one year studying for the priesthood in Maynooth University and left the seminary part of the university to continue my study as a lay student.

To help fund my education I went to New York in the summer of 1970. Here I developed a deep love and interest in the music of Paul Simon and Bob Dylan and in many ways they were the inspirational poets of my life. Having completed my Diploma in education, I started teaching in St. Clare's College, Co. Cavan and remained there for thirty six years ending up as Deputy Principal of the College. I directed a number of Musicals in the College: *The Mikado, The Sound Of Music, Oliver, Fiddler On The Roof.* While teaching I started to write and publish poetry in the literary magazines. And this lead to the publication of my first collection, *Opposite Walls*, in 1991.



This article forms part of a Doctor of Philosophy Thesis.

Why the reporting of clinical trial outcomes is an important social issue

Introduction

The recent development of an international campaign calling for reporting of all clinical trials results has highlighted global concerns about the lack of transparency and access to clinical trial data and outcome reporting.

The 'AllTrials' ¹ campaign began in January 2013 as a collaborative initiative of Bad Science, ² British Medical Journal ('BMJ'), ³ Centre for Evidence-based Medicine, ⁴ Cochrane Collaboration, ⁵ James Lind Initiative, ⁶ PLOS ⁷ and Sense About Science. ⁸ It is being led in the United States by the Dartmouth's Geisel School of Medicine ⁹ and the Dartmouth Institute for Health Policy & Clinical Practice (United States of America). ¹⁰ The campaign's aims include that all results from past and present clinical trials be published. To date a petition begun by the campaign has secured almost 60,000 signatures with support from more than four hundred institutions, organisation and professional bodies including the Royal College of Paediatrics and Child Health (U.K.), Medical Journal of Australia, and the International Alliance of Patients' Organizations. ¹¹

Other successful campaigns with similar aims including the online campaign by Dr. David Healy, an internationally respected psychiatrist, psychopharmacologist, scientist, and author, ¹² demonstrate that there is a shared global consensus among multi-disciplinary professionals, institutions, communities and other individuals that deficiencies in accessing and reporting clinical trial outcomes are emerging as very significant social problems.

What are Clinical Trials?

As distinguished from medical care which wholly focuses on outcomes for the patient,¹³ the primary aim of clinical trials involving human participants is to test novel and potential treatments for their safety and efficacy in humans, with the purpose of contributing to knowledge about the diagnosis, management or treatment of a disease or condition.¹⁴

In choosing to take part in clinical trials participants may be motivated by a desire to benefit others by contributing to new knowledge. They may also be motivated by a desire to receive some personal benefit for themselves, although the extent and type of personal benefit that can be anticipated is contentious and subject to much debate.¹⁵

NIKOLA STEPANOV RESEARCH ETHICS

Any failure in transparency may also have an impact on the health and wellbeing of existing and past clinical trial participants. As Healy notes, the lack of access to clinical trial results is not only in conflict with the primary ethical justification for undertaking clinical research - that it will contribute to new knowledge - it also may place participants at risk of being unable to determine what may have caused any harms arising after being involved in a clinical trial:

'During the 1960s and 1970s people took part in clinical trials where there was access to the data from the trial and in so doing they helped lift a burden of disease and disability from their families, friends and communities, but now that data are hidden, if we participate in a trial we are putting our families, friends and communities at risk of being unable to show that a drug induced injury was in fact caused by the drug'. 33 - Dr. David Healy



What are Clinical Trials? (Continued...)

However, irrespective of participant motivations, clinical trials are not primarily designed to clinically benefit them. Moreover, due to the nature of experimentation in clinical trials, involvement may mean being exposed to significant research-related risk and harms in the form of side-effects and toxicities. The purpose of clinical trials is to help persons in the future by publishing empirical data about which treatments are effective, and which are harmful. The data can also be used to develop future clinical trials. The ethical justification for clinical trials is that any potential burden or harm to participants will not be in vain, but will contribute to new knowledge about treating or managing some medical condition, and that the ratio of risks to benefits is as low as possible. This is particularly the case for clinical trials that involve more than a minimal risk to participants; non-therapeutic early-phase studies; and trials involving vulnerable populations such as children, participants from minority populations, and participants from developing nations or poorer socioeconomic areas. The participants is a such as children, and participants from developing nations or poorer socioeconomic areas.

