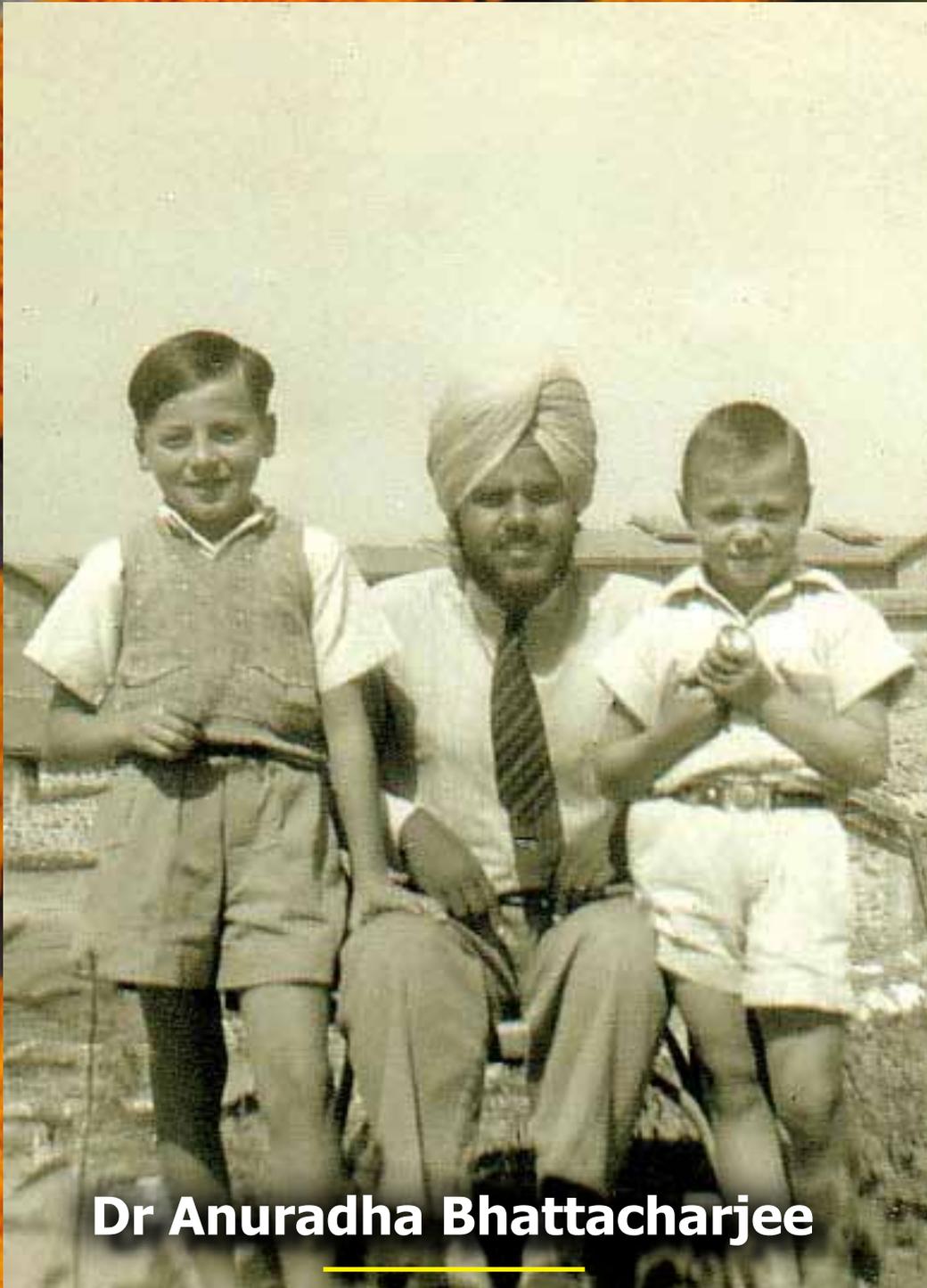


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March 2015



**Dr Anuradha Bhattacharjee**

**The Second Homeland  
Polish Refugees in India**



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*Front cover pic Henry and Marian Raba with Tarvinder Singh of Malaria Institute, N.Delhi, Balchadi, 1943. Courtesy of Tadeusz Dobrostanski. The Second Homeland - Polish Refugees in India/Anuradha Bhattacharjee/SAGE Publications.*



I know it's true, oh so true  
'Cause I saw it on TV  
- John Fogerty, I saw it on TV

I am deeply interested in the progress and elevation of journalism, having spent my life in that profession, regarding it as a noble profession and one of unequalled importance for its influence upon the minds and morals of the people.

- Joseph Pulitzer

## 'Faction' news and the antisocial media

Perhaps the most dangerous development in the last few decades has been the infiltration of media into our homes, contaminating our perception of reality. Opinions, fact and fiction are expertly blended to form *faction* news that is canned, labelled the truth by spin doctors and then sold to the unsuspecting public.

Could it be that most news media companies have become whores, offering their services for a price? And that many journalists working for these whores have become pimps by reporting the news subjectively to create a luscious digestible product... news garnered any which way to seduce viewers/readers (e.g. [News of the World](#))?

The social media is antisocial for it is now a platform for *faction* news passed off as real news. Hearsay mingling with *faction* news creates a delectable offering for suckers searching for the truth. To transform gossip to news one has merely to post a story with a 'nice' photograph pilfered from the Net. It is said that this method is being effectively utilised by proxies of many media outlets. News has now become an integral part of *'trends or trending'*. Reporting the news truthfully is the exception rather than the rule. But who cares?

Governments have been using sections of the media as a surrogate mother to breed disinformation prompting self-appointed gendarmes or monitors of truth to quickly seize upon this. Often these righteous folk have added their own interpretation of the truth thus creating misinformation. This is a vicious cycle that is spiralling out of control. It has morphed into an insidious form of *'news invention'*, giving creative writing a whole new meaning.

NBC anchor [Brian Williams](#) has been untruthful about his Iraq experience. [Bill O'Reilly](#) American television host, author, columnist and political commentator, exaggerated about his time as a war correspondent. And so it goes. But why should we be surprised? After all this is commercial media, they have to pay the salaries. So where does the money come from? The advertisers, of course.

Advertisers now influence editorial content in many media companies. Politicians are promoted or demoted as the case may be. Furthermore, multinationals that have operations in countries with serious human rights' abuses ensure that such news is either non news or hidden in the fine print somewhere in the reams of reportage. For instance, a breathless media reported about the Ebola virus. But how many have reacted in the same manner when [pharmaceutical companies](#) have tested drugs on unsuspecting men, women and children in Africa and other parts of the world?

The Ukraine story is a classic example of news media taking sides. Reportage from CNN and RT are conflicting. Some say the camera never lies but nobody said the journalists can't. It is all in the imagery, the soundtrack and the words...all neatly spliced to converge on a single track of deception.

So where is the news that is reported truthfully without being spiced by agendas? Does it exist?

In the last decade or so another group has joined the bandwagon of spin doctors – the terrorists.

