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July 2015

**What does Jihad really mean?**



**Dr Altaf Qadir**

on the legacy of

**Sayyid Ahmad Barailvi**

**The Founder of the Pukhtun Jihad Movement**



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Cover design and photograph of skulls by Mark Ulyseas

Newly wed Cambodian couple, Siem Reap, Cambodia. Photograph by Mark Ulyseas

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### Sayyid Ahmad Barailvi - Founder of the Pukhtun Jihad Movement

**Dr Altaf Qadir**

Qadir is Assistant Professor, Department of History, University of Peshawar, where he joined as a lecturer. He is a Life Member of the Pakistan Historical Society. Qadir served as Lecturer in history for about three years in the Department of Higher Education (Colleges), Government of former North-West Frontier Province. he has published two books and numerous articles.



### The Challenge of Islam

**Dr Ivo Coelho**

Coelho earned his PhD in philosophy from the Gregorian University, Rome. He is Reader in Gnoseology and Metaphysics at Divyadaan: Salesian Institute of Philosophy, Nashik, India; editor of *Divyadaan - Journal of Philosophy and Education*. He has been director of the Institutum Theologicum Salesianum, Ratisbonne Monastery, Jerusalem, and currently a member of the governing body of the Salesians of Don Bosco in Rome. He is the author of *Hermeneutics and Method: The 'Universal Viewpoint'* in Bernard Lonergan. [www.divyadaan.in](http://www.divyadaan.in)



### King Salman consolidates the Al-Sudayri "palace coup"

**Dr. Stig Stenslie**

Stenslie is assistant deputy general and head of the Asia Branch of the Norwegian Defence Staff, has held visiting fellowships at : the Norwegian Institute for Defence Studies in Oslo, National University Singapore, Columbia University New York. A doctorate in political science from the University of Oslo, he is author of several books: *Marte Kjær Galtung, 49 Myths About China* (Rowman and Littlefield, forthcoming 2014), *Regime Stability in Saudi Arabia: The Challenge of Succession* (Routledge, 2011) and, with Kjetil Selvik, *Stability and Change in the Modern Middle East* (IB Tauris, 2011).



### The Impunity Dilemma: Sexual Offences by UN Peacekeepers

**Dr Róisín Sarah Burke**

Burke, currently an Irish Research Council postdoctoral research fellow based at the Irish Centre for Human Rights, National University of Ireland Galway. Burke is an Attorney at Law in New York State. Doctorate from Asia Pacific Centre for Military Law, University of Melbourne Law School 2012. An LLB in Law, University of Limerick. LLM in International Human Rights Law, Irish Centre for Human Rights.



### Sexualised imagery in advertising has gone too far

**Elizabeth Willmott-Harrop**

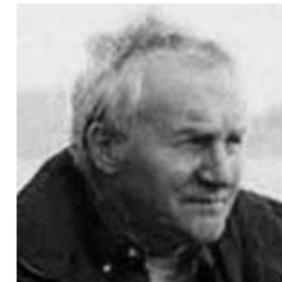
Elizabeth is a freelance writer, poet and artist specialising in human rights advocacy, with a particular interest in the rights of women and children who has worked for many international organisations including Amnesty International and UNICEF, and has worked in a number of countries, where she has spoken with the victims of human trafficking. The subjects Elizabeth has worked and written on include inter-country adoption; legal reform; maternal and infant health; the sexualisation of children; and war propaganda. [www.libertyandhumanity.com](http://www.libertyandhumanity.com)



### Photo Gallery - Remains of the Day - A Lament for the millions butchered by the Khmer Rouge

**Mark Ulyseas**

The following photographs reveal the inhumanity of humanity. It is also a reminder that perhaps we have learned nothing from Pol Pot, the massacre in East Bengal or from the Holocaust...the inhumanity of humanity continues to grow in the form of ISIS rampaging across the Middle East leaving a trail of severed human bodies in the thousands...a vast open air abattoir.



### A Dog Speaks on a Derelict Graveyard and Death

**Terry McDonagh**

Irish poet and dramatist, Terry McDonagh, taught creative writing at the University of Hamburg and was Drama Director at the Int. School Hamburg for 15 years. He now works freelance; has been writer in residence in Europe, Asia, Australia; published 7 poetry collections, book of letters, prose and poetry for young people translated into Indonesian and German, distributed internationally by Syracuse Uni. Press; latest poetry collection *Ripple Effect/Arlen House*; children's story, *Michel the Merman*, illustrated by Marc Barnes (NZ). He lives in Hamburg and Ireland. [www.terry-mcdonagh.com](http://www.terry-mcdonagh.com)



### Extracts from THE BLUE NOTEBOOK

**Randhir Khare**

Khare is an award winning author of twenty one volumes of non-fiction, fiction, translation and poetry. Executive Editor of Heritage India, the International Culture Journal, a Director of The Rewachand Bhojwani Academy and Visiting Professor to the Dept Of English, Pune University. Recently he was given The Residency Award by The Sahitya Akademi (India's National Academy of Letters) for his contribution to Indian Literature and the Human Rights Award for his efforts to preserve and celebrate marginal and minority cultures. [www.randhirkhare.in](http://www.randhirkhare.in)



### Aching To Recapture The Past

**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. She features in *Smith Magazine's new Six Word Memoirs On Jewish Life and* contributes to *Technorati*, *Blogcritics* and *Live Encounters magazine*. Her stories - [Website](#) and journalism - [Website](#)



### The Vampire Archetype

**Dr Candess M Campbell**

Candess M. Campbell, PhD is the #1 Best-selling author of *12 Weeks to Self-Healing: Transforming Pain through Energy Medicine*. She is a Blogger, Intuitive Success Coach and International Psychic Medium. She has practiced as a mental health and chemical dependency counselor for over 30 years. [www.12weekstoselfhealing.com](http://www.12weekstoselfhealing.com)



### Tagore and China

**Romit Bagchi**

He is a senior correspondent with The Statesman posted in Siliguri. He is currently looking after the north Bengal and Sikkim bureau of The Statesman. He has published a number of articles on the ethnic unrest related to north Bengal and the political situation in Sikkim. An avid reader, Bagchi is interested in topics such as ethnic complexity, the Indian Renaissance as pioneered by Raja Rammohan Roy, Indian politics, and particularly, Indian spiritualism.



### Cambodia: Chea Sim Death Shows Failings of Khmer Rouge Court

**Human Rights Watch**

"Chea Sim's passing is a reminder that virtually all former Khmer Rouge officials have gone unpunished for the millions of deaths and incredible suffering of ordinary Cambodians during Khmer Rouge rule. It is a mockery of justice that Chea Sim could serve in the post-Khmer Rouge Cambodian leadership for decades without ever facing an investigation, much less arrest or prosecution." - *Brad Adams, Asia director*

“The recent wave of militancy may not be directly attributed to Sayyid Ahmad and his Jihad Movement. Many factors that have combined over recent decades include state and non-state actors. Pakistan, USA and Middle East countries, during the Soviet Union intervention in Afghanistan and after, are all responsible for elements of recent turmoil. However, all the organizations involved in the armed struggle in Afghanistan and Kashmir attract the general public by narrating stories of the Mujahidin of Sayyid Ahmad in their speeches. They have established a network of Urdu newspapers to reach the majority portion of the Pakistan population. They have started a programme in a popular seminary in Karachi, to train youth in the art of ‘Islamic journalism’. All such activities are continued with the active support of different state and non-state actors for different agendas.”



## Dr Altaf Qadir

Assistant Professor

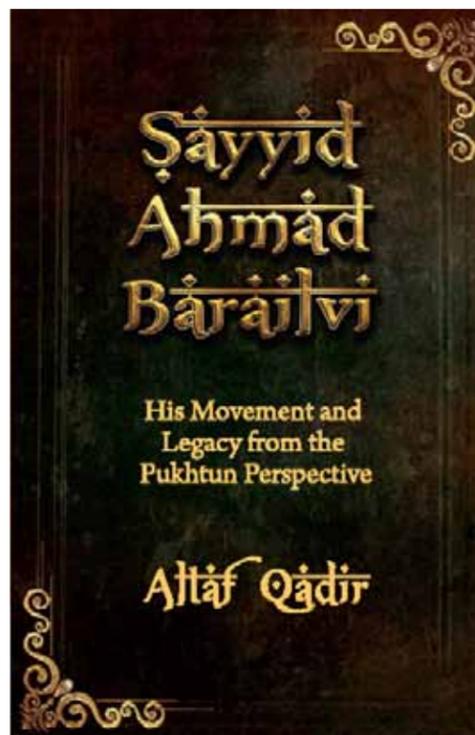
Department of History, University of Peshawar, Pakistan

Author

### SAYYID AHMAD BARAILVI:

### His Movement and Legacy from the Pukhtun Perspective

in an exclusive interview with Mark Ulyseas



Published by SAGE Publications

### Why did you write this book and what do you hope to achieve with it?

It was years back, prior to 9/11 when I was interested to write my MPhil thesis on militancy related issues. I visited a few of the militant camps in the Hazara belt and Kashmir in the summer of 2001. I usually found a reference to the movement of Sayyid Ahmad Barailvi in speeches and sermons of the leaders of different militant organizations. I started taking interest in the Sayyid Ahmad movement but I had the realization that it was an immense project for MPhil dissertation. My mentor Professor Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah also did not want me to spoil the subject for MPhil project with limited resources, time and vision. After completing MPhil, I opted for this project. During the writing of the proposal one of my professors told me to see what options I had i.e. whether a new topic; whether I had new material on an old topic which were not consulted by the earlier writers; or new perspective with old material and topic. Though I had found some new material which was not cited previously in any academic work, my focus remained on looking to the phenomena from a regional/local perspective. While the story of Sayyid Ahmad has been told in earlier narratives, this study discusses the movement at the very local level while also examining elements of the overall political, social, religious, and economic impact of the Jihad Movement on the North-West Frontier.

The present book is perhaps the first academic attempt to analyze the Jihad Movement of Sayyid Ahmad from perspectives drawn from the immediate localities involved. One contribution is the recovery and interpretation of minute details of the movement, neglected or ignored by earlier writers. Earlier commentators and historians have blamed the inhabitants of the Pukhtunkhwa for the failure of the Jihad Movement. I have attempted to illuminate the quite complicated factors responsible for the failure of the Jihad Movement. These include the original selection of the North-West Frontier region for the ‘jihad’ purpose, the *mujahidin’s* failure to understand the sensitivity of the many socio-economic dimensions of Pukhtun society, and the ultimately meager financial resources of the *mujahidin* movement that were insufficient to counter the Sikhs. Moreover, the so-called *charisma* of Sayyid Ahmad did not work well in Pukhtun society. He lacked, did not understand, or chose not to project the virtues and qualities respected in a Pukhtun leader; one always seen at the forefront and prepared to lay down his life for the sake of his people and movement.

Though having limited knowledge of the religion, local poets had long contributed lengthy *na’at*, a form of poetry, that discussed the life and achievements of the Prophet Muhammad (*Peace Be Upon Him*) and provided the Pukhtuns a model of *charismatic* leadership. He had often been seen in the forefront in battles fought in the early days of Islam. The required model of legitimacy was missing in the personality of Sayyid Ahmad and he did not attract a majority of the Pukhtun population. This book aims to clear the existing myths in the mind of the readers.

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The present book is perhaps the first academic attempt to analyze the Jihad Movement of Sayyid Ahmad from perspectives drawn from the immediate localities involved. One contribution is the recovery and interpretation of minute details of the movement, neglected or ignored by earlier writers. Earlier commentators and historians have blamed the inhabitants of the Pukhtunkhwa for the failure of the Jihad Movement. I have attempted to illuminate the quite complicated factors responsible for the failure of the Jihad Movement.

**Barailvi went on a pilgrimage to Mecca where it is believed he was indoctrinated by Wahhabi religious teachers and that it was this indoctrination that led to his founding of a jihad movement. Please comment.**

I did not find reliable source to verify this claim. I understand that Sayyid Ahmad was an original thinker and though he was partly shaped by Shah Wali Ullah's thoughts, he actually broke tradition by initiating and leading the Jihad personally. Wahhabi teachers were expelled by government prior to Sayyid Ahmad's visit to Hijaz.