The success of campaigns like AllTrials and Dr Healy's among others indicates that there are widely-held concerns about deficiencies in accessing and publishing outcomes and data, including accessing information about the occurrences of any side-effects of agents being tested.²⁰ There is evidence that these concerns are well-founded.²¹ A meta-analysis of all clinical trials conducted in the United States and Canada, registered with ClinicalTrials.gov after December 31, 1999 and updated as having been completed by June 8, 2007 showed that the results of fewer than half of all clinical trials were published, with positive results being twice as likely to be published.²² More recently Jones et al. conducted a cross-sectional analysis of clinical trials registered with ClinicalTrials.gov, that contained more than 500 participants, and that were completed prior to 2009.²³ They found that of 585 registered trials, 171 or 29% remained unpublished. The unpublished studies involved an estimated 299 763 study participants.²⁴ Industry funded studies (150) were also more likely to be unpublished than those that were not funded by industry. ²⁵ Deficiencies in reporting results have been explained as being due to publishing bias; a lack of positive results; and transparency conflicts between public interest and safety, and commercial interests and intellectual/commercial property rights.²⁶ Non-industry funded studies are also more likely to be published than industry sponsored studies.²⁷ Publishing bias is also evident, for example in paediatric clinical trials. In a cross-sectional survey Hartling et al. noted that of 166 paediatric randomised controlled trials (RCT) undertaken in the United States and presented at professional meetings, results from 83% were never submitted for publishing.²⁸ Any knowledge deficit that leads to uncertainty in gauging the efficacy and safety of new and existing treatments, and the ability to accurately predict risk and harms, is significant. This is particularly the case where the knowledge exists but is purposefully withheld from the public or is unreported for other reasons (including publication bias).²⁹

Are Deficiencies in Reporting Clinical Trial Outcomes a Significant Social Problem?

How clinical trials are conducted is an important global social issue and any lack of transparency in reporting clinical trials outcomes is a social problem. Barber (1980) defines a 'social problem' as being 'some social condition that a sizable group comes to define as both bad and unnecessary and improvable or removable'. ³⁰

Most people will experience one or more medical conditions during the course of their lives. Where possible, medical practitioners make decisions about which treatment/s to offer patients based on the best available evidence. Often this means that medical practitioners are reliant on published findings of clinical trial outcomes to assist in their deliberations about what treatment options are suitable for each particular patient. During deliberations medical practitioners must also take into consideration any other illnesses and conditions the patient may have; any other medical interventions they patient may already be receiving such as medicines; and how any new treatments might affect the patient in terms of side-effects and interactions with existing medications.³¹ Any failure in transparency about clinical trial outcomes, particularly regarding results such as potential or actual side-effects or drug interactions, will inevitably influence decision-making by medical practitioners. This may lead them to make decisions based on insufficient evidence, or evidence of a poor quality. Treating clinicians also rely on published data from clinical trials to make decisions about whether to recommend clinical research involvement to their patients. Finally, clinical and human research ethics review committees and funding bodies also rely on published evidence of outcomes when they consider the ethical and scientific merit of future studies.³²

Conclusion

The assertion that any lack of transparency in reporting outcomes of clinical trials is an important social problem is not a radical position. Moreover, it is not an unreasonable position in view of the fact that the primary justification for conducting clinical trials is that the outcomes will contribute to new knowledge.

Internationally it is recognised that the lack of transparency about clinical trials outcomes impacts not only on research participants, but also on decision-making by medical practitioners as they try to ascertain the best treatments for their patients.

RESEARCH ETHICS NIKOLA STEPANOV

Foot Notes

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- ³ http://www.bmj.com/
- 4 http://www.cebm.net/
- ⁵ http://www.cochrane.org/
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- 15 Lewens, n 17 (2006); Stepanov & Smith, n 15 (2013).
- ¹⁸ Stepanov & Smith, n 15 (2013).
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- ²¹ Stepanov, n 12 (2013).
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- ²⁴ Ross, n 23 (2013).
- ²⁵ Ross, n 23, (2013).
- ²⁶ Stepanov, n 12 (2013). Although outside the remit of this paper, the lack of published data is in itself an ethical issue given the primary justification for conducting research is that it will contribute to generalisable knowledge usually
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- ³² Stepanov, n 12 (2013).
- ³³ Personal communiqué, Dr David Healy, November 11, 2013.

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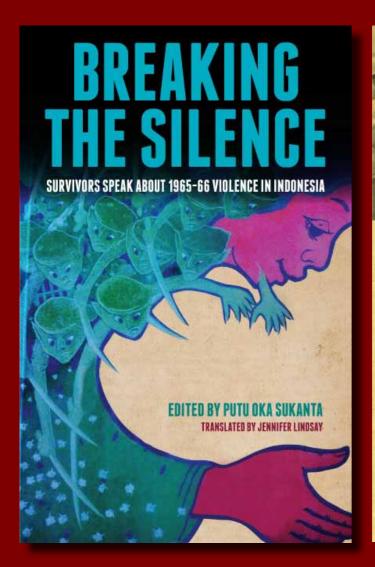
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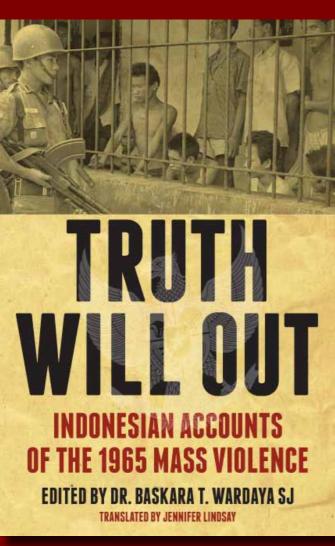
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Monash University Publishing - Herb Feith Translation Series

The 1965-66 mass killings in Indonesia Recent developments towards historical justice

Dr. Jemma Purdey

Research Fellow in the School of Political and Social Inquiry MonashUniversity, Melbourne was one of the organisers of the conference

A conference on the mass killings in Indonesia in 1965-66 held on 30 August across two main sites in Jakarta and Melbourne, with participants also in Vancouver, London and Copenhagen, marked another important step for both scholars of this highly contested history, and activists fighting for truth and justice for its victims and survivors.