During its bloody confrontation with Israel, Hamas used the media and the antisocial media by flooding the ether with images of mangled bodies and injured children lying in the streets. However, they threatened, cajoled and even banned reporters attempting to cover other aspects of the conflict like rockets being fired from residential areas, children being used as human shields etc. Sympathetic media persons played along with this fraud. Also, the media covering Israel's actions did not reflect the whole truth.

Al Qaeda, the master at *playing* the media, is now usurped by the slick promos of ISIS that has been picked up by mainstream media. This has actually helped promote the devious machinations of this 'horror' group. The impact has been felt in faraway countries from where people including teenagers have left their families and travelled to Syria to fight alongside *butchers incorporated*.

The media has fallen into the trap of promoting this group by headlining all news (invented or otherwise) of its activities including acts of beheading, crucifixion, burning alive etc. By giving this ruthless organisation centre stage on prime time television in a bid to increase viewership the media has inadvertently played a pivotal role in its (ISIS) promotion. Hence, bad news is good news for it brings profits with higher ratings. So who are the real terrorists? ISIS or those using it for commercial purposes?

There is much truth in what [Carl Bernstein](#) says: "We are in the process of creating what deserves to be called the idiot culture. Not an idiot sub-culture, which every society has bubbling beneath the surface and which can provide harmless fun; but the culture itself. For the first time, the weird and the stupid and the coarse are becoming our cultural norm, even our cultural ideal...Our news organizations and our reporters should be going after the best obtainable truth, not the sensational, on-the-surface truth ... But instead of going after the truth, we look through the lens of how much it will cost and of those who would like us not to tell the truth."

Om Shanti Shanti Shanti Om

Click on title of article to go to page



### **The Second Homecoming - Polish Refugees in India** Dr Anuradha Bhattacharjee

Anuradha Bhattacharjee is Fellow, Centre for Culture, Media and Governance, Jamia Milia Islamia, New Delhi. Prior to this, she was Assistant Professor, Mudra Institute of Communication, Ahmedabad (MICA). A Fellow of the Charles Wallace India Trust (2004), she was a journalist with the Times of India (1991-94) and the Pioneer (2000-02). She was Research Fellow under the Kasturbhai Lalbhai Chair for Social Entrepreneurship at Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad (IIMA) in 2006.



### **States of Insecurity - from New World Order to New Disorder** David Morgan

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



### **The New War for the Middle East** David Gardner

David Gardner is the international affairs editor of the Financial Times (FT). He joined the FT in 1978 and has worked mainly as a foreign correspondent and writer on international affairs. In 2003 he won the David Watt political journalism prize for his writing on the Arab world. He is the author of Last Chance: The Middle East in the Balance (I. B. Tauris, 2009; updated paperback edition 2012).



### **Illusions of Justice in America and Syria** Ali Khan Mahmudabad

Ali Khan Mahmudabad is reading for PhD in history at the University of Cambridge. He has previously studied at the University of Damascus and at Amherst College in America. He writes a fortnightly column for Urdu language daily Inqilab in India and also regularly contributes to various international English language newspapers and magazines. [Blog - The Times of India](#)



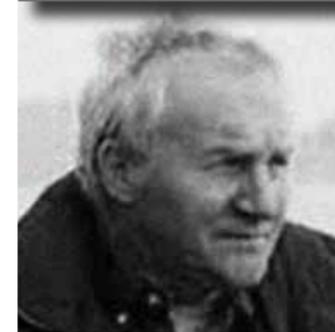
### **Dislocated Identities: Reflections of an Arab-Jew** Professor Ella Habiba Shohat

Professor Ella Habiba Shohat teaches Cultural Studies at New York University. She has lectured and written extensively on issues having to do with Eurocentrism, Orientalism, and Post colonialism. More specifically, since the 1980s she has developed critical approaches to the study of Arab-Jews /Mizrahim, elaborating on the question of the hyphen, and arguing for complex historical narrative beyond the simplistic dichotomy of Arab versus Jew. Shohat has written a number of award winning books.



### **Americans (WWII) MIA in Arunachal Pradesh** Gary Zaetz

Gary Zaetz, age 60, is the Founder and Chairman of Families and Supporters of America's Arunachal Missing in Action. In 2008, he traveled to Arunachal Pradesh to visit the crash site of his World War II missing in action uncle, 1st Lt. Irwin Zaetz, a B-24 navigator serving with the American 14th Air Force. He lives in Cary, North Carolina, with his wife Regina and his four children. See the following websites for more information



### **About Albert** 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)



### **Truth, Tourism Among Top Casualties of War** 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](#)



### **Women in Mahabharata** Aryaa Naik

Aryaa is currently the Head, Creatives at Gyaan Adab Centre. Her educational qualifications include Bachelors in Philosophy from Ferguson College, Pune, Post Graduate diploma in Social Communications Media from Sophia College, Mumbai and Masters in Gender, Culture and Development Studies from the University of Pune. Her experience includes script writing and feature writing for publications such as Times of India, Femina, Life 365 and Maharashtra Herald. [www.gyaanadab.org](http://www.gyaanadab.org)



### **The Bully 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)

**“When others were killing our children, you were able to save them.”**  
Polish Prime Minister Donald Tusk to The President of India, Pratibha Patil,  
during his visit to the country.

Since the 15th century, a number of Polish writers, soldiers and missionaries have visited India. During the 19th century, several Sanskrit classics were translated into Polish. A *“History of Ancient India”* in Polish was one of the first of its kind to be published in Europe in 1820. A Chair of Sanskrit was set up at the Jagiellonian University of Krakow as far back as 1893. At the beginning of the 20th century, the Polish painter Norblin was commissioned by the Maharaja of Jodhpur to decorate the Umaid Bhavan Palace where his painting can still be seen. Also Norblin has left a lovely set of paintings in Jodhpur, Morvi and Ramgarh after an initial exhibition in Bombay. Feliks Topolski’s oil painting of Mahatma Gandhi’s assassination has adorned Rashtrapati Bhawan. During World War II, the then Jam Sahib of Nawanagar had extended hospitality to some 6,000 Polish orphans released from Siberia. They have formed the World Association of Poles from India. Despite their advancing years, the members of the Association had donated funds for relief and rehabilitation after the Gujarat earthquake in January 2001. - *Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India.*