**Why did Sayyid Ahmad Barailvi found the "The Way of the Prophet Muhammad" (Tariqah Muhammadiyyah)?**

He knew that he would not get acceptability unless he followed the traditional Sufi way of preaching. He considered existing Sufi orders perverted and therefore a need arose for a new cult, an order with emphasis on the reformation of the general public. He started visiting people at their door steps, a long ignored practice. He focused more on the external aspect of Islam instead of internal spiritual training. He named his order as *Rah-e-Suluk-e-Nabuwat*, which was not merely a mystic order but a code of conduct for his followers. He stressed upon his followers to spend each moment in seeking the pleasure of Allah. Sayyid Ahmad urged his disciples to follow *sharia*, which was the real objective of taking *bai'at* at the hands of a spiritual guide. One had to follow the commandments of Allah whether one stayed at home or travelled, earned a livelihood or spent what had been earned, and slept or was awake. One must live with lawful earnings, offer his prayers, keep the fast, go for pilgrimage to Makkah, and so on. By introducing his own order, he was able to attract not only the masses but also the religious, social and political elites of Indian Muslims.

**Is it true that Barailvi, who was called Amir al-Mu'minin ("Commander of the Believers") began a jihad against the Sikhs in the Punjab and NWFP because he believed Muslims should be ruled by Muslims? Or was this an attempt to gain independence for the Pashtuns, to create an Islamic State with Sharia Law?**

There is no denying the fact that the jihad of Sayyid Ahmad was inspired by the teaching of the Qur'an and *ahadith*—traditions of the Prophet Muhammad (*Peace Be Upon Him*). However, one cannot ignore the political situation of the subcontinent in his time. It was more a resistance movement against the Sikhs and later the British, not jihad in its pure technical meanings. The Muslim world was facing western imperialism for decades and they were upset with their crumbling political and social status and institutions. The colonizers were replacing India's centuries-old institutions with their own.

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One might look at resistance in the name of jihad in other Muslim countries including Africa, Middle East, and Central Asia. The situation in India, however, was more complicated from other lands. Indian Muslims were deprived of their previous ruling position by the Western colonizers on the one hand and were brought to the status of a minority on the other. The English occupation of Bengal and Mysore, the Company and native states subsidiary alliances, the annexation of Rohilkhand (parts of present Uttar Pradesh), the occupation of Delhi by Gerald Lake in 1803, English overlordship in Marathas territory, and Amir Khan's peace treaty with the English East India Company were several of the factors which strengthened Sayyid Ahmad's belief that observing Sufi beliefs and practices alone would not revive Muslim political glory in India.

Being a disciple of Shah Abdul Aziz, son and successor of Shah Wali Ullah, Sayyid Ahmad was trained for quite a long time. His mindset was partly shaped by Wali Ullah's tradition. Living in Delhi gave him extra insight into the existing situation. The spiritual training by Shah Abdul Aziz broadened Sayyid Ahmad's vision. His personal experiences in Amir Khan's army, extensive territorial tours for the reformation of society, and observations of the prevalent socio-political situation of India contributed to the preparing of his plan for jihad. Shah Abdul Aziz had accused the Sikhs and the Marathas, but did not issue any *fatwa* upon their occupation of Delhi. Still, they and other local non-Muslims forces who sought independence were considered rebels. This, however, did not change the status of *dar-ul-Islam*. But on the English occupation of Delhi in 1803, a question was put before Shah Abdul Aziz, "Could a *dar al-Islam* become a *dar al-harb*?" Shah Abdul Aziz issued a *fatwa*, declaring India a *dar al-harb*. The *fatwa* of Shah Abdul Aziz was regarded as a very revolutionary document. The Jihad Movement of Sayyid Ahmad was a practical response to the *fatwa* and for that purpose Sayyid Ahmad, at the initial stage of his Jihad Movement, tried to form an alliance of the Indian communities to fight against the East India Company. However, he fought first against the Sikhs due to their proximity to his place of migration and he ultimately was killed in the battle of Balakot in 1831.

**What impact did the movement have on the religious-socio-economic life of the Pashtuns?**

The Jihad Movement left both positive and negative cultural and religious impacts. One of the positive impacts was the initiation of the teaching of the Qur'an and *ahadith* in the North-West Frontier. Earlier religious figures of the area did not emphasize such teaching and were more inclined to teach books of jurisprudence of the *Hanafi* School of thought. The leaders of the Jihad Movement, especially Shah Ismail, continued a series of lectures during his stay in the North-West Frontier. Consulting the secondary or tertiary sources on jurisprudence had limited the vision and knowledge of local *ulama*. First among the locals to follow the footsteps of the leaders of the Jihad Movement was Said Amir of Kotah. He began teaching the Qur'an and *ahadith* in his village and was followed by others.

The public, typically having little knowledge of the historical facts, believe exaggerated and fabricated versions of such stories and many join these organizations. The most important of such organizations have been *Jama'at-e-Dawa*, the former *Jaish-e-Muhammad* and *Harkat-ul-Mujahidin*. The training camps of *Jaish-e-Muhammad* and *Harkat-ul-Mujahidin* were named after Sayyid Ahmad and Shah Ismail and training units of the new recruits after the leaders of the Jihad Movement. Masud Azhar, one of their leaders, has contributed hundreds of essays on *jihad* and the Mujahidin Movement in Urdu newspapers, besides his books on the same topic.

### **What impact did the movement have on the religious-socio-economic life of the Pashtuns? Contd...**

He faced severe criticism and was declared a 'heretic' and 'infidel' by his opponents for teaching the Qur'an and *ahadith*. His opponents wished to maintain their monopoly over religious matters and did not want interference from the public in their domain.

The most evident example of the new teaching was Muhammad Tahir (1913—1987) who taught the Qur'an in the present districts of Swabi and Mardan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan. He was known as the founder of the *Jama'at al-Isha'at Tauheed wa Sunnah*, locally known as Panjpiri school of thought. This school claimed itself to be 'real' followers of the Deoband school of thought. The Panjpiris were spread across parts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and the Punjab, and are commonly known for their uncompromising attitude towards people of opposing ideologies. Beside Panjpiris, there are others who emphasized the teaching of the Qur'an. Some among the activists of *Jama'at-e-Islami Pakistan* think that the spread of the contemporary *madrassa* network is one of the legacies of the Jihad Movement.

Of the negative impacts of the Jihad Movement, the most important is the polarization of religious ideologues. Organizations and individuals who claim that they are ideologically inspired by the Movement narrate stories of Mujahidin successes against their opponents in public gatherings intended to arouse partisan sentiments in the general public. The public, typically having little knowledge of the historical facts, believe exaggerated and fabricated versions of such stories and many join these organizations. The most important of such organizations have been *Jama'at-e-Dawa*, the former *Jaish-e-Muhammad* and *Harkat-ul-Mujahidin*. The training camps of *Jaish-e-Muhammad* and *Harkat-ul-Mujahidin* were named after Sayyid Ahmad and Shah Ismail and training units of the new recruits after the leaders of the Jihad Movement. Masud Azhar, one of their leaders, has contributed hundreds of essays on *jihad* and the Mujahidin Movement in Urdu newspapers, besides his books on the same topic.

The recent wave of militancy may not be directly attributed to Sayyid Ahmad and his Jihad Movement. Many factors that have combined over recent decades include state and non-state actors. Pakistan, USA and Middle East countries, during the Soviet Union intervention in Afghanistan and after, are all responsible for elements of recent turmoil. However, all the organizations involved in the armed struggle in Afghanistan and Kashmir attract the general public by narrating stories of the Mujahidin of Sayyid Ahmad in their speeches. They have established a network of Urdu newspapers to reach the majority portion of the Pakistan population.

One can find many such references in the sermons and writings of different religious and militant organizations. He has not only been idealized but also elevated to the status of a person who could not make any error. This phenomenon has been also institutionalized by the State institutions of Pakistan by indoctrination of the youth. The fabricated and exaggerated details of the Jihad Movement have been included in the curriculum from grade 1 to 14. I have recently written a paper on the said subject, which is to be published shortly.

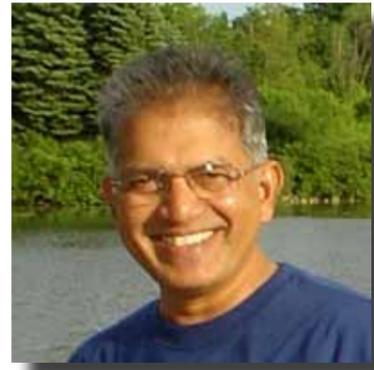
They have started a programme in a popular seminary in Karachi, to train youth in the art of '*Islamic journalism*'. All such activities are continued with the active support of different state and non-state actors for different agendas. While dealing with the impact of the Jihad Movement we have attributed many things to the legacy of Sayyid Ahmad, but may simply point out the common nature of claims made by those involved in current armed struggle that they are ideologically inspired by the Jihad Movement.

### **Some claim that Barailvi's life and teachings have become a reference point for many jihadists and would be jihadists? Please comment.**

One can find many such references in the sermons and writings of different religious and militant organizations. He has not only been idealized but also elevated to the status of a person who could not make any error. This phenomenon has been also institutionalized by the State institutions of Pakistan by indoctrination of the youth. The fabricated and exaggerated details of the Jihad Movement have been included in the curriculum from grade 1 to 14. I have recently written a paper on the said subject, which is to be published shortly.

### **What relevance does Barailvi have in the lives of the Pashtuns, today?**

Pukhtuns, mostly illiterate even today and who have rarely taken any interest in history, know little about Sayyid Ahmad. But religious people and organizations refer to him in their speeches, sermons and writings and hence he is rarely recognized if the term shaheed is not written or spoken with Sayyid Ahmad. It is pertinent to note that many state and non-state actors have popularized Sayyid Ahmad as a great leader of revivalist Islam. He was, perhaps, the first person who initiated Jihad in private capacity and he has been idealized by all those associated with such organizations. One rarely finds any reference that Sayyid Ahmad's entire plan was a failure from day one when he started migration with few hundred followers to fight the well trained and well-disciplined army of the Sikhs.



...both Muslim and non-Muslim, from Europe, North America and elsewhere are swelling the ranks of the ISIS. Ed Husain, one time jihadist and now member of the Tony Blair Foundation and of the American Council on Foreign Relations, explains that these are mostly either migrants, new converts or small delinquents, and always youth who are not fully integrated, do not have a strong social network, carry seeds of hatred within themselves, and lacking a good knowledge of their own religion. To this we might need to add that the dream of a grand Caliphate has never quite died down among many Muslims, fuelled no doubt by readings and memories of perceived historical injustices such as the Crusades...

## THE CHALLENGE OF ISLAM

### CHRISTIAN - MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD

The encounter between Christianity and Islam has never been an easy one, but there have been periods of calm and periods of unrest. Right now we are certainly living through a period of intense and ominous unrest, with the rise of the so-called Islamic State and the passionate emotions it arouses.

On the one hand, there are those who are attracted and fascinated by the ISIS. I have personally heard of young Muslim people educated in Catholic schools, in Mumbai and elsewhere, who have escaped to join the ISIS. These are part of a much larger number of youth, both Muslim and non-Muslim, from Europe, North America and elsewhere, who are swelling the ranks of the ISIS.

Ed Husain, one time jihadist and now member of the Tony Blair Foundation and of the American Council on Foreign Relations, explains that these are mostly either migrants, new converts or small delinquents, and always youth who are not fully integrated, do not have a strong social network, carry seeds of hatred within themselves, and lacking a good knowledge of their own religion. To this we might need to add that the dream of a grand Caliphate has never quite died down among many Muslims, fuelled no doubt by readings and memories of perceived historical injustices such as the Crusades. I remember very distinctly a fine and educated Muslim girl I met in Paris some twenty years ago, who told me very calmly that Muslims would one day take revenge on the Christian West for all the many centuries of suffering.

On the other hand, there are the many who are revulsed and disgusted by the beheadings and crucifixions of innocent people, and repelled by the news of young Muslims in European countries taking it upon themselves to harass Christians and Jews living in their midst. "One thing which bewilders me is that Islamists who live in Europe, instead of being grateful for the freedom they have there, they abuse it, and they criticize and threaten Europe and its inhabitants; so, what I do not understand is why they insist on remaining in Europe? ... I despair..."



Ed Husain himself notes that ideology and extremism cannot be fought with bombings and military interventions. What is needed is a war of ideas, involving Muslims themselves. "We should not forget that the great majority of Muslims is not extremist. We need to launch an ideological challenge, one that is capable of conquering minds and hearts. Above all, we need to offer an alternative, a better version of Europe...."

What to think and what to say in the face of all this? Some Christians are tempted to regard the whole thing and even Islam itself as diabolic. Others distinguish between Muslims and Islamists. The more sane and sage speak of the task of educating young people, Muslims included, to more fraternal and irenic attitudes. "Maybe it is time Christians became proactive and use their intellectual skills etc. to fight this evil menace," my friend writes. Ed Husain himself notes that ideology and extremism cannot be fought with bombings and military interventions. What is needed is a war of ideas, involving Muslims themselves. "We should not forget that the great majority of Muslims is not extremist. We need to launch an ideological challenge, one that is capable of conquering minds and hearts. Above all, we need to offer an alternative, a better version of Europe...." More easily and more often, however, Christians easily tend to forget everyone else and pray only for their Christian brothers and sisters who are suffering on account of their faith; but this is, in my opinion, a merely tribal mentality and a far cry from a truly Christian attitude.