'After the Act of Killing: Historical Justice and 1965-66 Mass Killings in Indonesia' sought to build on momentum which has been growing over the past fourteen months, to open up this period of Indonesia's history and recognise the suffering of its victims.

In Jakarta, over one hundred people attended the conference at STF Driyarkara where they heard from panellists including the nation's leading historians and activists working for a revival of a truth and reconciliation process for the victims and survivors. Sitting in the front row of the audience there from very early in the morning until its conclusion late in the day, was a group of now elderly women, former political prisoners and survivors, each deeply engaged in this process of seeking truth and some form of justice.

BREAKING THE SILENCE



L-R: Dr Annie Pohlman, Ms Jess Melvin, Dr Vannessa Hearman, Professor John Roosa online from Vancouver, Dr Antje Missbach

At the height of the Cold War, Indonesia's Communist Party (PKI) was a significant force in national politics, with a growing following and increasing support from President Sukarno as he sought to share in what appeared would soon become a significant political power base. In late September 1965, attempts by a small group of PKI-backed generals to stage a coup were foiled and in its wake, an army-led assault against the PKI and its sympathisers was unleashed with fury and horror. Over the coming months and years, an estimated 500,000 people across the archipelago were killed and the PKI and all 'leftist' groups were decimated. If not killed, their leaders and cadres alike were arrested and imprisoned without trial for up to thirteen years, most famously on the prison island of Buru in eastern Indonesia.

The killings themselves, about which scholars increasingly have evidence to link directly to the armed forces, were also carried out by civilians under varying degrees of instruction from the military. Whilst evidence exists of militia engaged by the army to carry out the rounding up, torture and killings, it is also known that the atmosphere of the time allowed for local resentments and vengeance to be settled without fear of recrimination.

Under the New Order military-backed regime that prevailed following the purging of the political left, the official version of the events of 30 September 1965 and the subsequent mass killings, torture and imprisonment of communists and those deemed to have communist sympathies, could not be contested. Over a decade since the fall of this regime, new narrative spaces are opening up, but very slowly. This is a complex and contested history about which scholars, and activists acting on behalf of victims and survivors, continue to be challenged.

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IEMMA PURDEY



Joshua Oppenheimer live from Copenhagen talking about reactions to his film The Act of Killing. Audiences in Jakarta and Melbourne.

New emerging truths

New interest within Indonesian politics and the media in the 1965-66 narrative began in mid-2012 with the publication of a series of highly important reports and investigations. The first of these was the Commission for Human Rights' (Komnas HAM) report on the killings released in July 2012. Amongst its comprehensive findings about the nature of the killings themselves, which it found were carried out in a systematic way by the military across the archipelago, the report called for a national apology for the victims and survivors.

At almost the same time, American film maker Joshua Oppenheimer released his extraordinary film, *The Act of Killing*. A chilling documentary set in Medan, North Sumatra the film features a group of ageing former gangsters and self-confessed murderers who killed and tortured suspected communists in the mid-1960s. The producers chose to avoid the censors in Indonesia and thereby the risk of a banning by not releasing the film into mainstream cinemas. Instead it has been shown to audiences in hundreds of guerrilla screenings across the country and is now available widely through pirated DVDs and on the internet. Internationally the film has received high acclaim, challenging audiences with its graphic and boastful recounting and re-enactments of the killings by the men who carried them out.

This was followed on 1 October 2012 by major news magazine Tempo's publication of a special double edition titled 'Executioners' Confessions', which included interviews with perpetrators - the executioners themselves - from 'civilian' groups including the militia arm of religious organisation, Nadhlatul Ulama (NU) amongst other groups.

As Indonesia historian and advocate for survivors and victims, Ron Hatley, has written about these new contributions to the historiography of this period, "for perhaps the majority of communities, and for the nation as a whole, truth-seeking has just begun; undoubtedly more will begin with the revelations of these three new documents" (Inside Indonesia, n112).

The August conference followed another held in Canberra in early 2013, which brought together many Indonesian researchers and activists focused on reviving the truth and reconciliation process and challenging state-sanctioned versions of the history of this dark period. This latest effort was an attempt to further progress those relationships established between scholars in Australia and Indonesia, and to bring the conversation up to date; where are we now? And, where do we go next?