## Introduction

Mark Ulyseas

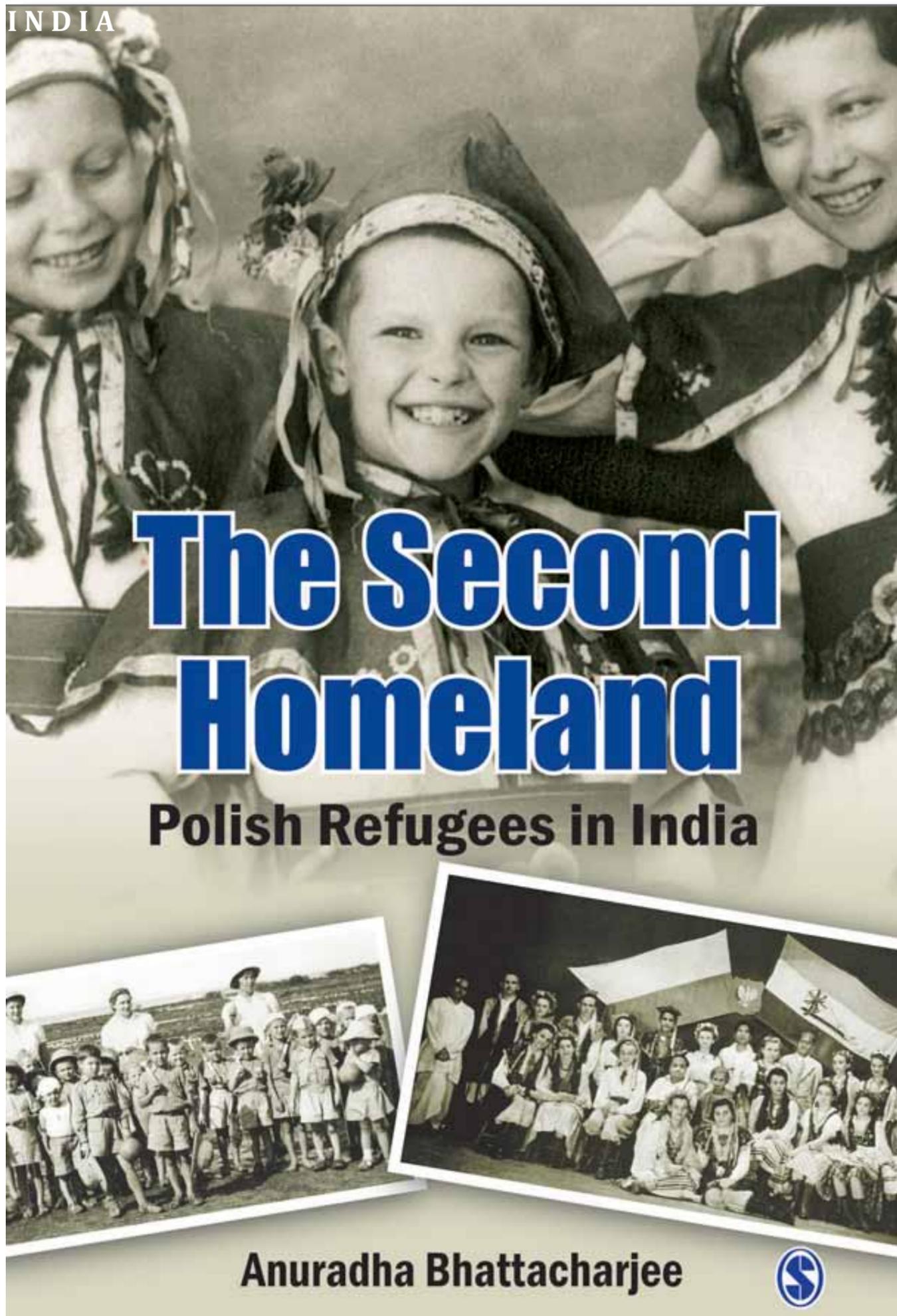
“India, she the grim Stepmother of our kind”, wrote Rudyard Kipling in his poem *Christmas in India*. He couldn’t have been further from the truth for history bears witness to India’s benign acceptance of all those that arrive on her shores seeking a haven to live in peace, practice their religion, free of persecution. The earliest known instance is the arrival of Jews in India around 2200 years ago followed later by the Zoroastrians, Tibetans, Poles and others.

In the following pages Dr Anuradha Bhattacharjee peels away the layers of history of a time when the world was at war. When the lives of innocent Polish civilians were disposable. When millions of Polish fled Nazi Germany and the Soviet Gulag desperately seeking refuge elsewhere. Many countries balked at the idea of providing these wretched people shelter. Even the British controlled areas of India couldn’t find a place for the Polish children!

It was Digvijaysinhji, the maharaja, or ‘Jam Saheb’, of Nawanagar who took in Polish children from war-torn, occupied Poland and Soviet prison camps. And to prevent them from being sent back to certain incarceration after the war he made them citizens of Nawanagar. The maharaja set up a camp at his private seaside resort, Balachadi in Kathiwar. It was run like a boarding school complete with teachers, studies, sports etc. The Jam Saheb’s actions resonated across the world and doors began to open for the Polish refugees.

Mahatma Gandhi was sympathetic to the Polish orphans. His followers: Maurycy Frydman (alias Bharatanandji), a Polish-Lithuanian-Jewish engineer who had come to India before the Second World War and Wanda Dynowska (aka Uma Devi), were actively involved in raising awareness and funds for the Polish children. The generosity of the Indian people was boundless. All this happened at a time when there was a famine in India!

Dr Anuradha Bhattacharjee’s book is an important historical document that needs to be read by all those seeking the truth about the Indian contribution to helping refugees during the Second World War.



Anuradha Bhattacharjee



Bhattacharjee,A,(2013) "Polish Refugees in India - During and After the Second World War." *The Sarmatian Review* Vol. XXXIII, No. 2, Pp 1743-1756.]. Excerpt reprinted by special permission of the author and **Professor Ewa M. Thompson** (Rice University), Editor, *The Sarmatian Review*.



## Polish Refugees in India

### During and After the Second World War

**Dr Anuradha Bhattacharjee**

Author of 'The Second Homeland - Polish Refugees In India

Published by [SAGE Publications](#)

The journey through India of Polish victims of Soviet deportations rescued after the German attack on its erstwhile ally the Soviet Union in 1941, is a familiar story to Poles but not to Western readers. Among those who know something about this significant episode of history, the passage to India and ensuing domicile is usually assumed to have taken place under a British-sponsored and British-financed scheme. A study of relevant documents reveals that it was the Indian Princely State (PS) of Nawanagar that offered the first domicile to the Polish children evacuated out of the Soviet Union.

The first 500 Polish children were hosted in Balachadi in Nawanagar State and were maintained by charitable funds raised in India, subscribed to by several Indian princes and wealthy individuals.

During the 1942-48 period, Indian contributions for the Polish orphans amounted to Rs. 600,000, or 6,765,607 euros in 2008 terms. Even scholarly literature abounds in inaccurate statements, such as "[British] India, which had already agreed to take 1,000 children, increased its offer in December 1942 to accept 11,000 ... [They] were settled at a camp near Balachadi (Kolhapur)," or "In addition to the East African camps, a camp was established for adult [Polish] refugees near Bombay. The latter camp was primarily funded by a Hindu Maharaja." In reality, Balachadi and Kolhapur were two different camps and they had different antecedents and funding patterns.

The reception of the Polish civilian war victims in India in 1942 was initiated by the Indian Princely State of Nawanagar when no place for the 500 orphaned children could be found in the whole of British India. The State of Nawanagar took the bold step of adopting the children to prevent their forcible repatriation to Soviet-occupied Poland at the end of the Second World War. This initiative played a critical role in the preservation and formation of the Polish diaspora worldwide.

The camp at Balachadi for 1,000 Polish children evacuated from the Soviet Gulag was funded through charitable funds raised in India and not by British contributions. From 1942 to 1948 Indian contributions to the Polish Children's Fund totaled approx. £44,250 (£1.4 million in 2014 terms. Source : Measuringworth.com).