So revulsion? Despair? Education? Prayer?

I am convinced that, for one who believes in God, revulsion is understandable but despair is not. However desperate the situation, if I truly believe in God I am called to ask myself: what is God saying to me, to us, through all this?

I would think that God is reminding Christians of the great virtue of hope. Despair is not a Christian option.

I think God is telling Christians not to cast the first stone, and to remember that they have also been guilty of using his name to justify violence and hatred.

I believe also that God is reminding Christians to go slow and not to generalize. Not all Muslims are bad, just as not all Christians are good. I find it inspiring that Ed Husain came across Islamic scholars in the Middle East who opened his eyes to the difference between traditional Islam and the ideological version that advocates hatred and violence.

I believe, above all, that God is inviting Christians to go beyond a merely tribal way of responding, and to extend and expand their hearts to embrace not only Christians but everyone, and not only the good but also the evil. "But I say to you, love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you, so that you may be sons of your Father who is in heaven; for He causes His sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sends rain on the righteous and the unrighteous. (Mt 5:44-45). The bishops of the Middle East were deeply prophetic in their recent pastoral letter when they stated that it was not a very Christian attitude to be concerned only about the persecution of Christians.

Where will the current situation lead? We do not know. What we know is that, like Christ, we are called to live by what we believe. And it is encouraging that our Muslim brothers have reminded us, in *A Common Word between Us and You*, that we are united not only in belief in the omnipotence and mercy of God, but also in the love of God and of neighbour. Which is why I have chosen to speak of Christian-Muslim brotherhood...

"We fully understand the fears and sufferings of our brothers and sisters in Christ, when by violence they lose members of their families and are driven out of their homes. They have the right to count on our solidarity and prayers. In certain circumstances their only consolation and hope is to be found in Jesus' words: 'Happy are those who are persecuted in the cause of right: theirs is the kingdom of heaven' (Mt 5:10). However, the repetition of the word 'persecution' in some circles (usually referring only to what Christians suffer at the hands of criminals claiming to be Muslims) plays into the hands of extremists, at home and abroad, whose aim is to sow prejudice and hatred, setting peoples and religions against one another." [LINK](#)

So faith, hope and charity: against this there is no law, but also no appeal. It is simply not possible for a Christian to give in to hatred, despair, gloom and generalization. And perhaps what is happening will help us find new meaning in what we have always heard: that it is the cross that is at once the moment of glory.

I begin to understand this when I look at James Foley going bravely to his death. Foley's death illuminates the nameless thousands who have lost their lives in similar situations in the Middle East, and is in turn, for me, illuminated by the life and death of Christian de Chergé and his fellow monks in Thiberine, Algeria. De Chergé's vocation as a monk in Algeria was inspired by the death of his friend Muhammad: Muhammad, a Muslim policeman and father of 10, gave his own life in defence of de Chergé, and that gift of his life permeated every Eucharist that the monk celebrated. Islam, de Chergé came to believe, cannot be confined to the idea that people have of it, not even to what Muslims themselves might say about it, or to what we see of it in its historical manifestations. The death of de Chergé and his fellow monks is another light upon the deep and profound connection between cross and glory. We have to dare to say and to believe that glory and victory lies, paradoxically, in death and in defeat faced with faith, love and hope, in the refusal to despair and to demonize.

Where will the current situation lead? We do not know. What we know is that, like Christ, we are called to live by what we believe. And it is encouraging that our Muslim brothers have reminded us, in *A Common Word between Us and You*, that we are united not only in belief in the omnipotence and mercy of God, but also in the love of God and of neighbour. Which is why I have chosen to speak of Christian-Muslim brotherhood, hoping that this will be seen as an icon of the brotherhood and sisterhood of all human beings, and that more and more of us will be able to join Pope Francis and exclaim with conviction: never again religion in the service of hatred and violence.

**Even if we are not able to turn the tide of history, every little victory counts, every little victory over the temptation to hate, generalize and despair.**

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



## DR STIG STENSLIE

ASSISTANT DEPUTY GENERAL AND HEAD  
OF THE ASIA DIVISION OF THE NORWEGIAN DEFENCE STAFF

# KING SALMAN CONSOLIDATES THE AL-SUDAYRI “PALACE COUP”



### Executive summary

On April 29th 2015 the official Saudi Press Agency announced a royal decree stating that the king's half-brother, Muqrin, had been replaced as the new heir apparent by Muhammad bin Nayif, the king's nephew and interior minister. At the same time Muhammad bin Salman, son of King Salman, was appointed deputy crown prince, while Foreign Minister Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal was replaced by Adil al-Jubayr, the Saudi ambassador to the U.S. King Salman's reshuffling will arguably not bring more stability to Saudi Arabia, but rather increase the long-term risk of political instability. It underpins the notion that the Al-Sudayri clan of the royal family has carried out a “palace coup”.

The survival of a dynastic regime like the Al-Sa'ud depends on unity within the elite. Because of Salman's reshuffling of key positions the Sudayris are now on their own at the helm of the kingdom. The new king's ultimate goal seems to be to consolidate the succession within his branch of the family and for his favourite son. Salman's recent appointments will probably trigger considerable dissatisfaction within the royal family, and nurture future rivalry and potential conflicts among the various family factions. In particular, the appointment of Muhammad bin Salman is likely to be a source of discord.

On April 29th 2015 the official Saudi Press Agency announced a royal decree stating that the king's half brother, Muqrin, had been replaced as the new heir apparent by Muhammad bin Nayif, the king's nephew and interior minister. Salman relieved Crown Prince Muqrin of his post reportedly “upon his own request”. This is the first time that a grandson of the founder of the modern kingdom, King 'Abd al-'Aziz (Ibn Sa'ud) rather than a son has been appointed crown prince, marking a generational change at the top of the ruling house. At the same time Muhammad bin Salman, King Salman's son, was appointed deputy crown prince, while Foreign Minister Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal, who had held this important ministerial post since 1975, was replaced by Adil al-Jubayr, who is not a member of the royal family, but has served as the Saudi ambassador to the U.S.

King Salman's reshuffling of top posts might increase the long-term risk of political instability in Saudi Arabia. It underpins the notion that the Al-Sudayri clan of the royal family has carried out a “palace coup”. Although none of the members of the family has aired any discontent publicly, with the exception of a single tweet by the notorious loose cannon Prince Talal, it is highly likely that King Salman's recent moves have created considerable tension within the royal family. The reshuffling alters the balance between the various family factions. Historically, feuding within the royal family has weakened its grip on power, and it was familial infighting that caused the second Saudi state's collapse in the late 1800s.

It is not surprising that Muqrin was deposed as crown prince – given that he has a weak personal power base and that his mother was a concubine of Yemeni descent. The need for King 'Abd Allah to explicitly stipulate in the decree appointing Muqrin that the decision could not be altered or changed in the future by any party clearly indicates that the late king was aware that the appointment of his half-brother would be met with resistance from within the family. That said, Salman's prompt decision to sideline Muqrin challenges established norms within the royal house: it is neither common that a new king sets aside the heir apparent appointed by his predecessor nor that he overrules a royal decree issued by the late king. Neither did it come as a surprise that Muhammad bin Nayif was promoted to crown prince, although his appointment as deputy crown prince in January was controversial within the royal family. He is one of the seniors among Ibn Sa'ud's grandsons and has a reputation as a skilled leader.

In 1964 King Sa'ud was deposed by his own brothers partly because he sought to amass power in the hands of himself and his sons at the expense of other powerful members of the royal family. Age, experience and kingly qualities have always been the basis for the choice of a successor to the throne. According to the "Basic Law", which is the closest Saudi Arabia comes to a constitution, each of Ibn Sa'ud's grandsons has the right to be king, and they number around 200. By appointing his own son Salman has bypassed numerous other royals who are both older and far more experienced.

However, what came as a surprise was the appointment of the young wunderprince Muhammad bin Salman as deputy NOREF Expert Analysis – May 2015 crown prince. The prince – whose age seems to be a well-protected state secret, but lies somewhere between 27 and 34 years – has few merits. Through the appointment, Salman violates a number of key royal norms: all previous kings have promoted their own sons in terms of power and wealth, but within reasonable limits. In 1964 King Sa'ud was deposed by his own brothers partly because he sought to amass power in the hands of himself and his sons at the expense of other powerful members of the royal family. Age, experience and kingly qualities have always been the basis for the choice of a successor to the throne. According to the "Basic Law", which is the closest Saudi Arabia comes to a constitution, each of Ibn Sa'ud's grandsons has the right to be king, and they number around 200. By appointing his own son Salman has bypassed numerous other royals who are both older and far more experienced.

After Salman became king 'Abd Allah's family branch and the former king's allies have lost political influence. Khalid al-Tuwaijri, the former head of the royal court, was the first one to be deposed. Two sons of 'Abd Allah, who were deposed as governors of the key provinces of Riyadh and Mecca, followed him. Currently Mitab bin 'Abd Allah, who is minister and commander of the Saudi Arabian National Guard, is the only one among the late king's sons who has retained an important position, and it will not come as a huge surprise if he too has his political wings clipped. Muqrin, the now-deposed crown prince, was also among the late king's closest aides.

One should not read too much into the replacement of Sa'ud al-Faysal, who was first appointed in 1975, making him the world's longest-serving foreign minister, and who has struggled with health problems. Faysal "asked to be relieved of his duties due to his health conditions", said the royal decree, which may well be correct. However, it is known that there was disagreement between Faysal and the younger princes Muhammad bin Nayif and Muhammad bin Salman over the decision to bomb the Huthi rebels in Yemen, with Faysal arguing for a diplomatic rather than a military approach. Salman's tough and militaristic foreign policy – known as the "Salman Doctrine" – can be seen in light of his consolidation of power. The decision to bomb the Huthis was arguable partly driven by the king's desire to consolidate the position of Muhammad bin Salman, who, besides being deputy crown prince, is the world's youngest minister of defence. Throughout the military campaign Saudi media loyal to the king have painted a picture of the young prince as a decisive military commander.

In Saudi Arabia rumours are saying that Prince 'Abd al-'Aziz bin Salman, the fourth son of King Salman, could soon replace the current oil minister, 79-year-old technocrat 'Ali al-Na'imi. If this happens, the prince, who was promoted from assistant oil minister to deputy oil minister earlier this year, would be the first member of the royal family to run this important ministry – another move that arguably would strengthen the king's line.

The survival of a dynastic regime like the Al-Sa'ud depends on unity within the elite. King Salman and former king 'Abd Allah were known for having a rather bad relationship on a personal level. Because of Salman's reshuffling of key positions the Sudayris are now on their own at the helm of the kingdom. The new king's ultimate goal seems to be to consolidate the succession within his branch of the family and for his favourite son. Salman's recent moves to enhance the power of his own line will probably trigger considerable dissatisfaction within the royal family, and nurture future rivalry and potential conflicts among the various family factions.

Former kings have appointed non-royals to this ministerial post to avoid creating the notion that one family branch controls the country's main source of income and the source of the royal family's wealth.

The survival of a dynastic regime like the Al-Sa'ud depends on unity within the elite. King Salman and former king 'Abd Allah were known for having a rather bad relationship on a personal level. Because of Salman's reshuffling of key positions the Sudayris are now on their own at the helm of the kingdom. The new king's ultimate goal seems to be to consolidate the succession within his branch of the family and for his favourite son. Salman's recent moves to enhance the power of his own line will probably trigger considerable dissatisfaction within the royal family, and nurture future rivalry and potential conflicts among the various family factions. In particular, the appointment of Muhammad bin Salman is likely to be a source of discord, and he will find it very difficult to become a respected and unifying figure within the family. Time will show how long it will take for a backlash to occur, which might be when the king and his Sudayri companions are facing such a dire situation that they will need the support of the rest of the Al-Sa'ud.

The royal decree that announced the promotion of Muhammad bin Salman underlines the young prince's qualifications, the needs of the state and the support of the majority of the members of the Allegiance Council, in addition to the granting of a month's extra pay to all military and civilian security personnel. The fact that these details are included probably reflects some anticipation by King Salman that the appointment might be met with scepticism both within and outside the royal elite. In February and March there was a drop of as much as \$36 billion dollars in the kingdom's net foreign currency reserves, equivalent to around 5% of the total, the largest recorded two-month decline ever, which was partly due to the extra pay. Besides "buying the support" of the people, the king has sought backing from conservative elements within the clergy – who were sidelined by late king 'Abd Allah – by appointing conservative clerics to important positions and reinvigorating his predecessor's efforts to crush the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt.