BREAKING THE SILENCE

JEMMA PURDEY

This local action supported by the work of scholars, is now backed by an international campaign launched by the UK-based group Tapol, led by its founder Carmel Budiardjo, herself imprisoned for several years as a communist sympathiser. The Tapol campaign, 'Mohon Maaf' or 'Say Sorry' is, its director Paul Barber told the conference, focused internationally with the intention of using pressure from outside Indonesia to push the government towards making an apology to the survivors and victims.

This recent conference, although not without technical hitches, was the first on this subject to connect speakers and audiences in Indonesia to the rest of the world. Well-known Indonesian blogger and columnist Ibrahim Isa said of the impact of the conference, "In the midst of an atmosphere which is swinging between hope and uncertainty [about a Truth and Reconciliation process], the teleconference at STF Driyarkara yesterday proved one thing: social and cultural reconciliation in society can still be achieved".

A major theme across the conference was the teaching of this history to present and future generations. Although the New Order's official version of the events of 30 Sept/1 Oct 1965 and subsequent 'justified' annihilation of the communist party is no longer prescribed for all school children to hear and experience in the national curriculum, there is not yet an agreed alternative history being taught in its place. Some teachers of history are increasingly encouraging their students to go out and discover for themselves the 'truths' available and make their own minds up, but this is a small and limited experience.

As Ariel Heryanto recounted in his paper tracking responses to *The Act of Killing* among Indonesia's youth, there is little or no interest among young people in this past, let alone a desire to seek their own versions of what took place two decades before they were born. Without national leadership guiding a process towards reconciliation and truth-seeking about the mass killings and imprisonments, Heryanto believes there is small hope that it can succeed. Further evidence of that is the 'almost' apology by President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono shortly after the issuing of the Komnas HAM report, which in the end failed to materialise as political opposition to the commissions' findings grew.

Nevertheless, despite the many reasons for pessimism, the responses from members of the audience and the speakers in Jakarta in particular, to the papers heard there and from around the world via the webcast, is also testament to an enduring commitment to continue this struggle for increased awareness about the killings and eventually some form of justice for its victims.

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The 'say sorry' movement across countries with histories of gross crimes against humanity has gained some traction in recent times, including Australia's own apology to the Stolen Generations in February 2008.

Closer to the Indonesian situation and possibly influential, are recent apologies issued by the former colonial power, The Netherlands, for atrocities committed during the Indonesian struggle for independence (1945-49). In December 2011 and again in September this year, the Dutch have extended apologies for mass killings of civilians during the revolutionary war and have paid compensation to the victims' relatives. The timing of this most recent apology at a ceremony in Jakarta on 12 September is regarded by observers in Indonesia and overseas as highly significant in the context of growing demands for Indonesia to make reparations to victims of its own state violence.

This recent conference, although not without technical hitches (unsurprising perhaps for such an ambitious offering), was the first on this subject to connect speakers and audiences in Indonesia to the rest of the world. Well-known Indonesian blogger and columnist Ibrahim Isa said of the impact of the conference, "In the midst of an atmosphere which is swinging between hope and uncertainty [about a Truth and Reconciliation process], the teleconference at STF Driyarkara yesterday proved one thing: social and cultural reconciliation in society can still be achieved" (9 September 2013).

More than anything the atmosphere promoted by this conference and other such efforts in Indonesia and around the world, is that of a sense of shared endeavour and common concern that this period in Indonesia's past must continue to be investigated and its multiple truths revealed and re-presented within the Indonesian national story.

The proceedings of the 'After the Act of Killing' conference can be viewed on **YouTube** and the program downloaded **here**.

TIBET

The Tibetans have been having a tough time in their own country for more than 50 years. But lately things have gone from bad to worse. When China invaded, they reconfigured the country so that the Tibet Autonomous region covered less than half of greater Tibet. All of the Eastern Tibet (Kham) was relocated and came under the banner of what is now known as Szechwan. Amdo to the north comes under another district.