Digvijaysinhji, the maharaja, or 'Jam Saheb', of Nawanagar with Polish children, Jamnagar 1944, courtesy of Tadeusz Dobrostanski. *The Second Homeland - Polish Refugees in India*/Anuradha Bhattacharjee/SAGE Publications

Jamsaheb Digvijaysinghji of Nawanagar was a warm and generous person, had a gift for politics, was energetic and a good public speaker. As Leo Amery, secretary of state for India, put it, he had “practical common sense.” Former residents of the Balachadi camp recall periodic visits by the ruler Jamsaheb and his family to the camp, as well as gifts, donations, and even visits to his summer palace. Charitable funds were raised in spite of a famine in some parts of India at that time.

It should be noted here that the Indian Princely States were a distinct political entity and differed from British India, even though they too were severely subjugated. They ceased to exist after 1947 upon India's independence from the British, when instruments of accession were signed under varying circumstances and they joined the Union of India. British India covered only half the area and two-thirds of the population of India, the rest being made up by the 600-odd Princely States. In 1945 the Labor Party decided against honoring the treaties made between the States and the British regarding reinstatement of their full powers and territories at the time of the British withdrawal from India. Lord Mountbatten, the last viceroy, told the princes that they must join either India or Pakistan upon the departure of the British from India in 1947. In the states of Kashmir, Bahawalpur, Junagarh, and Hyderabad, the ruler and the people had opposing ideas about which country to join. The history of the post-British period of India does not reflect the existence of the Princely States, which were islands of self-rule in the occupied country of India.

Nawanagar and Kolhapur were Princely States, and Balachadi (now part of Gujarat) was then part of Nawanagar. The camp at Balachadi for 1,000 Polish children evacuated from the Soviet Gulag was funded through charitable funds raised in India. According to a communication from the External Affairs Department of the British government of India to the secretary of state for India on July 1, 1947, the Indian public had contributed some six lakh rupees for the maintenance of Polish refugees, an amount that otherwise would have been charged to Her Majesty's Government.

Kolhapur is located southeast of Mumbai in the present state of Maharashtra. At that time, the senior Maharajsaheb served as regent, while in practice two Britishers, Col. Harvey (the political agent) and Mr. E. W. Parry, wielded all the power. Kolhapur was a Princely State only in name, and the British had complete control over the royal family and the State. The camp at Valivade was set up in 1943 and it housed several thousand displaced Polish refugees. It was administered by the government of India acting as an agent of Her Majesty's Government, that in turn were acting on behalf of the Polish government in exile in London. The camp was financed by funds placed at the disposal of HMG by the Polish government in exile. After HMG withdrew recognition of the exiled Polish government the financial responsibility for the Valivade Camp went to the Interim Treasury Committee (ITC) of the United Nations Refugee Repatriation Agency (UNRRA).

Jamsaheb Digvijaysinghji of Nawanagar took over the chancellorship of the Chamber of Princes in 1938. In 1942 when the Polish camp was set up, he was forty-six years old and had been on the throne of Nawanagar for nine years. He was a warm and generous person, had a gift for politics, was energetic and a good public speaker. As Leo Amery, secretary of state for India, put it, he had “practical common sense.” Former residents of the Balachadi camp recall periodic visits by the ruler Jamsaheb and his family to the camp, as well as gifts, donations, and even visits to his summer palace. Charitable funds were raised in spite of a famine in some parts of India at that time. Furthermore,

Nawanagar citizenship was bestowed on the Polish children to “prevent their forcible removal from the camp and return to communist Poland.” The Jamsaheb's welcome statement “You are all now Nawanagaris and I am Bapu, father to all Nawanagaris, including you” had a deep emotive effect amongst the half-starved Polish children. Other such visits, as well as his attendance at camp events and inviting camp residents to the palace only reinforced the warm feelings that the Polish children had developed for the prince.

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The outbreak of the war also showed the princes' loyalty to the British Crown. At its own expense the PS of Travancore built a patrol boat for the Indian navy; the PS of Bhopal spent its entire stock of U.S. securities on the purchase of American fighter planes; the PS of Jodhpur contributed money for a Halifax bomber; the PS of Kashmir donated eighteen field ambulances; the PS of Hyderabad paid for three squadrons of war planes. Altogether, the cost of war materials provided by the Princely States up to 1945 exceeded 5 million pounds. In addition, the States made numerous direct grants of cash and gave generously of their land, buildings, and workforces for war purposes. Rs. 180 million was contributed by the people from the Princely States in subscription to government war bonds, securities, and donations to the viceroy's War Purposes Fund – again, a display of extraordinary generosity in comparison to British India.

In the meantime, in addition to the Polish Christian victims of the Soviet regime that survived deportations and the Gulag, India also became a transit point for Jews escaping Nazi persecution in Germany, German-occupied Poland, and other German-occupied parts of Europe who arrived with little or no money. The Polish Consulate in Bombay, functional since 1933, became a Polish Relief Committee (PRC) that extended relief to Jewish refugees in association with the Jewish Relief Association, to “prevent them from starving.” Several Indian industrialists and charitable institutions, including the Tatas, contributed generously to the fund supporting the Jewish refugees. The refugees arrived with little or no money. The British Government of India was inconvenienced by their presence and communicated this to the Polish Consulate and the Polish Ambassador in London. While some refugees took whatever employment was available, others became the responsibility of the Polish Consulate for relief. The Bombay government kept a strict vigil on the state of finances of the Jewish refugees from Poland coming into India. They wanted the cost of their maintenance to be borne by the central government who could recover it from the British government and in turn bill it to the Polish government-in-exile in England. The matter was taken up by the British Foreign Office when the Polish Relief Committee ran short of funds. The presence of Jews in Bombay who were escaping the conditions in German-occupied Europe has been extensively dealt with by Dr. Anil Bhatti in *Jewish Exiles in India*.



Roman Gutowski in front row with handkerchief on his head. Tadeuz Dobrostanski and Lucian Pietrzykowski in the foreground. Apolonia Kordas, Danka Gracz and Janina Dobrostanska. Courtesy of Tadeusz Dobrostanski. The Second Homeland - Polish Refugees in India/Anuradha Bhattacharjee/SAGE Publications

Under existing rules the Polish Red Cross was raising relief material to be transported to Polish citizens in the USSR. Kira Banasińska, the wife of the Polish consul general to India Eugeniusz Banasiński, became a delegate of the Polish Red Cross. Together with Wanda Dynowska, a Gandhian who was already in India, they lectured on Poland at several locations in India in an attempt to raise awareness about the Polish situation of double occupation. Contributions and relief material poured in. A flurry of telegrams from the Polish Consul at Bombay and Polish government-in-exile in London were exchanged discussing various routes to supply medicines and other necessities to the Polish civilian population newly released from the Gulag in the USSR. Routes via Afghanistan and China required diplomatic arrangements between Poland and those countries, yet Poland was then under double occupation and the Polish government-in-exile in London was obviously unable to negotiate such routes. Finally, the Ashkhabad-Meshed-Quetta route was accepted as the most feasible for carrying supplies for the Polish population. The consulate supplied six of their own lorries in order to help. It was proposed that a Polish delegation be set up in China since some deported Poles had escaped into China from Soviet-controlled Mongolia.