Finally, it is ironic that Salman is the one making these controversial appointments, which eventually might upset the stability of Saudi Arabia. For five decades – when he was governor of Riyadh Province – Salman played an important role in terms of maintaining unity within the royal family; it was often him the royals turned to when they needed to resolve family conflicts or deal with other family matters.

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## THE IMPUNITY DILEMMA: SEXUAL OFFENCES BY UN PEACEKEEPERS

In recent months several leaked UN reports revealed that sexual offences by peacekeepers, UN and others, is rampant. This is not a new phenomenon. Sexual exploitation and abuse by UN peacekeepers has been a significant problem for the UN since at least the 1990s. Incidents have included alleged and proven cases of rape, gang rape, pedophilia, prostitution, and other forms of sexual exploitation and abuse across numerous UN operations.[1] Many of the victims have been children. In Haiti in 2012, for instance, the alleged gang rape of an 18-year-old male teenager by five Uruguayan marines and the rape of a 14-year-old boy by three Pakistani police officers were [widely publicised by the media](#). While prosecutions actually occurred in these incidents, in part due to media attention, the ultimate punishments hardly reflected the crimes. In the case of the 18 year old, four of the five Marines were convicted. The Uruguayan court [convicted these four marines in March 2013 of "private violence" and "coercion,"](#) much lesser charges than rape or sexual assault, which carried three years to three months imprisonment. The Pakistani police officers were court martialled by Pakistani authorities and were sentenced to only one year's imprisonment. In most incidents of sexual without access to justice. While the UN has instigated a series of reforms to address the issue, these have not lead to the criminal accountability of perpetrators or redress for victims.

In 2014 a UN expert report on the continued problem of sexual offences by UN peacekeepers, and impunity for such, was leaked. More recently, in May 2015, a UN employee leaked a further report on child sex abuse by French soldiers in the Central African Republic. The latter abuse allegedly took place in an IDP camp and involved young boys between the ages of 8 and 13. The director of field operations for the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, Anders Kompass, who revealed the report, was initially suspended, pending disciplinary hearings, for breach of UN protocols regarding confidential documents; he has since been reinstated due to a ruling by the UN Dispute Tribunal that declared his suspension unlawful. While the soldiers were not under UN employ (i.e. they were not UN peacekeepers), the incident, nevertheless, is reminiscent of previous problems with whistleblower protections, protections that are now supposed to be assured by the UN. Ironically, Kompass's suspension was authorised by Zeid Ra'ad Al Hussein, the author of infamous 'Zeid Report', the first comprehensive examination of sexual abuse and exploitation by UN peacekeepers in the DRC in 2005.[2] Kompass's initial suspension may discourage other potential whistleblowers from revealing incidents of sexual abuse and exploitation by UN peacekeepers, or indeed others.



Ghanaian peacekeeper serving with the United Nations Mission in Liberia, on guard duty during a visit by the Special Representative Karin Landgren, in Cestos City, Liberia, Friday 16, Nov, 2012. UNMIL Photo/Staton Winter

In Haiti in 2012, for instance, the alleged gang rape of an 18-year-old male teenager by five Uruguayan marines and the rape of a 14-year-old boy by three Pakistani police officers were widely publicised by the media. While prosecutions actually occurred in these incidents, in part due to media attention, the ultimate punishments hardly reflected the crimes. In the case of the 18 year old, four of the five Marines were convicted. The Uruguayan court convicted these four marines in March 2013 of “private violence” and “coercion,” much lesser charges than rape or sexual assault, which carried three years to three months imprisonment. The Pakistani police officers were court martialled by Pakistani authorities and were sentenced to only one year’s imprisonment.

UN Security Council Resolution 1325 was passed in 2000, linking for the first time women’s experiences of conflict to the international peace and security agenda. Resolution 1325, along with its six follow-up resolutions, call for an end to violence against women and girls in conflict and highlighted the importance of women’s equal participation in the maintenance and promotion of peace and security. 2015 is the 15th anniversary of SC Resolution 1325, and this year the Security Council will convene a High-level Review to assess progress at the global, regional, and national levels in implementing the resolution.

The issue of sexual violence in the context of peace and security falls under the remit of Resolution 1325 and is likely to be addressed; sexual violence by peacekeepers clearly falls within this. The Secretary-General has commissioned a global study to review progress on the implementation of 1325 and to make recommendations on this. The study will be led by Radhika Coomaraswamy, former Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Children and Armed Conflict and former Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women. In 2015 a review is also being conducted of peace operations and their workings by an appointed expert panel, which no doubt will have implications for the future of peacekeeping.

Sexual violence by peacekeepers and impunity for such should be addressed in the review context given its clear implications for UN peace operations and any restructuring that may occur. These cannot be viewed as separate processes, where women might be bought into the one, but not the other. Both processes have clear relevance to the issue of sexual violence by UN peacekeepers. Pressure is being placed by civil society organisations, such as AIDS Free World, on the UN system, in the context of both reviews, for immunities granted to peacekeepers to be revised in light of impunity for sexual offences. The issue is likely to gain renewed traction given the launch of AIDS Free World’s ‘Code Blue’ campaign last month outside UN headquarters, which has attracted widespread media attention. The launch was joined and supported by significant personalities and experts, including Graça Machel (Former First Lady of South Africa and Mozambique, and author of *Impact of Armed Conflict on Children*), Lt. Gen. Roméo Dallaire (Force Commander for the UN mission during the Rwandan genocide), Theo Sowa (CEO of the African Women’s Development Fund), Ambassador Anwarul Chowdhury (former Under-Secretary General), and the co-directors of AIDS Free World, Paula Donovan (former senior advisor to the UN Special Envoy for HIV/AIDS in Africa) and Stephen Lewis (former UN Secretary-General’s Special Envoy for HIV/AIDS in Africa and former Deputy Executive Director of UNICEF).

In light of these events and, more significantly, that the issue is likely to feature in discussions of both the 1325 review and the review of UN peace operations, it seems opportune that renewed attention be placed on the issue of impunity for sexual offences by peacekeepers.

The other difficulty with states, other than the host state, exercising jurisdiction over such crimes is that their laws may not apply extraterritorially to cover sexual offences by UN civilian peacekeepers. The UN has no capacity to exercise criminal jurisdiction. Even if a state’s laws apply extraterritorially, difficulties may arise in conducting an effective investigation in the host state. There may also be issues of dual criminality (which means the offence must be criminalised under the laws of both states), access to witnesses and evidence, cooperation of host states, and so forth.

To a significant extent the reason that the impunity of UN peacekeepers remains a problem is related to the immunities granted to both civilian and military peacekeepers from the host state’s criminal jurisdiction. These immunities are granted under the 1948 UN Convention on Privileges and Immunities, or the Status of Forces Agreements (SOFAs).[3] Any jurisdictional immunities granted to the UN and its personnel, including military personnel, is based on the theory of functionality, namely enabling the organisation to function free from host state interference. All of the immunities granted draw on Article 105 of the UN Charter. These were never intended to be granted for the personnel advantage of individuals engaging in criminal acts while deployed on UN operations. Certainly, they were not intended to cover sexual offences.

### UN Officials and Experts on Mission (Civilians)

There are two primary categories of UN civilian personnel, namely UN officials and experts on mission. UN officials, normal UN civilian staff members, are granted immunity from host state criminal jurisdiction for acts carried out in their ‘official’ capacity under the UN Convention on Privileges and Immunities.[4]

Experts on mission, under the Convention on Privileges and Immunities, are immune from legal process for words spoken or written by them or for any of their acts during the course of their mission. [5] UN experts on mission are generally persons who the UN Secretary General assigns specific tasks for short-term periods.

### Waiver of Immunity

The UN Secretary-General can waive the immunity granted to UN officials and experts on mission where he contends the immunity will impede the course of justice.[6] The need to waive should never arise with respect to sexual offences as they are not related to official duties, but reality differs, and waiver does not generally occur. The problem is that this results in a jurisdictional gap when no state can exercise jurisdiction given problems of extraterritorial application of state laws and the system of immunities.

The other difficulty with states, other than the host state, exercising jurisdiction over such crimes is that their laws may not apply extraterritorially to cover sexual offences by UN civilian peacekeepers. The UN has no capacity to exercise criminal jurisdiction. Even if a state’s laws apply extraterritorially, difficulties may arise in conducting an effective investigation in the host state. There may also be issues of dual criminality (which means the offence must be criminalised under the laws of both states), access to witnesses and evidence, cooperation of host states, and so forth.

Problems arise when states do not hold soldiers alleged to have committed sexual crimes to account. If it was possible to restrict or waive the immunity granted to soldiers, so that sexual offences are not covered, this could enable the host state to prosecute, or for the matter to be brought to some form of a hybrid court. A restricted form of immunity is granted to soldiers, for instance, under the NATO Status of Forces Agreement.

### UN Military Contingent Personnel

SOFAs are bilateral agreements negotiated between the UN and host state, and they regulate the relationship between the host state and UN operations. Under the terms of UN SOFAs, negotiated between the UN and host states, 'exclusive criminal jurisdiction' is granted to troop-contributing states over their soldiers for all crimes they commit while deployed to UN operations.[7] Unlike UN civilian personnel, the contributing state's laws travel with the peacekeeper so that there is no jurisdictional gap per se. The troop-contributing state has jurisdiction. The UN Secretary-General cannot simply waive this absolute form of immunity from host state criminal jurisdiction or the exclusive jurisdiction that is granted to the troop-contributing state. Notably, it will not prevent other states or possibly the International Criminal Court or other such body from exercising jurisdiction over soldiers if this were warranted, because the immunity that is granted is only immunity from the host state's criminal justice system.

Problems arise when states do not hold soldiers alleged to have committed sexual crimes to account. If it was possible to restrict or waive the immunity granted to soldiers, so that sexual offences are not covered, this could enable the host state to prosecute, or for the matter to be brought to some form of a hybrid court. A restricted form of immunity is granted to soldiers, for instance, under the NATO Status of Forces Agreement. This means that soldiers could be granted full immunity for acts related to their official duties or those only effecting the force, and that criminal acts that are unambiguously unrelated to their duties should never fall under immunity, such as the obvious case of sexual offences. UN SOFAs could conceivably be framed similarly. Further, SOFAs are bilateral agreements negotiated on a case-by-case basis. If there is no SOFA, there should technically be no immunity.

### Conclusion

UN reforms have placed increased pressure on states to investigate and prosecute soldiers. General Assembly resolutions have called on states to extend their criminal laws to cover criminal acts by peacekeepers while deployed overseas. But the problem of impunity remains. States remain reluctant to take action against peacekeepers alleged to have committed sexual offences, and to provide the UN with information on said action.

The UN established a group of legal experts to look at the accountability of UN officials and experts on mission for sexual abuse, exploitation, and other serious misconduct. The group of legal experts issued a report in 2006, highlighting a number of possible options for enhancing accountability. They suggested, for example, that a Convention be drawn up to better deal with jurisdiction, definition of crimes, and mutual legal assistance, amongst other issues.

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Another suggestion was to enhance host state capacity to exercise its own jurisdiction or, failing this, the establishment of a hybrid court.[8] Little action has been taken on these recommendations and the issue remains sitting in the UN Sixth Committee. In turn, the UN could instigate a system of investigation and trial monitoring where soldiers are accused of sexual crimes.

It is hoped that this year's High-Level Independent Panel on Peace Operations, and the Security Council Resolution 1325 Review, will make recommendations on what further action might be taken to better ensure the criminal accountability of the minority of peacekeepers who violate the rights of the civilians they have been sent to protect. Moreover, it is hoped that the processes spur actual changes in the UN system in the near future and not just further talk.

[1] See further, R Burke, *Sexual Exploitation and Abuse by UN Military Contingents: Moving Beyond the Current Status Quo and Responsibility under International Law* (Brill/Martinus Nijhoff, 2014).

[2] UNSG, A Comprehensive Strategy to Eliminate Future Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in United Nations Peacekeeping Operations, delivered to the General Assembly, UN Doc. A/59/710, 24 March 2005 (hereinafter Zeid Report).