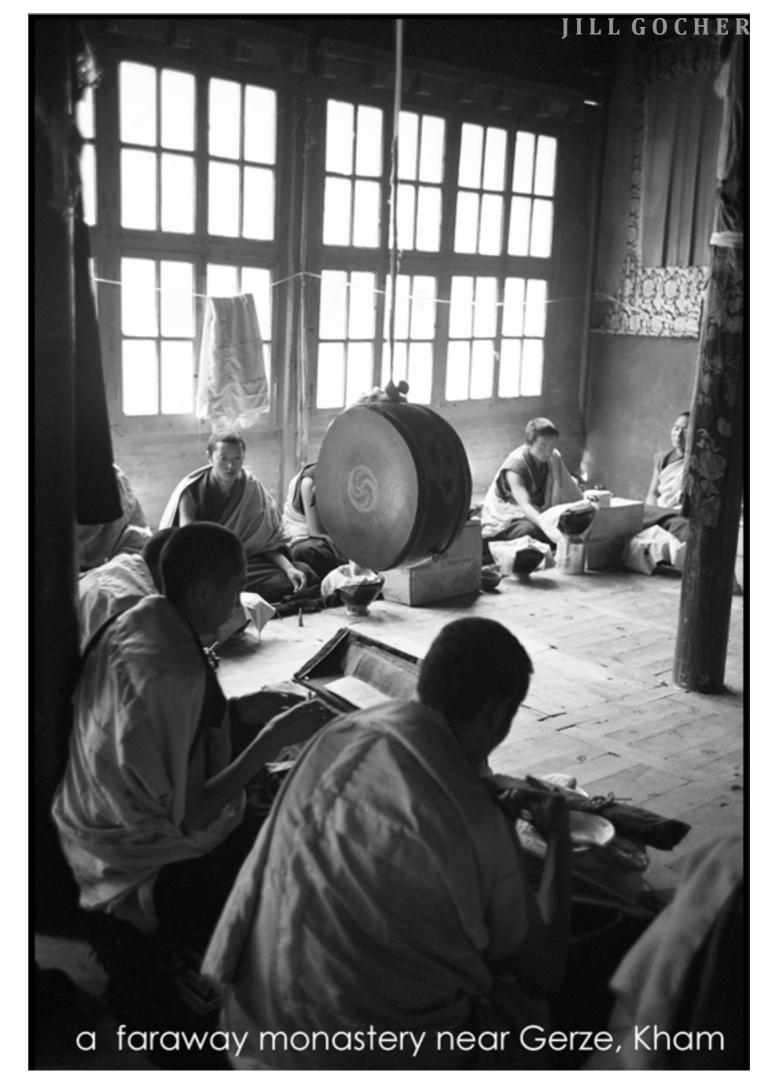
The one positive thing about Eastern Tibet, was, as they were not recognised as Tibetans, per se, pictures of HH the Dali Lama were not banned and freedom of worship was a little less highly monitored. In the past two years, this too has changed and not they too fall under a similar oppressive regime as Greater Tibet. Torture, murder, and general interfering in their culture and religion have made life intolerable for many. Since China has been befriending Nepal one of their traditional escape routes (a gruelling trek through high snow covered passes and freezing conditions) has been almost completely shut down, on the word of the Chinese.

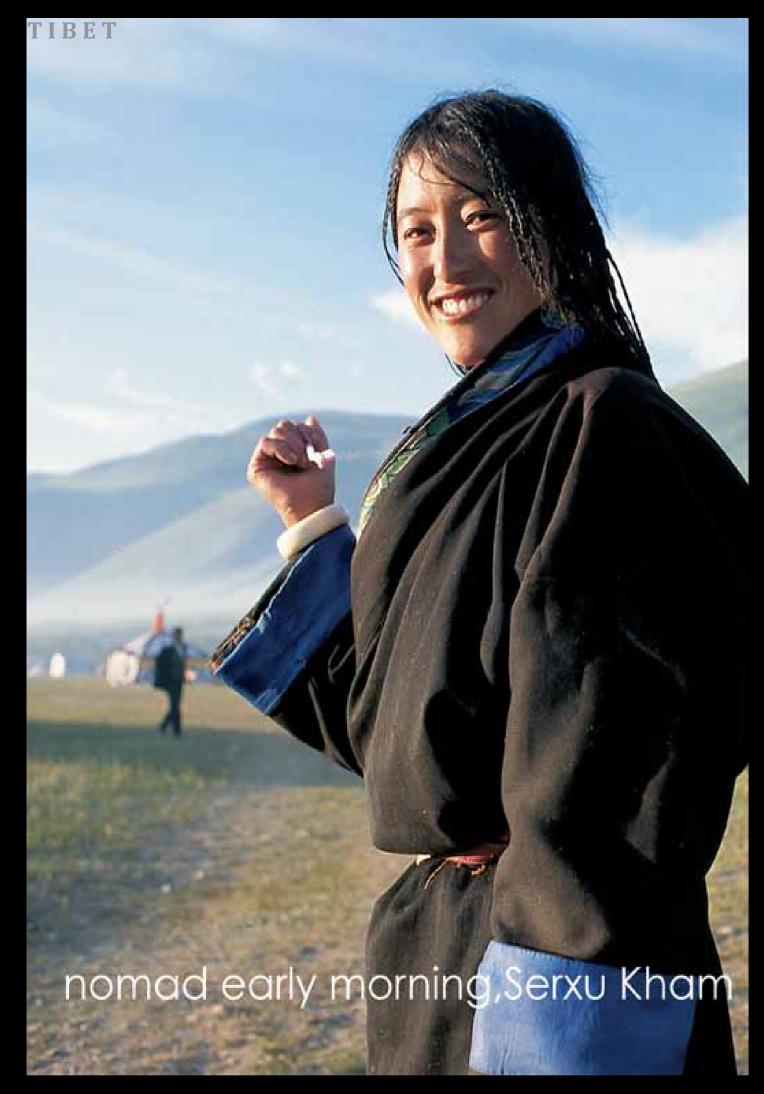
Many refugees, on arriving at the Nepal border have been shot down and murdered or worse yet, sent back into China, where they will receive more punishment, if and when they recover from the hardships of their torturous journey. It is no wonder that more than 200 Tibetans have self immolated in the past two years - it is one of the few ways they have left, to protest their untenable situation.