In his telegram of September 1941, A. W. G. Randall of the British Foreign Office, seeking approval for the "Tashkent Scheme" from Sir Stafford Cripps, mentions that the Polish government asked for moral support from His Majesty's Government for the Polish consul general in Bombay to go to Tashkent via Afghanistan and organize a relief center for Poles in Kazakhstan "said to number many thousands and to be in deplorable condition."

On 12 September 1941 the Polish government had informed the British government that Ambassador Stanisław Kot had reported that there were a million and a half Poles released from slave labor by the Soviet government, spread throughout the Soviet Union, and in desperate need of medicine, clothing, and other supplies. The British Red Cross organized a plan for relief for Polish and Czech soldiers, primarily those capable of joining the Polish Army, and their families (the Soviets deported entire families from Poland, husbands separately from the remainder of the family). However, the extent of the problems for civilians was so vast that they felt relief efforts would have to be carried out on an international scale, with American and Indian participation.

The first file on the subject, housed in the India Office Library, London, begins with a letter from Barbara Vera Hodges of the Women's Voluntary Auxiliary services and wife of an I.M.S officer, addressed to "K." It states that "Lord Tweeddale had a reply from the Polish Ambassador in which he said he was definitely interested in the scheme, and was putting it in the hands of people competent to deal with it." In her communication dated 1 November 1941, she outlines a detailed plan to evacuate the Polish refugees and house them in India. The Interdepartmental Conference on Polish Relief held at the Foreign Office on 29 October 1941 refers to Major Victor Cazalet of the British Army, posted at Moscow, who put forward a scheme suggested by Vera Hodges for the evacuation of Polish children from the Central Asian republics of the Soviet Union to India, but it is not known whether any further progress was made in the matter. In fact, study of subsequent documents, including Capt. A. W. T. Webb's exhaustive reports, shows that Vera Hodges' suggestions formed the backbone of the methods and

Several Indian industrialists and charitable institutions, including the Tatas, contributed generously to the fund supporting the Jewish refugees that arrived with little or no money. The British Government of India was inconvenienced by their presence and communicated this to the Polish Consulate and the Polish Ambassador in London. The Bombay government kept a strict vigil on the state of finances of the Jewish refugees from Poland coming into India. They wanted the cost of their maintenance to be borne by the central government who could recover it from the British government and in turn bill it to the Polish government-in-exile in England.

administration of the evacuation and camp facilities for the Poles. Hodges mentions that Sir Alan Parsons was about to start working with the Red Cross in the section that was sending supplies to Russia; if the evacuation plan was possible he might be able to help the first group of 272 children and adults. In later communications this was known as the "Tashkent Scheme." Also, the Polish Consul General at Bombay had organized, with the knowledge of British authorities in India, an expedition of six motor lorries to take medical supplies to the Poles in the Tashkent region by October 1941. However, permission for this expedition to enter the Soviet Union had not yet been granted.

Discussions with the Government of India (GOI) regarding bringing in the children had been underway since 10 December 1941. It was proposed that the untried semi-built road route to the USSR be used to reach relief material and bring out the children on the return route. Major Cazalet was pushing for the acceptance of 500 Polish children in India, though the difficulties of transport were formidable. In his memo dated 9 October 1941, A. W. G. Randall wrote to Mr. Clauson of the India Office that Vera Hodges' plan, sent by the India Office, had also been received directly by the Foreign Office. The Foreign Office had consulted the Poles, and they stated that they were prepared to back it officially. "This means that they would be grateful for an approach to the Government of India for permission to transfer to India, a group of 500, mainly Polish children; if the Government of India agreed the Polish Government would be responsible for organizing, paying for the transport and securing exit permits from the Soviet authorities," wrote Randall to Clauson.

A British Minute Sheet entry dated 22 September states that the Polish government expected that the general release of Polish political prisoners from Russian camps might result in their migrating to countries bordering the USSR, such as China or Afghanistan. A report was received that some of these victims of the Soviet regime had already arrived in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Persia, and were interned there. The Minute Sheet goes on to say that the Government of India became nervous about an influx of Poles from the USSR through Afghanistan, and began making inquiries about the numbers involved and their ultimate destination. The same document notes that there was a proposal on hand for a relief expedition organized by the Polish Consul General in Bombay and his wife to take emergency relief supplies to Kazakhstan and institute a special base in Afghanistan. The Poles were making varied and complicated arrangements to send supplies to the Polish refugees by the northern route, Persia, and the Caucasus. In his handwritten entry Millard, an official whose designation cannot be established, notes that the Polish Embassy is ready to send one hundred tons of supplies to Russia, including food, for which they require transport. A consignment consisting of every conceivable kind of supplies, including food, had left a fortnight earlier, all purchased by the Treasury Department and out of Polish credit with HMG. The British Minutes stated that it would be impossible to evacuate a population of 1.5 million people and find accommodation for them in other countries; the Poles thus have to confine themselves to bringing out nationals who were likely to be really useful from the point of view of the war effort.

The late Jan Siedlecki, president of the Association of Poles in India in 1941–1942, stated in 2005 that the ultimate arrangement was worked out by Kira Banasińska in Bombay, with the support of the Government of India promising to raise charitable funds in India to support 500 Polish children. It should be emphasized, however, that ultimately the welfare of these children was underwritten by the Polish government-in-exile. However, Banasińska could only have worked on this plan awaiting procedural clearance from some location as a destination for the children. That location was the Princely States and not British India.