[3] Model SOFA, UN Doc A/45/594

[4] Section 18(a), Article V of the CPI

[5] Section 22, Article VII of the CPI

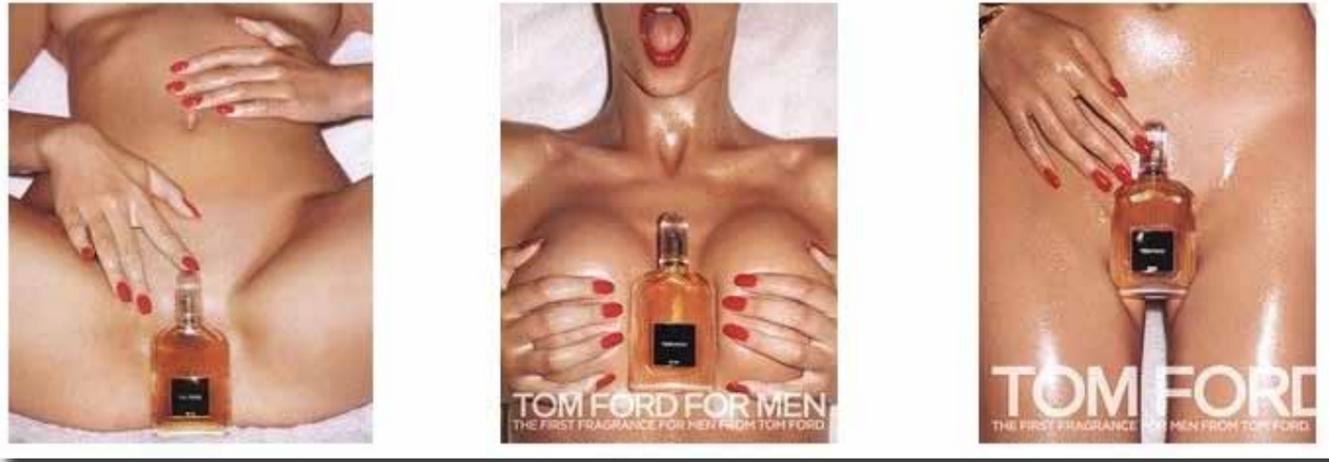
[6] Section 20, Article V of the CPI

[7] Model SOFA, UN Doc A/45/594, Paragraph 47(b); See also, COE Manual/Revised Model MOU, UN Doc A/C.5/63/18, Article 7ter.

[8] Ensuring the Accountability of United Nations Staff and Experts on Mission with Respect to Criminal Acts Committed in Peacekeeping Operations – Report of the Group of Legal Experts, UN GAOR, 60th sess, Agenda Item 32, UN Doc A/60/980 (16 August 2006).



Tom Ford advertisement series from 2007. Images from [www.advertisingarchives.co.uk](http://www.advertisingarchives.co.uk)



## SEXUALISED IMAGERY IN ADVERTISING HAS GONE TOO FAR

by Elizabeth Willmott-Harrop (republished from a speech given by Elizabeth at the UK House of Commons in July 2012 - [Link](#))

A UK report from 2012 *Public Attitudes Towards Outdoor Advertising* asked “how likely are you to be offended” by a range of advertisements, focusing on sexualised imagery.

Responses were graded from ‘very offensive’ to ‘not at all offensive’. The British Advertising Standards Authority (ASA) is required to prohibit advertisements causing “serious or widespread offence” (that criteria was not enough to ban a pornographic advertisement by Tom Ford in 2007), and concluded from the results that it is drawing the right line on sexual imagery in outdoor advertising.

### Offensive vs appropriate

For me however, the crux of the report is not in the statistics, but in the use of the term offensive.

- In a world where new technologies have normalised the distribution of explicit personal photos;
- in a world where fly on the wall television hopes to facilitate live sex and is considered frivolous entertainment;
- in a world where sexual violence and drug addiction are glamorised to become mainstream song lyrics and images in coffee table reading;
- In a world where a child’s sexuality education is informed by depictions of sexual aggression and anal sex from pornography;

In such a world the limits of offense are high and wide, and using it as a standard opens a flood gate of unwelcome material into our material world.

Where is our sense not of offence, but of the appropriate?

I will describe 6 contemporary UK advertisements:

01. A National Institute of Carpet and Floorlayers ad depicts a woman in a see through black lace dress, lying on the floor with the words “Wanted, professional layers!”;
02. A Juicy Couture perfume ad shows an adolescent girl sitting on a bed, see through net skirt, off the shoulder top, legs apart;
03. A Miss Sixty ad, model lying on her side, naked other than high shoes and tiny denim shorts, her legs apart and buttock raised;
04. A Viktor and Rolf perfume ad with a naked model, gauze over her face, black ribbon around her breasts and body emulating bondage;
05. Train stations displayed posters with a Barbie style topless woman, the strapline asks “Fame, money, power. What price would you pay?” The implication being prostitution.
06. Easyjet magazine - in every seat pocket - has a swimsuit ad, the model with sexually suggestive expression and pose, tugging on her bikini bottoms.

The age of female models in many such advertisements is ambiguous and sits between adulthood and childhood, defined as under 18 by the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child.

Seeing is believing. We are far more accepting of the truth and integrity of an image than of discourse. What is considered inoffensive according to research can still show women and girls objectified and sexualised to the detriment of all.



From left to right : Easyjet magazine June 2012, FHM magazine July 2012, Tatler August 2012, Train station poster July 2012, Miss Sixty Grazia ad, April 2012, Grazia, April 2012.

## Government

According to the European Parliament: "Advertising and marketing create culture rather than just reflect it, our concepts of gender being socially constructed and advertisements helping us construct them... gender stereotyping in advertising straitjackets women, men, girls and boys by restricting individuals to predetermined and artificial roles that are often degrading and humiliating."

The United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women which oversees the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) has registered its concern with stereotyped media portrayals of women in the UK.

The UK government responded saying it "does not seek to interfere in what a newspaper or magazine chooses to publish". That response is not good enough.

Self-regulation by the advertising industry can give banned advertisements a barrage of further publicity after their initial airing and offers no significant financial or legal sanctions. The ads then remain on the internet, albeit not on the advertisers own website. The ASA recently banned ads by American Apparel on the basis they were "exploitative and inappropriately sexualised young women". When will we get to a point where such ads do not appear in the first place? That is effective regulation.

## Human rights

The UN CEDAW committee also noted that the UK's stereotyped media portrayals - of which sexualised imagery in advertising forms a part - "contribute to women's disadvantaged position in a number of areas, including in the labour market".

This is a human rights issue. Not the human right you might think of - the right to freedom of expression of advertisers - but rights such as to health, freedom from discrimination, and the right to be free from violence and abuse.

- Effects of girls' exposure to sexually objectifying images include on development, self-esteem, physical, mental and sexual health, risk factors for early pregnancy and abortion, and future career success.
- Studies show that adults who view sexually objectifying images of women in mainstream media are more accepting of violence.

- The rising number of children at risk of sexual exploitation in the UK is linked in part to overtly sexual content in the media. Sexualised behaviour in children, linked to sexualisation, is both an indicator and risk factor for child sexual exploitation.

This is our world. I will continue to build a picture for you with more pieces of the jigsaw:

- Children account for 34% of hospital stays for eating disorders;
- By the age of 10, a third of children have been exposed to explicit pornography on the Internet;
- More than a quarter of people think a woman is partially or totally responsible for being raped if she was wearing sexy or revealing clothing;
- Britain has the world's third-highest proportion of teenagers who are sexually active at an early age and the highest teenage birth and abortion rates in Western Europe;
- Depictions of violence against teenage girls on television have risen 400 per cent in 5 years;
- 280,000 teenage girls in the UK suffer from sexual assault believing it is an accepted part of a relationship or don't know how to stop it;
- It will take 70 more years before we have an equal number of women MPs and directors in the FTSE 100;

This is our world. It is a world I will not accept and it is a world I will try and change, piece by piece.

## Conclusion

The good news is that for every piece of the jigsaw there is something we can do. I quote again from the European Parliament: "responsible advertising can ... be a strong tool in challenging and tackling stereotypes".

We have to force the advertising industry to be what it prides itself on being - creative. Being creative in exploring equitable, respectful and positive ways to represent gender, identity and youth.

Self-regulation is failing to control the objectification of women, the denigration of childhood through sexualised images of young people, and the affront to gendered identities, which advertisements continue to portray.

Sadly, nearly all those Khmer Rouge officials involved in the butchery of Cambodians have gone unpunished.

## REMAINS OF THE DAY - A LAMENT FOR THE MILLIONS BUTCHERED BY THE KHMER ROUGE

Cambodians have struggled to rise up from the horrors of the last century. The butchery of Pol Pot is believed to have claimed millions of innocent victims. Doctors, lawyers, engineers, diplomats, teachers, school children and even infants were not spared. Mass graves revealed thousands of headless human remains.

Decades later the sites of torture and murder have become tourist attractions. The Cambodians have preserved the places where mass slaughter took place: *Tuol Svay Prey High School* in Phnom Penh, which was converted to the *Tuol Sleng Prison* called S.21 (Security Office 21) by the Pol Pot regime. It was from here that prisoners, after brutal interrogation, were trucked to *Choeung Ek extermination camp*, 15 km from the capital, where they were disposed of by medieval methods: Axes, bayonets, knives, barbed wire and even the smashing of heads against trees were the preferred methods so as to save on the bullets.

The following photographs reveal the inhumanity of humanity. It is also a reminder that perhaps we have learned nothing from Pol Pot, the massacre in East Bengal or from the Holocaust...the inhumanity of humanity continues to grow in the form of ISIS rampaging across the Middle East leaving a trail of severed human bodies in the thousands...a vast open air abattoir.

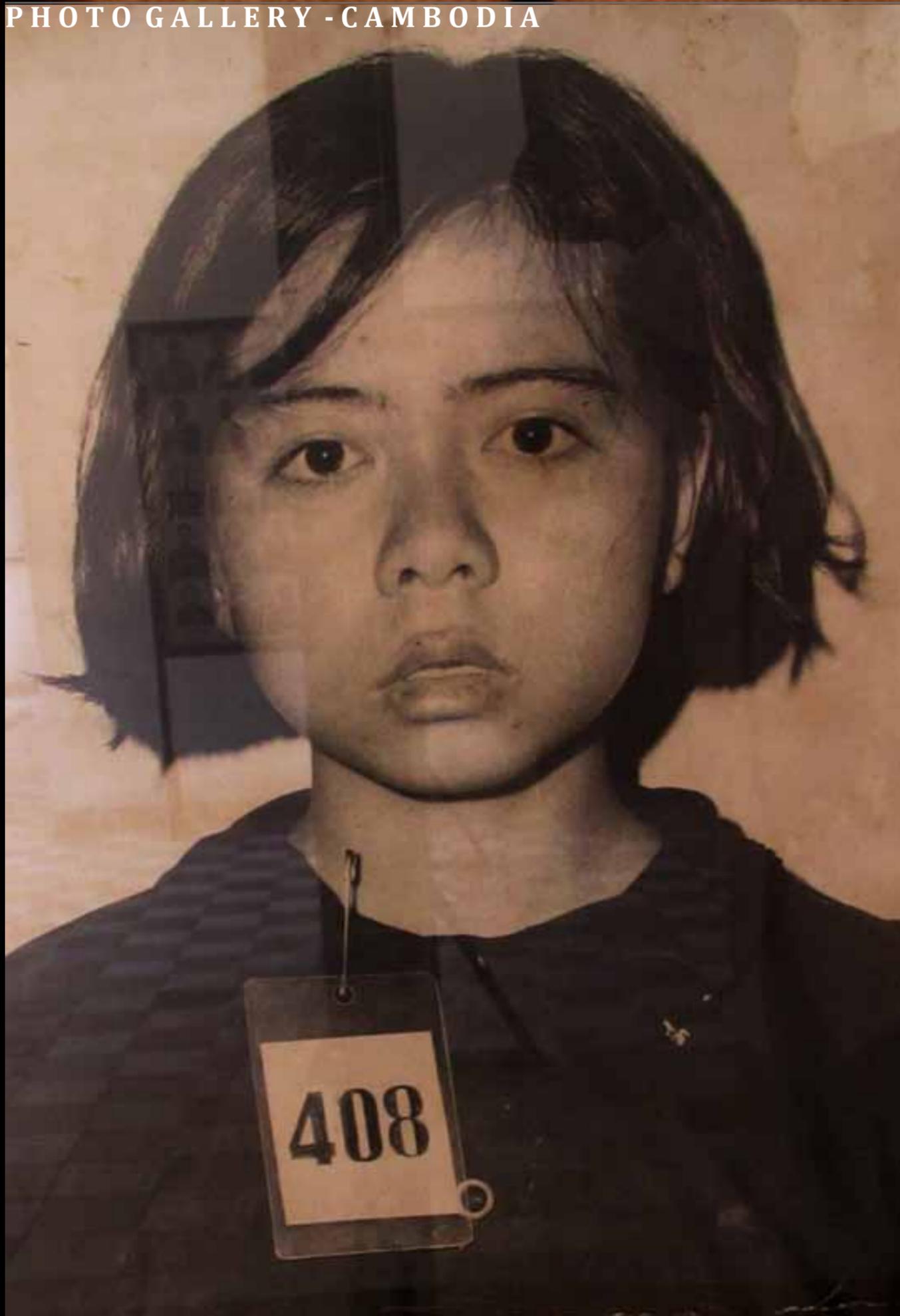
Could it be that when the *Day of Reckoning* arrives there will be no one left to greet our Maker?