And still, inconceivably, the world turns a blind eye to the situation and sympathy and support remain missing. Let us all try to do what we can to give support to these proud, great spirited people who deserve a break. Free Tibet!



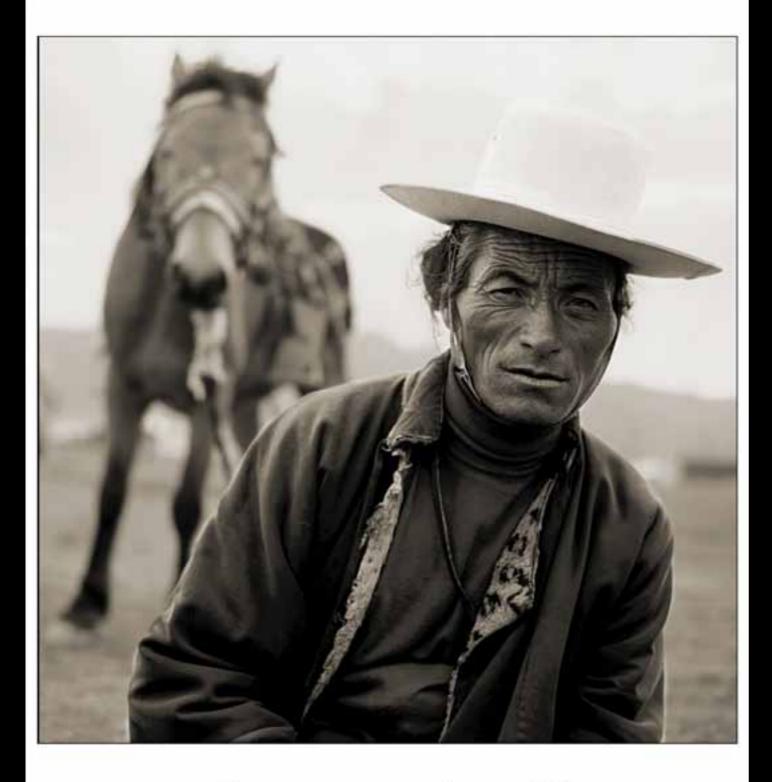
Jill Gocher, Photographer, Bali, Indonesia. www.amazon.com/author/jillgocher