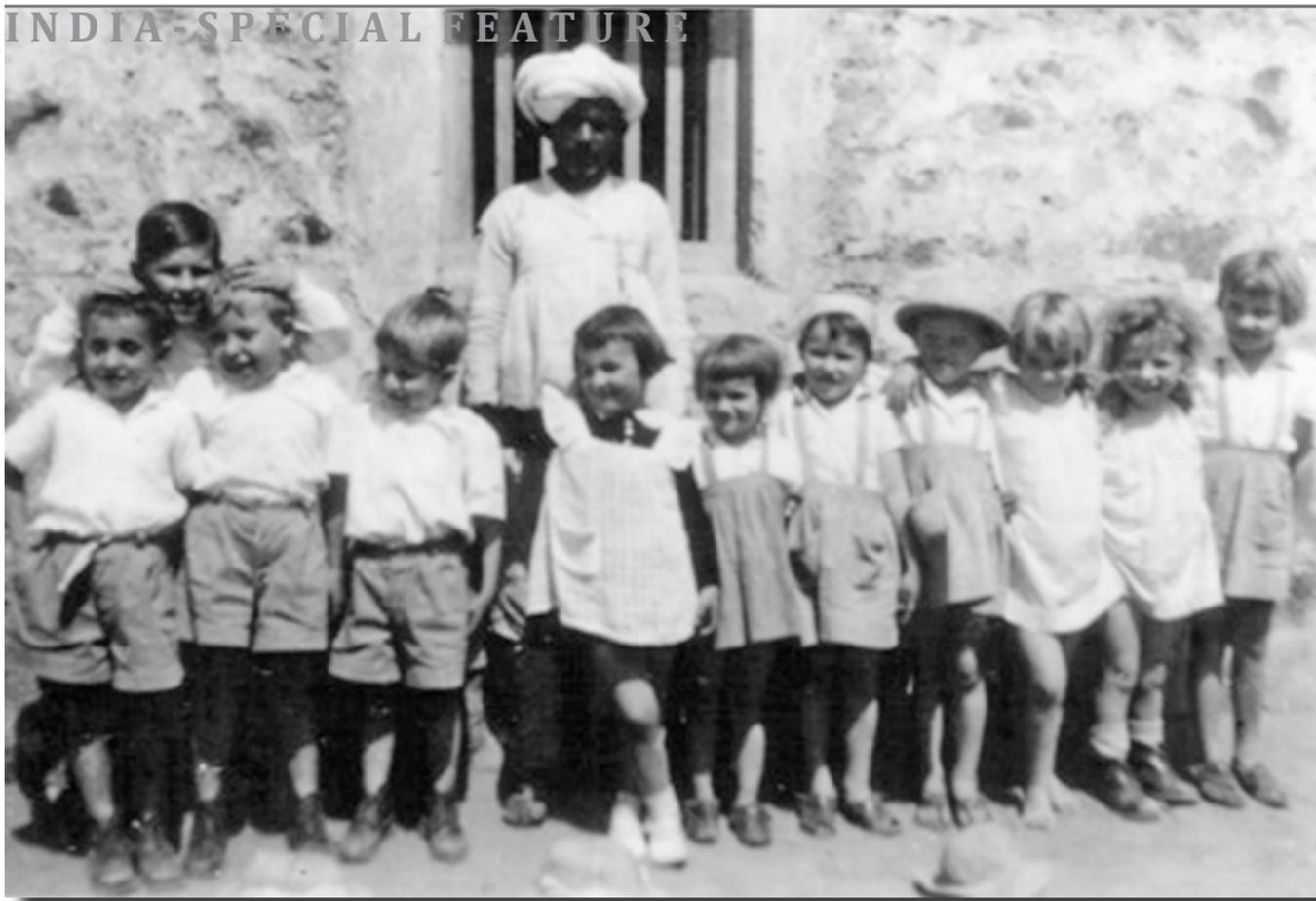
The Minutes suggested that the Government of India would look very unfavorably on any scheme for large-scale evacuation of Poles to India. By 15 October 1941 Secretary of State Leo Amery approved the plan that Polish children evacuated from the USSR would be received in India and maintained out of charitable funds for the period of war, since the reasons for removing these refugees from Russia outweighed the disadvantages of sending them to India. A Polish Children's Maintenance Fund was set up with an initial contribution of Rs. 50,000 by the Viceroy of India from his War Purposes Fund, and subscribed to by princes and other wealthy individuals. It was described as one more contribution toward the war effort. The Government of India was reluctant to receive these additional Polish children on several counts:

1. Weather conditions not conducive for European children
2. Increasing liabilities due to threat of war reaching India
3. Potential of espionage agents coming with these children
4. Diversion of scarce resources away from the war effort for civilian consumption
5. Increased governmental expenditure It also began exploring options for the Polish population in the various States.

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### Royal acceptance

Comparing them to the people escaping Nazi Germany, Jamsaheb Digvijaysinghji, chancellor of the COP and member of the Imperial War Council (IWC), offered Nawanagar as a wartime destination for the hapless Poles caught in Europe's war. The late Jamsaheb Digvijaysinhji's children, Jamsaheb Shatrushalaya Singhji and Princess Hershah Kumari, believe that it was during one of the IWC meetings that their father met Ignacy Paderewski, the former Polish prime minister, who was attending the meeting as a special invitee. As Paderewski apprised the British government about the condition of the Polish civilian population in the USSR and the urgent need to evacuate them, he was supported by General Władysław Anders, commander of the Polish Army being formed in the USSR, as well as by Professor Stanisław Kot, Polish ambassador to Kuibyshev, USSR, from their government-in-exile.



The youngest children at Balachadi with Indian caretaker, 1942, courtesy of Tadeusz Dobrostanski.  
The Second Homeland - Polish Refugees in India/Anuradha Bhattacharjee/SAGE Publications



Dr Ashani and Mr Anant Joshi with Polish nurses, Balachadi, 1942, courtesy of Tadeusz Dobrostanski.  
The Second Homeland - Polish Refugees in India/Anuradha Bhattacharjee/SAGE Publications

Kira Banasińska and Wanda Dynowska (aka Uma Devi) lectured about Poland at several places in India in an attempt to raise awareness about the Polish situation of double occupation.

### Royal acceptance *contd...*

In typical darbari style Digvijaysinghji offered to host them in his state if no other destination could be found. The Nawanager offer was gratefully accepted by the Polish ambassador to India Eugeniusz Banasiński. He moved quickly to have this plan, codenamed the Tashkent Scheme, approved by the Government of India. This allowed for the securing of transportation via a British convoy bringing military supplies to the USSR, which would then bring the children on its return route.

Jamsaheb's exact role can only be surmised from a number of oblique references, since no document establishes it unequivocally. According to the Report of the Delegate of Poland in Bombay dated July 1944, the case of the Polish children being hosted in India started with an official letter of the HMG dated 15 October 1941, to the viceroy of India, that suggested taking 500 Polish children from the USSR and putting them in British and later Indian foster families to avoid financial problems. This suggestion was not accepted by the officials, and HMG was informed accordingly. The officials suggested that 300 children could be placed in Catholic convents and schools in Central India. The remaining children were to go to South India in Ooty in Anandagiri. But this project was not accepted by the Polish side because the children would be separated. Another proposed location was Kalimpong which had several good boarding schools. This idea was supported for a long time until the planned group of 160 children had to be stopped midway due to the advance of Japanese forces and anticipation that the Kalimpong roads would be closed. Finally, the offer of Jamsaheb of Navanagar to build a campsite in Balachadi was accepted. This information is contained in a report by Captain A.W. T. Webb, Principal Refugee Officer, and the [British] Government of India. Webb wrote that "Government of India had given permission for the entry into India of 500 Polish children from the Soviet territory. . . . Provided the transfer of these children to India was considered essential, the Government of India were prepared to accept them." Webb continues "The next step taken was an attempt [emphasis added, A.B.] to find accommodation for the children in certain convents and schools. Various schemes were examined. Eventually however, since the accommodation was insufficient [emphasis added] and no satisfactory solution for the language difficulty could be found, it was decided to erect a camp and place all the children together therein. His Highness the Jam Saheb came forward with an offer to provide a camp site at his private seaside resort, Balachadi in Kathiwar." In 1942 Balachadi was the summer residence of the royal family of the Princely State of Nawanager. The Indian Princely States could not deal with foreign countries or their representatives officially, so the matter had to involve the Government of India. The Polish magazine Polska carried an interview with Jamsaheb Digvijaysinhji in its 25 November 1942 issue. In his memoirs Count Raczyński mentions that soon after the news appeared in Polska, Jamsaheb was invited to a social evening at Madame Popielski's home at Belgrave Square. He goes on to mention that a little Polish girl greeted him with a few words of "Hindustani" which amused Jamsaheb.