MARK ULYSEAS



Victim. Photograph of a photograph, Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Phnom Penh by Mark Ulyseas



*Above:* Remains of victims on display in the Memorial Stupa, Choeung Ek extermination camp, 15 km from Phnom Penh. *Left:* Photograph of a photograph on display at the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum in Phnom Penh. Photographs by Mark Ulyseas



*Above:* Remains of victims on display in the Memorial Stupa, Choeung Ek extermination camp, 15 km from Phnom Penh. *Right:* Photograph of a photograph on display at the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum in Phnom Penh. Photographs by Mark Ulyseas





Above: Victims tortured and killed. Photograph of a photograph on display at the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum in Phnom Penh. Left: The Magic Tree, at the Choeng Ek extermination camp, on which a loud speaker was hung and music played to drown out the cries of those being butchered. Photographs by Mark Ulyseas

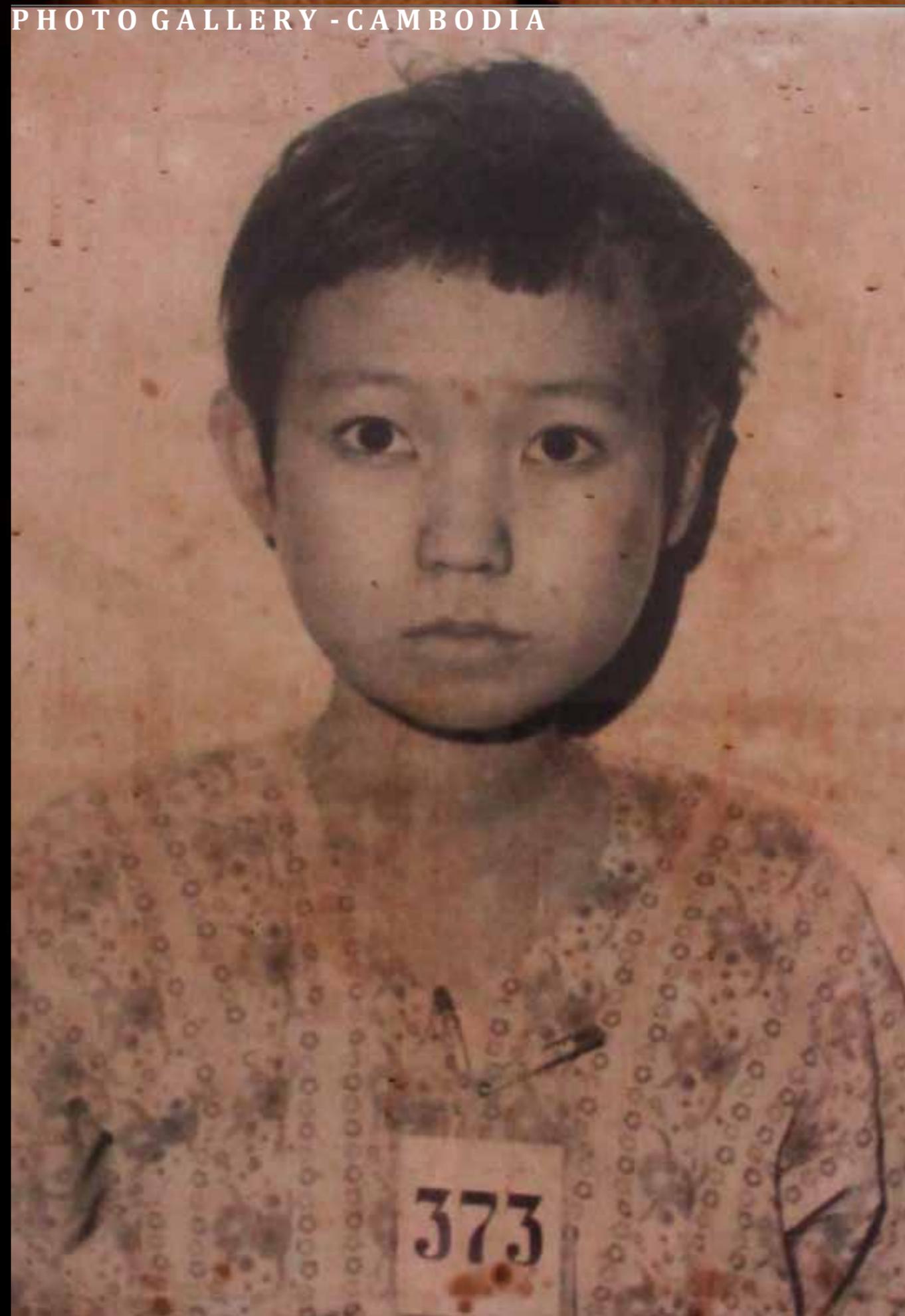




Remains of victims on display, Choeng Ek extermination camp. Photograph by Mark Ulyseas  
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Friendship bands tied by tourists at a mass grave, Choeng Ek extermination camp. Photo by Mark Ulyseas  
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Victim, Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Phnom Penh. Photograph of a Photograph by Mark Ulyseas  
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Human remains still lie in the ground, Choeung Ek extermination camp. Photograph by Mark Ulyseas  
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Torture room and implements, Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum. Photograph by Mark Ulyseas  
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Skull of a victim at Choeung Ek extermination camp. Photograph by Mark Ulyseas



*Above: Victims tortured and killed. Left: The Gallows, Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, which was earlier used by students of the school for physical training, was used for torture. Victims were strung upside down and beaten. When the prisoners lost consciousness their heads were thrust into filthy water (human waste which was used as fertiliser for the crops on the terrace of the school). They quickly regained consciousness, only to be part of the continuing interrogation. Photographs by Mark Ulyseas.*



I sat here for a while contemplating the savagery of Pol Pot and the futility of all the violence that this land had witnessed. The sylvan surroundings camouflaged a bloody past. Nature had come with her healing touch. If only this was the end to all violence, everywhere.



Cassie is a very intelligent Border Collie who has shared life with us in Ireland and in Hamburg. She has become the subject matter of a collection of poems I'm writing entitled, *Lady Cassie Peregrina*. In this poem, she considers death and her final resting place in Killedan graveyard. When I was a child we used to play in Killedan House dog's graveyard – I used to find it fascinating...it is now, unfortunately, completely overgrown.

### A Dog Speaks on a Derelict Graveyard and Death

When people speak about Killedan House tradition they often mention the dog's graveyard as if it was animate and just under the skin of house rhetoric.

Graveyards are soundless and speechless. As soon as a wet sod puts the lid on a beast's life, even the most rabid are mute – no more barking up the wrong tree.

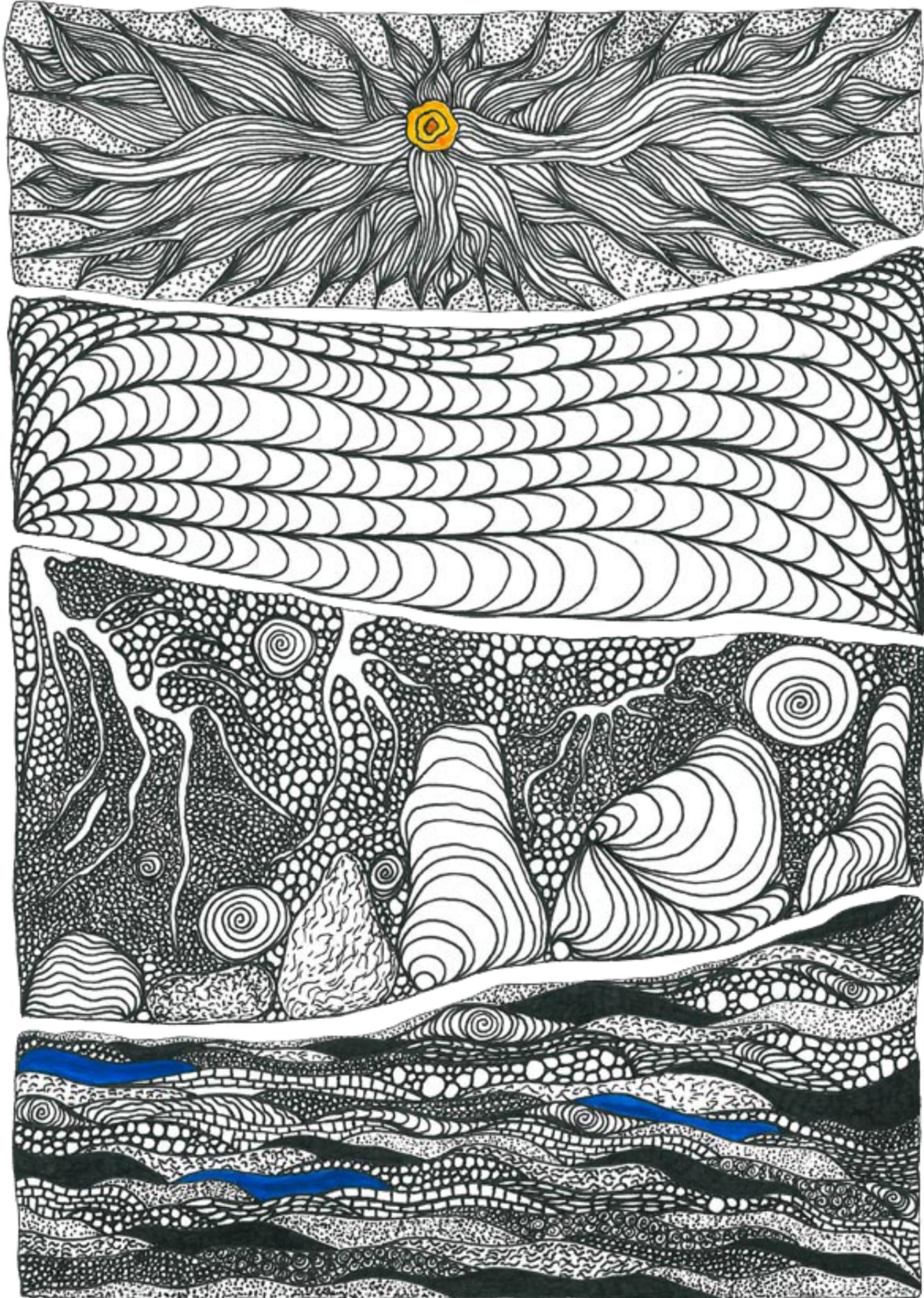
In quiet moments I see the reptile tongue of death tidying up the unviable – ruthless as a cold slab of winter making way for the fresh yelp of first daffodils.

Even in absolute shambles, a dog's graveyard would be a rare arthouse classic – an artefact on a display shelf or sculptures that will outlive me.

I lie here on the doorstep imagining canine spirits afloat in airstream and slipstream – seeing them soar and funnel their way to nameless worlds but  
a dead dog is dead  
silent as an alpine cow without a bell  
cold as handlesbars in frost  
colourless as white.

Images of jumbled bones among sprawling roots in the derelict dog's graveyard leave me cold but when my end does come, I'd be proud to be borne there draped in the colours of my breed.





Drawing by Randhir Khare from his new series Earth Lines which is part of his 7th solo exhibition opening later this year.



Extracts from THE BLUE NOTEBOOK an unpublished sequence of poems that expresses the powerfully organic life-view of one of the most accomplished poets on the Indian subcontinent. It is accompanied by a drawing from Earth Lines, his new series.

### What Lies Between

Between the new leaf and the old wind something has passed, tasting of April's end and the copper breath of the sun, snow dissolving in streams trickling into green pools in the womb of the forest, ice cracking into shards like words of a poem that no one wants to read, swallows autographing the blue and the mud wounds in rocks erupting into flower scabs.

Between the fall of a feather and the rise of the new moon something has passed, echoing with the cry of monkeys from treetops, trembling with the murmur of sleeping bees, moving from mud to moss to bark, climbing pale light streams through the hearts of pine resin.

Between the alphabets of the changing seasons lie purple moments of stillness drunken with longing.