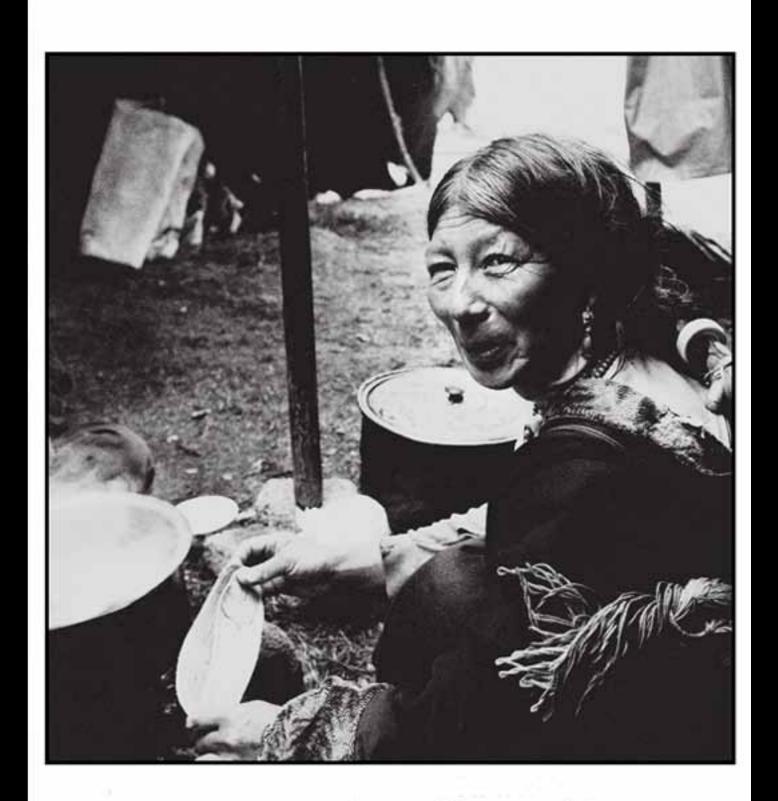




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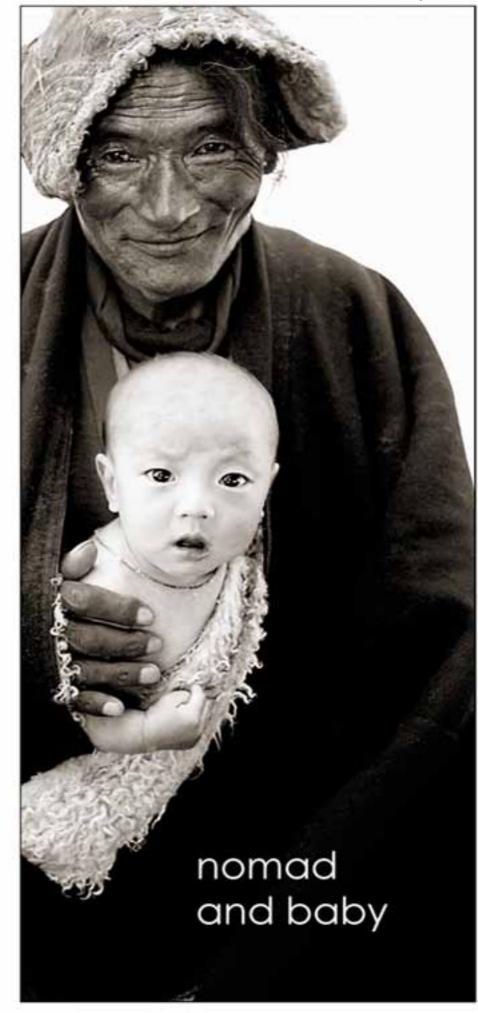


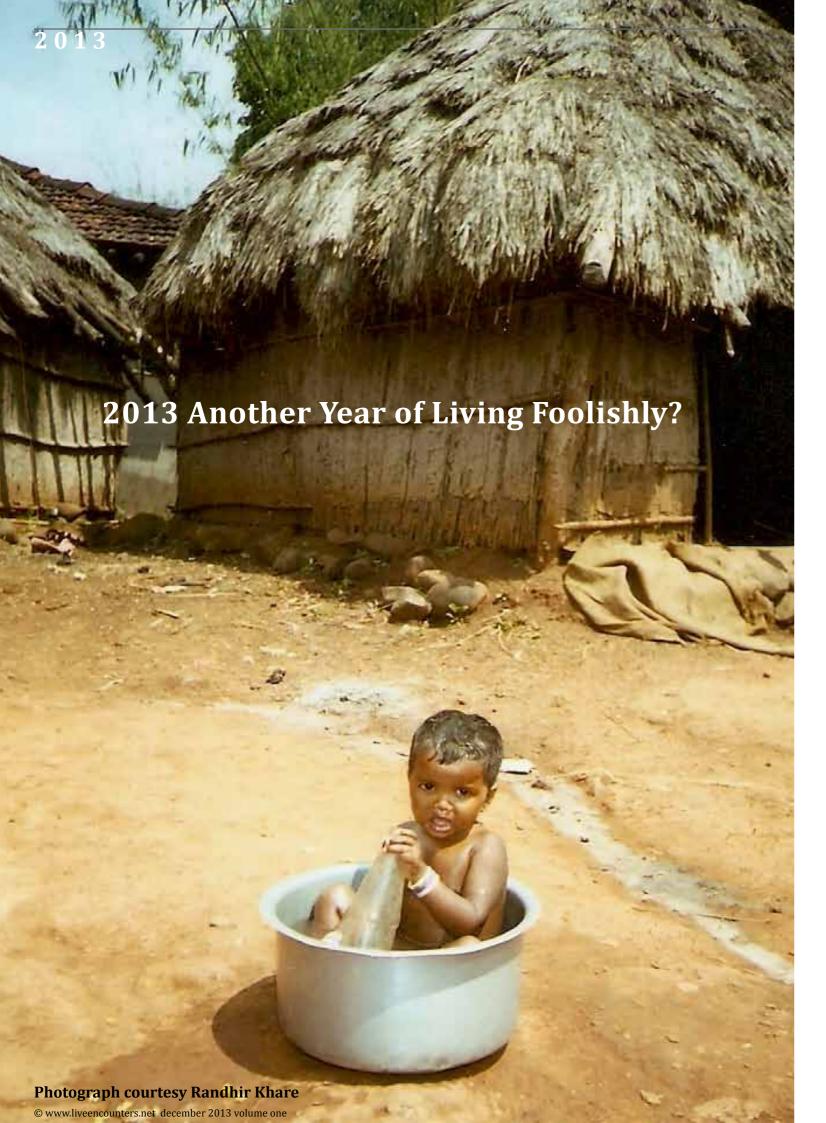
kampa cowboy, Lithang



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This essay was written and published in 2008. Since then I have updated it every year. Except for a few lines here and there the basic essay has remained in its original form. It is a reminder to us that the *inhumanity of humanity* has not changed. In fact it appears to be growing in intensity. Sadly the more things change, the more they remain the same.

This year is grinding to a close and then hope will begin for the New Year.

So what will it be?

More wars?

Genocide?

Child abuse?

Mutilation and other abuses of women?

Human slavery?

Extinction of another species?

New insidious revelations that expose the all pervasive criminality of governments, international politics and sections of the Media?

There is so much to choose from. It's like a supermarket out there with all kinds of manmade disasters available on the shelves, one has simply to reach out and grab one.