In September 1942 another group of 220 Polish children who had survived the Soviet Gulag arrived, and in December 1942, another 250 were received. Princess Hershah Kumari recalls being a part of the royal entourage to welcome the children into Balachadi; she remembers the children as extremely thin. "They looked so miserable, and their clothes hung about their frames. I was eight years old at the time and wondered how anyone could be so thin and miserable looking at the time," she said, "And this was their state, we were told, after they had been fed and cared for a few months."

### The journey

The aforementioned Kira Banasińska made sure that the trucks taking relief goods to the USSR would bring the children on the return route. The expedition was to be led by Tadeusz Lisiecki, deputy consul at Bombay; and Dr. Stanislaus Konarski, a physician who was to accompany the mission. A collective visa for the children was issued at Meshed. **An experienced Polish driver named Dajek was chosen for this dangerous assignment, assisted by six Sikh drivers.** The children were brought out of the "orphanage" at Ashkhabad [the capital of the Soviet republic of Turkmenistan, Ed.] in groups and quarantined at Meshed for a few weeks, as the lorries went back and forth between Meshed and Ashkhabad providing goods for the Soviets and ferrying back children. Finally, in mid-March 1942 173 people started the journey for India. The party consisted of ninety girls, seventy-one boys, eleven adults and one priest, Fr. Franciszek Płuta, plus the four Polish adults mentioned earlier. The journey was difficult, as described by participant **Franek Herzog**, later a retired engineer in Connecticut, in *Journey from Russia to India*. They traveled on the Meshed, Birjand, and Zahidan routes being constructed by the Indian Army as one of the Lend-Lease supply routes. On 13 March 1942 the first party of 94 children, four lady guardians, and Father Płuta came Meshed, as reported by Dr. T. Lisiecki. A Polish minister's wife and daughter were also in this group. The second group of children and seven ladies including the doctor arrived on 20 March 1942. This group included Henryk Hadala of the Polish Education Department.

After medical checks and issuance of a visa, the group made the overland journey from Meshed to Zahidan in Baluchistan via Gunabad, Birjand, and Shusp on an untried road being built by the Indian Army (this road was being built as an alternate route to deliver Lend Lease supplies to the USSR from the Persian Gulf). The children crossed the Indian border at Nok-kundi on 9 April 1942. At Quetta they were received by Mrs. Banasińska, Capt. A. W. T. Webb, and members of the staff of Quetta military station, where the children's rags were replaced with clothing and they were issued a set of personal belongings and bedding, organized and acquired for them by Mrs. Banasińska. Thereafter the group reached New Delhi. As Franek Herzog recalled, they sang the British anthem, but due to their heavy Polish accent it sounded more like "God shave the king." They then traveled by train to Bombay, where they were housed in a villa rented by the Polish consulate for this purpose. Later, another villa was also rented and the group was divided into boys and girls, with the boys moving to the second accommodation. They stayed here until 16 July 1942, or until the Balachadi Camp was ready to receive them. In September 1942 another group of 220 Polish children who had survived the Soviet Gulag arrived, and in December 1942, another 250 were received. Princess Hershah Kumari recalls being a part of the royal entourage to welcome the children into Balachadi; she remembers the children as extremely thin. "They looked so miserable, and their clothes hung about their frames. I was eight years old at the time and wondered how anyone could be so thin and miserable looking at the time," she said, "And this was their state, we were told, after they had been fed and cared for a few months."

Before September 1941 Ambassador Stanisław Kot reported that there were a million and a half Poles released from slave labor by the Soviet government, spread in all parts of the Soviet Union, and in desperate need of medicines, clothing, and other supplies.

### Financial arrangements

Under considerable duress from His Majesty's Government, Lord Linlithgow, the viceroy of India, replied to Sir Leo Amery, the British foreign minister, from Calcutta on 23 December 1941, stating that the consensus of opinion ruled out private hospitality as a solution to the lodging problem: "We understand from the wife of the Polish Consul General that there are over a million Polish deportees in Russia [deported by the Soviets after the USSR attacked Poland on 17 September 1939, Ed.] and that they [come from] comparatively well-to-do middle class families. I feel, therefore, that I must endorse the majority view that if Polish children come to India they must be accommodated in camps, either specially constructed or formed by requisitioning existing buildings, in which schools would be set up. My conclusions are therefore that we could, subject to the disadvantages described above, accept and arrange for the education of 500 Polish children without great difficulty, that it would be preferable to keep them in largish parties in hostels to be specially arranged. . . . Finally, while a special appeal under the auspices of the Polish Relief Fund may be expected to raise sufficient [sums] to meet part of the cost of maintenance, it could not be relied on to cover all expenditure, and I am not aware whether the Polish Government [in-exile] could guarantee to meet any deficiency. My conclusions are of course necessarily formed in ignorance of the conditions of the Polish refugees in Russia and in the absence of information." In spite of its own miserable financial condition the Polish government-in-exile agreed to be responsible for any difference between expenditure and receipts from charity, paving the way for them to be evacuated to India by February 1942. Evacuation began before the camp in Balachadi was constructed. Linlithgow sent an appeal to the princes for donations for the Polish children.

The Polish Children's Fund was set up with an initial contribution of Rs. 50,000 from the Viceroy's War Purposes Fund. Since it was to be a charitable fund, a letter of appeal for donations went out. A committee was established to administer the finances of the camp. Home Secretary E. Conran-Smith, invited O.K. Caroe, secretary to External Affairs Department, to serve on the committee, along with the Catholic Archbishop of Delhi, Mother Superior of the Convent of Jesus and Mary, representatives of Political and Finance Departments, the Indian Red Cross, and Mrs. Banasińska as the delegate in India of the Polish Ministry of Social Welfare. Capt. A. W. T. Webb was appointed secretary of this committee and initiated detailed reports on its proceedings. He prepared the budgets, maintained the accounts, and wrote the reports of immense historical value to which this study has frequently referred. Money was advanced to Mrs. Banasińska to make purchases of the various items required in the camps, including personal effects for adults and children alike and communal kit requirements of a large group of people. The Finance Department advanced funds as required, with the understanding that they would later be repaid either from charitable subscriptions received or by debit to the Polish government. It was decided that the main source of money must remain the Government of India, acting as agents for the Polish government.

In 1942 the British government made exhaustive efforts to find countries that would accept the refugees. The United States and Canadian governments were approached, as were several South American governments. All were either hostile to the idea or else hedged their offers with such conditions that they proved impracticable. General Władysław Sikorski had appealed to President Roosevelt to accept Polish children, but Roosevelt referred the question to the South African government, promising the financial and material assistance of the American Red Cross.