### Infinite

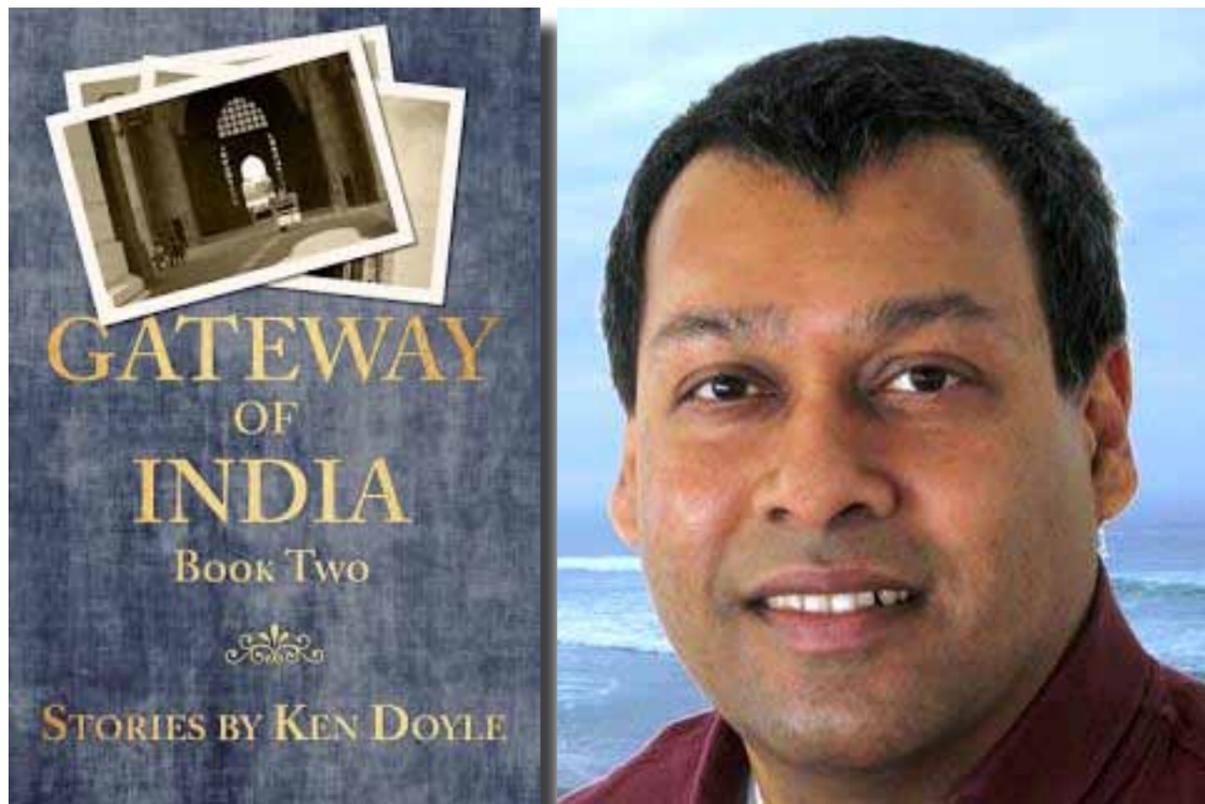
Swollen blue in a dream shell, I float in the yolk, heavy with waiting. Lazarus, balm-smearing and silent; within, history mutates, rejects, resolves, blends, becomes, bears messiahs from its womb, scatters the Word like seeds; and the carpenter, hands smelling of wood-shavings, hammer rust and wine, waits outside, a miracle in his fist. Waiting. Between living and dying, between waking and sleeping, between speaking and keeping silent, between light and dark, between the Hour of Remembrance and the Hour of Forgetfulness, between being and becoming, between the slaughtered lamb and the flight from the Pharaoh. I am waiting, floating in yolk, for the moment of the cracked shell, hanging upside down, Odin, head-blood pounding, staring down at the alphabet of runes.

Light, clear light, light of awakening, light of the resurrection, light of infinite possibilities, make me a poem.



## ACHING TO RECAPTURE THE PAST

**NATALIE WOOD** SPEAKS TO **KEN DOYLE**,  
A MUMBAI-BORN ANGLO-INDIAN SCIENTIST AND WRITER



Gateway of India Book 2 - [www.amazon.co.uk](http://www.amazon.co.uk)

I am no fan of [National Novel Writing Month](#). It smacks too much of an international publishers' promotion fest for my tastes. So it's fortunate that many established writers disagree with me as the discipline needed to produce the skeleton of a full-length story within such a short time helps many to the finish line.

I thought of this when interviewing [Ken Doyle](#), a Bombay-born Anglo-Indian scientist and writer, whose long spell in the creative wilderness ended when he was introduced to 'NaNoWriMo'. He has now gone on to produce work in several genres, including a series of captivating short stories based on the India he knew as a child.

Doyle now lives with his family in Milford, Delaware, USA where he works from home but styles himself as a "writer by night". I asked him to explain this:

**'Writer by Night' sounds most alluring. But is it simply what you do after you return home from your day job?**

Actually, my day job also involves a good deal of writing, although of a different nature. I work from home and provide marketing and scientific writing services to clients in the biotech and biomedical industries. In some ways, it does make it more challenging to sit down and turn my attention to writing fiction at night. However, being self-employed also gives me some flexibility with scheduling that I wouldn't have if I worked for someone else.

**You seem to have lived at least as long in the USA as you ever did in India. Do you miss it? Badly enough even to return there to live? I ask because I sense a feeling of writerly dislocation permeating your stories.**

I do miss certain things about India, specifically, Bombay (Mumbai) where I lived for 22 years. On the other hand, India has changed quite a bit since I left, and in many ways, not for the better. Hindu nationalism is now more rampant than it ever was, and politics has become more polarised. Also, after living in the U.S.A., the minor annoyances of everyday life in India — bribery, corruption, the glacial pace of bureaucracy -- become magnified when one attempts to return. Still, I know what you mean by writerly dislocation. One of my favourite writers, [Jhumpa Lahiri](#), made this the theme of her first novel, *The Namesake*. I'm sure it's something that most immigrants feel, and it's a dislocation in time as much as it is in space. We cherish fond memories of our childhood and adolescence that are tied to a geographic location, but if we revisit that location in later years, we can never recreate the past.



Gateway of India, still from David Lean's *A Passage To India*.

### If I'm wrong, what keeps you in the west?

Primarily my family. Most of my siblings live in the U.S.A., and my immediate family would not be able to make the considerable adjustment to living in India. There are also many things that I appreciate about living in the U.S.A. For example, it's very easy to start and operate a small business. In India, I probably would have given up long ago, due to the bureaucracy and tax complexities.

**I see that you began writing in your teens. Again, I feel there are more than the reasons you state for leaving writing aside for so long. After all, writers never stop writing! So is there another reason?**

I'd love to be able to pinpoint a specific reason, but I think it amounts to changing priorities. In my teens, I had very few responsibilities and a great deal more time to write. Once I entered graduate school and 70-hour work weeks became the norm, it killed a lot of my creative spirit. After that, it took a long time for me to go back and rediscover what I had lost.

**I must suppose that you write science fiction because you are a scientist in real life. Do you think a writer needs a background to write science fiction or can it be done purely from one's imagination?**

Science fiction was my first love and I hope to return to it on a larger scale, although I'm currently trying to establish myself in a different genre with *Bombay Bhel* and *Gateway of India*. SF spans a broad spectrum, from "hard SF" that involves a great deal of scientific knowledge to speculative fiction that may require very little. So I think it's possible for writers with varying backgrounds to write good SF. I must admit that I enjoy the harder variety, though. I recently read *Darwin's Radio* by Greg Bear, and I was amazed at his detailed knowledge of molecular biology and genetics, which is my field of study.

**What do you like doing away from either your day job or when you aren't writing?**

Reading is my first choice when I need some "down time". I also enjoy listening to music and being in places where I can connect with nature: the beach or state parks.

**Tell me about Chughani Manor, occupied by the characters that appear in *Gateway of India*. Does / did it ever exist – even under a different name? Did you live somewhere like it as a child?**

It's a thinly disguised real building that still exists. I didn't live there, but spent many happy moments there at family gatherings and other visits.



Bombay Bhel Puri.

**Were you perhaps the little boy who played chess with a famous cricketer or the would-be scientist who bought a laboratory kit from a moonlighting teacher? In other words, are your affectionate portraits based on real people and events? Certainly, there's a ring of truth that gives your hugely enjoyable stories their integrity.**

I suppose there's always a little bit of ourselves in what we write, even if we don't intend for that to happen. I did enjoy chemistry as a child and still remember that first chemistry set. I find stories that draw on a personal memory or childhood experience the easiest to write; they tend to flow better and have a natural rhythm to them that is difficult to create, at least in the first draft, when one is writing about a completely fictional scenario. Many of my stories are based on childhood memories, while others (such as *Solar Power* and *Bhel Plaza* in my first book) are based very loosely on actual events, as reported in the media, with which I had no prior connection.

**In which other genres do you write aside from science fiction and literary fiction? Do you, for example, ever try your hand at flash fiction or poetry? Or even non-fiction, aside from writing related to your work?**

I did write some flash fiction, although it would still fall under the speculative fiction umbrella. I've also written some poetry, but it's been a while. I have a very rough and incomplete draft of a young adult urban fantasy novel, and I hope, some day, to write a YA epic fantasy novel.

**Finally, as I've read your single short story, *Saturday Date* as well as *Gateway of India Book Two*, I suggest that *Saturday Date* appears to be among your earliest stories written as an adult and is quite different from those that have come later. What triggered this? Is Mary, who may viewed almost as an anti-heroine, simply emblematic of your idea of those who live in abject poverty or did you ever know people like her personally?**

*Saturday Date* was actually written after I completed my first book, *Bombay Bhel*. It's more in the style of those earlier stories, but it also acts as a prequel of sorts to the first story in *Gateway of India*, Book One. In a way, I think it may be seen as a transition between the two books. There really was a woman who used to sing in our neighbourhood for alms when I was a child, and there are several legends (and conflicting reports) in the media about her life story. My version, of course, is heavily fictionalised. Nonetheless, growing up in Bombay, I came into contact with people like that every day, and perhaps that's why the huge gap between the rich and the very poor has influenced many of my stories.



## THE VAMPIRE ARCHETYPE

*The creativity of your subconscious mind not only shows up in dreams, but also shows up as archetypes in your life. Archetypes are overlying patterns that show up in all cultures that are seeded in the psyche. Some examples of archetypes are mother, judge, teacher and healer. When you begin to look at these patterns in your life, you can unleash your creative energy.*

Many cultures are intrigued and fascinated with vampires. Vampires were mythological figures that lived off the essence of others by drinking their blood. Honestly, they give me the creeps, but the adrenaline rush others get from the scariness of blood and gore may be part of the attraction. There is a seductive nature to the vampire as well.

A person with the Vampire Archetype tends to live off of the energy essence of others. Have you ever felt drained by someone you worked with, even if they didn't talk much? Do you have people in your life that seem to steal your energy? Do you have friends that exhaust you just by being with them?

Maybe you have the Vampire Archetype. After spending time with someone, do you feel energized and then you notice they look like all the blood drained from their face. Do you find others avoid you? Do you come off as clingy or needy? Are you continually looking to others for validation or to make you feel better?

As an intuitive reader I look into the aura and the chakras of my clients and can see where they are losing power, where they are either giving their power away or being attacked. When someone attaches to you or hits you energetically, you are drained, depressed and sometimes somewhat paralyzed. When you are managing your own energy within yourself and not enmeshed with others, not trying to control others or attaching to others, you feel good!

Historically, in many dramas, real or written, the Vampire Archetype has been featured in many male and female relationships. In these cases, there is eroticism between the vampire and his conquest. The female is repelled by the vampire, but also drawn into the sexual nature of the submissiveness. In this case, the male overpowers the female, taking her energy for himself. Today, this archetype may be underlying many domestic abuse situations.

Currently, people are more aware of the energy around their body, of energy exchange, and how they feel when they are around others. A woman with a Vampire Archetype may come off as loving and helpful, but when she leaves, you may feel like she took a piece of you with her. She may continually ask you for more than you can give or do. She may complain constantly. Maybe you have had a relationship with a man and ended it and he won't leave. He may continue to cling to you or even stalk you. The codependent relationship may fit into this category.

Rather than vampires looking gory and dressing in black and gray with blood dripping down, today they look like anyone else in your life. Much of my work for the last 25 years has been around energy and energy medicine. As an intuitive reader I look into the aura and the chakras of my clients and can see where they are losing power, where they are either giving their power away or being attacked. When someone attaches to you or hits you energetically, you are drained, depressed and sometimes somewhat paralyzed. When you are managing your own energy within yourself and not enmeshed with others, not trying to control others or attaching to others, you feel good!