2013 is ending on a note of negotiated delusions with the climate change conference in Warsaw. What happened to the good old days when we used a blanket instead of a heater? All this talk of saving the world is pointless.

Everything is done half-heartedly. Let's make a resolution for the New Year to decimate the planet. Destroy all our natural resources, pollute the rivers and farm the seas to extinction. At least we would be doing one thing properly.

On one hand we talk of peace, love and no war. On the other hand we bomb, rape, pillage, annex and subdue nations with money, military power and retarded religiosity.

For instance, let's take a quick look at Afghanistan. The British couldn't control the tribes in the 19th century, the Russians failed miserably and the American soldiers with their assorted comrades in arms, poor souls, are dying by the dozen along with faceless unarmed civilians. I suppose life is cheaper by the dozen. Hasn't anyone got a clue about what the Afghans want?

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MARK ULYSEAS

Statistics are essential in war zones. They can always be rearranged to suit one's perceived objectives. The little numbers represent people; mothers, fathers, sisters, brothers, relatives and friends. A neat way to manage these numbers is to write in pencil so that an eraser can be used judiciously. And while the death toll in war ravaged countries rise, a hysterical caucus threatens Iran not to go ahead with its nuclear program, while watching China systematically and violently dismantle Tibetan culture.

There are many countries that lecture China on its Human Rights. Wonder who has a perfect track record? The world's last Superpower? A superpower that continues to interfere in the affairs of other nations ... at times actually sending troops and bombing unarmed civilians along with perceived enemies of the State?

I suppose the term 'collateral damage' is more palatable than the word... murder.

What about certain parts of the Middle East? Do you think they will run out of people considering the number of killings that are taking place? **Education there is history – like the death of a six year old killed by a stray bullet. It stems from the barrel of a gun. The pen is for signing death certificates.**

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And while the death toll in war ravaged countries rise, a hysterical caucus threatens Iran not to go ahead with its nuclear program, while watching China systematically and violently dismantle Tibetan culture.

Africa, the Dark Continent, what can one say about its peoples and their ancient civilizations that have slowly been corrupted by large corporations and foreign governments meddling in the affairs of the states: Buying and selling governments on mammoth proportions? Oh for the days of Idi Amin. Remember Entebbe and the blood baths? Everything is so quiet now, no excitement and drama except for bloody popular uprisings, theft of natural resources and other inconsequential happenings.

What about the sub-continent, India? Do they still abort female foetuses? Burn women who don't bring enough dowry? Continue to decimate wildlife? Persevere in the destruction of the environment? And do millions still exist on the threshold of life and death? And is the arrogant Indian Middle Class growing to newer levels self indulgence?

Forgive me, I missed that little country to the west of India; Pakistan. Poor chaps they've had such a tiresome year with the constant ebb and flow of political violence and religious fundamentalism peppered with suicide bombers that probably the common folk want to migrate to India... can't really blame them. All they desire is to live in peace to pray, work and procreate.

Now let's see who is left on the black board? Hmmm...the indigenous people of the Amazon are still fighting a losing battle with the powers that be to stop the plunder of their home, the rainforest, the green lung of mother earth. South America appears to be lost in translation. We never seem to get a lot of news from there except for soccer, drug lords and the plunder of the marine world.

Let's leave all this violence for some whale steaks. The Japanese are so considerate to the world at large. For a country that prides itself on rejecting nuclear weapons it has a rather odd way of showing

its respect for the environment. I am referring to the mass killing of whales for scientific purposes. Actually you must admire their concern. Ever considered the fact that they maybe ridding the oceans of monsters that take up so much space and are a serious health hazard to humanity? I think Japan's neighbour China has the right approach. It has dispensed with the cumbersome concept of Human Rights and its implementation. In its place totalitarianism with a small dose of plutocracy has been suitably installed.

There are many countries that lecture China on its Human Rights. Wonder who has a perfect track record? The world's last Superpower? A superpower that continues to interfere in the affairs of other nations ... at times actually sending troops and bombing unarmed civilians along with perceived enemies of the State? I suppose the term 'collateral damage' is more palatable than the word... murder.

Civil liberties are essential for the survival of a nation and so is the health of its people. In some areas of society where commonsense has been the victim, Nature has found a way of retaliating by inventing diseases like AIDS and Swine Flu, infecting millions and helping to keep the population in check, of course with a little assistance from humankind.

And once again, as we have done in the past, this Christmas and New Year we shall all sit down to sumptuous meals, drink whatever fancies our taste buds, shop till we drop and pamper our overweight children and pets. It's the season of happiness, love and family especially for the homeless, injured and maimed children of wars, missing women in Afghanistan and elsewhere, asylum seekers, political detainees and the fringe folk of the planet. They will surely be very happy and content with what they see, hear, feel and touch this festive season.

From genocide to environmental disasters it has been a roller coaster ride through many countries and peoples and cultures and religions. This journey will end only when we truly comprehend the reason as to why we have been put on this planet by a power far greater than we can ever imagine.

Merry Christmas and a peaceful New Year to you

Om Shanti Shanti Om