*Recently, I psychically read a woman who had been attacked by another woman who was envious of her. She experienced being hit energetically. When this happened, she felt slimed. As soon as she identified this feeling, I was able to look at her energetically and see who hit her and why. I cleared her energy field right away and put up protection so this could not continue to happen. The person who attacked her has the Vampire Archetype. With further investigation, I understood the language the attacker continually uses is one of lack. She has a scarcity perception. She attaches to others and attacks others, for their life force, rather than understanding that she can fill herself up from within. Instead of being grateful, she focuses on what others have, turns green with envy and becomes toxic. Instead of being full of self-love and loving others, she is continually full of judgment and fear. Although she presents herself as being knowledgeable, slyly her toxicity affects everyone around her.*

What do you do if you have a person like this in your life? You can learn to ground yourself and run your own energy (earth and cosmic) and set up protection. I have many meditation tools and videos you can access to do this on my website. You can focus in your heart and bring your attention up out of your crown chakra at the top of your head. See the person there and for three seconds see them receiving a ball of golden white Light, of Love from the Universe.

What if you have the Vampire Archetype? You can balance yourself by giving to others without expectation. First, keep your energy clear with the same meditation tools and videos I mentioned above and allow yourself to receive in ways that give you a sense of personal power and self-worth. You can volunteer or help out those around you. Find a counselor or life coach to help you heal the past so that you can be healthy in the present.

Then let them go. Do this as often as you need to release them from your thoughts. It will be up to the person as to whether they will receive this clearing or not. You though, have in part cleared yourself from their negativity and their energy.

What if you have the Vampire Archetype? You can balance yourself by giving to others without expectation. First, keep your energy clear with the same meditation tools and videos I mentioned above and allow yourself to receive in ways that give you a sense of personal power and self-worth. You can volunteer or help out those around you. Find a counselor or life coach to help you heal the past so that you can be healthy in the present.

If you're not consciously aware of your energy and how the Vampire archetype is affecting you, you may notice the vampire showing up in your dreams. You may dream you have an encounter with a person or an entity that drains you. You may be paralyzed or even gorier, lose blood. Whether the vampire image in the dream is fictional or someone you know, the vampire sneaks up and suddenly has taken your life force.

Dreams can be scary even though they are coming as a message from your Higher Self. Taking time to work with dreams can be empowering and guide you to take action in your life. If you want to explore your dreams, the book I recommend is [Realities of the Dreaming Mind: The Practice of Dream Yoga by Swami Sivananda Radha](#).

*By understanding and working with the Vampire Archetype, you will learn to protect yourself, or if it is your archetype to heal yourself and access your natural path of health and move toward your Divine Soul purpose.*

Here is your chance to leave feedback about your experiences of people who have shown up as Vampires in your life! I will be happy to share with you some tools to protect yourself from being attached and losing energy!

Previously published : Tagore,China –A tangled relation by Romit Bagchi - [www.dailypioneer.com](http://www.dailypioneer.com)



## TAGORE AND CHINA

Long before the Communist rule was established in China, Rabindranath Tagore warned the country against deviating from the deeper civilization ethos of the East. A spiritual visionary wedded to the eternal values as contrasted against the evanescent glitz, Tagore said in one of his lectures while in China in 1924: "I hope that some dreamer will spring from among you and preach a message of love and, therewith overcoming all differences, bridge the chasm of passions which has been widening for ages." His stress on the spiritual essence involving the civilizations of both the ancient Oriental countries during his 49-day tour (12 April to 30 May) endeared him to a few while the majority criticized his message, dubbing it as one full of soporific nonsense. When he was about to deliver his speech at Zhenguang in Beijing, he found some students distributing leaflets among those who came to listen to him. Later he came to know that the leaflets had charged him with the attempt to indoctrinate the Chinese youth.

"It was also alleged that he wanted China to go back to her inhuman ancient civilization and that he reproached the Chinese youth for their attempt to improve the material conditions of their society; his theory of soul and Brahma preached inaction and passivity and his defence of the spiritual aspects of the Chinese civilization was actually a defense of the barbarity of the ruling class throughout the ages." Touched to the quick, Tagore decided to cut short his visit.

Amartya Sen, the Nobel Laureate, wrote: "... it is particularly important to pay attention to the timing of Tagore's grand visit to China in 1924. This came shortly after the end of the First World War (1914-1918) fought in Europe with unbelievable brutality, and also just after the triumphant reception that Tagore received in Europe, especially as a 'sage' from the East... Tagore had, by then, persuaded himself-and a lot of others too-that there was something deeply incomplete in the priorities of the Western world, a gap in the closing of which eastern thought, from India and China and elsewhere, had something constructive to offer...while Tagore received invitations to visit China, shortly after receiving his Nobel award, and by the time he actually he came to China in 1924, the internal climate in the country itself was rapidly changing, with political engagement that focused on radical causes geared to the present, rather than to the past. The admiration for China's glorious past, while still present, was being strongly supplemented -and to some extent supplanted-by radical political demands related to here and now...By the time Tagore came to China, among the debates that animated China was that between those focusing on China's traditional culture and the new activists concerned deeply with changing the modern world, rather than remaining focused on the past. The timing of Tagore's grand visit had the effect of making an agitated Tagore arrive in an agitated country with two types of agitation not rhyming with each other in a harmonious way".

The internal situation in China then was chaotic. While the people, the peasants, in particular, were grappling with poverty the warlords were dog-fighting for supremacy. The Communist Party of China, in its infancy, had influenced Dr. Sun Yat-sen in reforming the Kuomintang and adopting policies of friendship with Russia. Dr. Sun Yat-sen was for making India an ally because of the commonness of the cultural ethos of China and India. There are thus reasons to think that he thought Tagore was visiting China responding to his invitation. He seemed to be convinced that the objective behind the visit was 'promoting the rebirth of the traditional cultures of the East as well as the unity of the Asian nations'. When Tagore was in Hong Kong on his way to China, an emissary was sent to him, telling him that as Dr. Yat-sen was unwell he could not meet him personally. It was stressed that he was welcome in China. "Tagore could not figure out Sun's politics at once, so he did not positively respond to Sun Yat-sen's invitation. Objectively speaking, his meeting with the deposed Manchu emperor, Puyi, and some warlords in northern and eastern China but avoiding the 'cradle of revolution' sent a wrong signal."

The Left-inclined intellectuals opposed his visit as they feared that his thought might impede the leftist mobilization of the Chinese youths to break up with the tradition and opt wholeheartedly for the gospel of revolution. They had reasons to fear. What Tagore said was significant. "I have no doubt in my mind that in the East our principal characteristic is not to set too high a price upon success through gaining advantage, but upon self-realization through fulfilling our dharma, our ideals. Let the awakening of the East impel us consciously to discover the essential and universal meaning of our own civilization, to remove the debris from its path, to rescue it from the bondage of stagnation that produces impurities, to make it a great channel of communication between all human races," he said while addressing a gathering in China. Naturally, Tagore was dubbed as a slave whose own country was dead. He was condemned for his audacity to brag about saving China spiritually that had not yet gone under. An important Communist leader in China wrote in an article a few days after he had begun giving lectures that they expected from Tagore neither pontification on the spiritual way of living nor treatises on his Gitanjali but a robust song inspiring them to march along, alluding to a famous Tagore song 'Go alone if others ignore your call'.

The study is interesting, as the same question on the contribution of Tagore to the welfare of mankind kept haunting the Communists in India, at least the most hardcore section amongst them, too for a long time. The founder of the overseas Communist Party of India, M. N. Roy criticized the Tagorean thought without naming him, saying that the claim the Indian people as a whole was less morally corrupt, emotionally purer, idealistically less worldly, in short, spiritually more elevated, was based upon a wanton disregard for reality.

Human Rights Watch Report [LINK](#)

## CAMBODIA : Chea Sim Death Shows Failings of Khmer Rouge Court

CPP President Presided Over Abusive Security Forces, Abuses Continue to Present

(New York) – The death of Chea Sim, a former Khmer Rouge official and longtime president of the ruling Cambodian People’s Party (CPP), should spur renewed efforts to bring remaining Khmer Rouge leaders and others most responsible for Khmer Rouge crimes to justice, Human Rights Watch said today. Chea Sim, who oversaw districts where numerous atrocities occurred and then presided over a police state after the Khmer Rouge was ejected from power, died on June 8, 2015, in Phnom Penh.

Chea Sim was among the many former officials of the Khmer Rouge who have never been investigated for serious international crimes, including possible charges of genocide and other crimes against humanity, committed during the Khmer Rouge regime from 1975-1979.

**“Chea Sim’s passing is a reminder that virtually all former Khmer Rouge officials have gone unpunished for the millions of deaths and incredible suffering of ordinary Cambodians during Khmer Rouge rule,”** said **Brad Adams**, Asia director. **“It is a mockery of justice that Chea Sim could serve in the post-Khmer Rouge Cambodian leadership for decades without ever facing an investigation, much less arrest or prosecution.”**

Research conducted for Human Rights Watch in 2005 found evidence that Chea Sim was implicated in serious crimes in his capacities as secretary of the Khmer Rouge Party Committee for Ponhea Krek District of East Zone Sector 20 and as a member of that Committee from 1975-1978. These include the arbitrary arrest, torture, and execution of 1) former Khmer Republic officials targeted on political grounds; 2) members of **Cambodia’s** prerevolutionary upper classes targeted on sociopolitical grounds; 3) fellow Khmer Rouge accused of political dissent; and 4) members of the Vietnamese, Cham, and Chinese ethnic groups targeted on racial, ethnic, national, and religious grounds.

Chea Sim, like other Khmer Rouge district party secretaries, oversaw a district security office and exercised authority over commune militia forces that directly committed torture and execution of people who were arrested on these various grounds and held without charge or trial. As a district party secretary and member of the higher-level sector committee, Chea Sim was implicated in the alleged enslavement of the population in these areas of the Khmer Rouge East Zone. This and other evidence against Chea Sim was presented to the United Nations-supported Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC), the tribunal created in 2006 to bring to justice “senior leaders” and others “most responsible” for Khmer Rouge crimes from 1975-1979.



Human Rights Watch Report “30 Years of Hun Sen”. Photograph - Cambodia’s Prime Minister Hun Sen (front R), President of the Senate Chea Sim (front C), and President of the National Assembly Heng Samrin pray at their Cambodian People’s Party headquarters in Phnom Penh on January 7, 2008. © 2008 Reuters

This and other evidence against Chea Sim was presented to the United Nations-supported Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC), the tribunal created in 2006 to bring to justice “senior leaders” and others “most responsible” for Khmer Rouge crimes from 1975-1979. However, the evidence was not seriously pursued because of the political control exercised over the court by Prime Minister **Hun Sen**, himself a former Khmer Rouge member, and the CPP, in which many former Khmer Rouge play significant roles, especially in the armed forces and local administration. This same political interference continues to stymie prosecution of other former Khmer Rouge who held positions of responsibility similar to Chea Sim from 1975-1979.

After the Khmer Rouge government was overthrown in January 1979 by a Vietnamese invasion, Chea Sim was named minister of interior in the newly installed Cambodian government. He held this post through 1981 and in this capacity helped oversee the creation of new security forces, including police and intelligence units, and the establishment of new prisons throughout Cambodia. The objective of this new system was to repress all opposition to the new government, including armed insurgencies, non-violent opposition groups, and individuals engaging in peaceful dissent.

Arrests on political grounds were routinely carried out, detention was almost always without charge or trial, and prisoners were often held indefinitely on the basis of unsubstantiated or false allegations. Confessions were frequently obtained through torture. Torture was facilitated by holding prisoners incommunicado while undergoing interrogation, completely isolated from the outside world and even from fellow inmates, and often in “dark cells.” After officially leaving his post as minister of interior, Chea Sim remained among the most important officials in Cambodia for the next decade, identified by ruling party colleagues as the most powerful leader of the faction of the party in charge of internal security, the police, and prisons. As minister of interior, Chea Sim also helped to protect and place fellow former Khmer Rouge into positions of authority in his ministry, the security forces, and the local administration. This was part of a process of protecting those responsible for Khmer Rouge crimes from scrutiny, which Chea Sim himself enjoyed and embodied.

**“Chea Sim was best known among Cambodians for running the police state in the 1980s that imprisoned and tortured people for peaceful political activities,”** Adams said. **“His legacy continues to this day, with unreformed security forces run for the interests of the ruling party instead of the public good.”**

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July 2015

Photograph by Mark Ulyseas