### Financial arrangements contd...

Funds for the Polish Children's Camp were advanced by the Government of India as for other evacuee camps handed by the Home Department. All estimates for construction or recurring expenditure would require the concurrence of the Finance Department. Donations received from the public at large would be credited to the Polish Children's Fund. The committee would act as an advisory body with special reference to the appropriate use of funds donated by the public. For that purpose, it would meet from time to time, have access to budgets and approve the transfer of sums standing to the credit of the Polish Children's Account to the accountant general, Central Revenues, or other suitable authority toward the redemption of the debit being raised by the Government of India against the Polish Government for the maintenance of Polish children in India. By 2 November 1942 the Indian Red Cross Society had raised Rs. 8,424. On 15 December 1942 Lord Linlithgow sent out a solicitation letter to several Indian rulers from Baroda, Hyderabad, Patiala, and Mysore. Another appeal went out on 22 December 1942. The memorandum attached to Capt. Webb's report covering the period 21 November 1943 to 11 November 1944, as well as the report itself, state that during the 1943 financial year, Indian donations amounted to Rs. 491,660. Webb states that a shortage of Rs. 25,519 had been incurred for transportation and equipping the children, and that this expense should be billed to the Polish government in London or deducted from collections in India. If the Polish government agreed to a transfer of Rs. 25,000 from their fund account in London, Rs. 25,000 could be carried over as a balance for the year to come. Webb also mentions that in 1944 contributions to the Polish Children's Fund had been less than in the previous year due to the famine in Bengal and some parts of Madras Presidency. He maintained that India had supported 500 Polish children through 1943 and would continue to do so through 1944, but much depended on the economic conditions of the country. In a communication dated 1 July 1947, Webb informed Gilchrist that "some six lakhs rupees had been contributed by the Indian public for the maintenance of [the Polish] orphans. In 1943 Gilchrist informed Sir Welford Selby of the Polish Relief Fund that £29,500 had been collected in India for the Polish Children's Fund. Thus from 1942 to 1948 Indian contributions totaled approximately £44,250 (£1.4 million in 2014 terms. Source : Measuringworth.com).

### A workable arrangement

The importance of the Indian offer was not lost on the Poles. On 31 March 1942 Juliusz Maliniak, the Polish Embassy in Kuibyshev's delegate to the Nowosibirsk District, wrote the following in his confidential report on 5,000 Polish citizens, 50 percent of whom were children: "It would be most desirable to direct these children to Persia and India, taking advantage of the generosity of the Indian people." This report was forwarded by Ambassador Edward Raczyński to A. W. G. Randall on 6 July 1942.

In a letter dated 6 June 1942, British Foreign Minister Anthony Eden wrote to Leo S. Amery, MP that "...The Poles argue that between the German extermination policy and the fate of their people in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics the basis of their national life is being destroyed. . . . And for the immediate help, I can think of nowhere to turn but India." *[It should be added that at the very same time, thousands of Polish airmen and soldiers were fighting the Nazis under the British flag on British, Norwegian, and African soil. Ed.]*

The news about the starvation and inhuman condition that the Polish civilians endured as they were deported by the Russians began to spread and reached London. In a letter dated 6 June 1942, British Foreign Minister Anthony Eden wrote to Leo S. Amery, MP that "the Poles are pressing us hard over their civilians in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics whom they represent as living in harrowing conditions, diseased and threatened with death from starvation. Our own reports on the condition of those Poles who have reached Persia recently confirm much of what the Poles tell us, and the Polish Ambassador in Kuibyshev has begged his Government to appeal to us and the United States to help in removing 50,000 Polish children. . . . The Poles argue that between the German extermination policy and the fate of their people in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics the basis of their national life is being destroyed. . . . And for the immediate help, I can think of nowhere to turn but India." *[It should be added that at the very same time, thousands of Polish airmen and soldiers were fighting the Nazis under the British flag on British, Norwegian, and African soil. Ed.]*

In 1942 the British government made exhaustive efforts to find countries that would accept the refugees. The United States and Canadian governments were approached, as were several South American governments. All were either hostile to the idea or else hedged their offers with such conditions that they proved impracticable. General Władysław Sikorski had appealed to President Roosevelt to accept Polish children, but Roosevelt referred the question to the South African government, promising the financial and material assistance of the American Red Cross. The Americans also suggested South Persia with a promise of American financial and material help, which did not suit the British for military reasons. Randall then understood that while the British could count on the United States for sharing the financial burden, he would have to find British territory for hospitality. Accordingly, he wrote to the India Office, seeking to make the larger Indian Princely States like Hyderabad, Mysore, and Baroda responsible for hospitality toward the Poles. In a cipher telegram dated 25 November 1942, the secretary of state for India wrote the following to viceroy of India:

The War Cabinet for some time has been much exercised over the task of absorbing Polish refugees now in Persia. In spite of a steady flow during recent months, there still remain some 25,000, mostly women and children, who, for military, political and economic reasons must be moved out as early as possible and certainly by the end of March. Arrangements had been made to absorb a large batch in Mexico & the balance in East Africa where room was to be made by the transfer of Italian prisoners to America, but this plan has failed from lack of shipping and military escorts. It is still hoped to transfer several thousand to America on vessels returning via Bombay or Karachi and also East Africa, which has already responded generously, but which will shortly reach saturation point.

Following the success of Nawanagar, the British Government of India consented to take more Polish refugees, not only children but also women and elderly men. They were to be sponsored financially by the Polish government-in-exile in London. But the number of those accepted was small: the suggestion by the India Office to push open the doors of larger Indian States a little more and include a substantial number of adults was not accepted. As the grim situation of those refused entry became clear to Jamsaheb Digvijaysinghji, he spoke earnestly about the need to help these people. Jamsaheb increased his offer to take in 2,000 more Polish children and the PS of Patiala offered to take in 3,000. The PS of Baroda also made an offer, but details are not available.

It will not however be possible to exhaust the number in this manner. I have accordingly been asked to appeal to you to take about 5,000, mostly women & children with some men above military age, till the end of the war. This number is over and above the quota of Polish children you have already agreed to take.

It has been suggested to me that some of the larger states such as Hyderabad and Mysore might agree to come to the rescue as Nawanagar and Patiala have done in the case of children, and if you do not find asylum anywhere in British India perhaps you might care to consider this course. The Russian reaction has surprised me, but I should think that it will still be possible to get the children out. Hence I doubt if it would be wise to assume that accommodation meant for children can now be turned over to the new influx now proposed. New sources would have to be tapped, and loathe as I am to add fresh burdens, I hope that you may find some corners for these unfortunates till the end of their exile.

The Foreign Office at the time viewed India as "the most promising solution . . . either as a destination or a transit territory, or both." This arrangement also held a political solution for the British authorities. By hosting the Polish civilian population evacuated out of the Soviet Union in territories subservient to the British the Soviets were not embarrassed and the delicate war alliance was saved. Following the success of Nawanagar, the British Government of India consented to take more Polish refugees, not only children but also women and elderly men. They were to be sponsored financially by the Polish government-in-exile in London. But the number of those accepted was small: the suggestion by the India Office to push open the doors of larger Indian States a little more and include a substantial number of adults was not accepted. As the grim situation of those refused entry became clear to Jamsaheb Digvijaysinghji, he spoke earnestly about the need to help these people. Jamsaheb increased his offer to take in 2,000 more Polish children and the PS of Patiala offered to take in 3,000. The PS of Baroda also made an offer, but details are not available. The Soviet government then stopped all further evacuation of Polish children on the grounds of "prestige." A proposed campsite a Chela in Nawanagar State, abandoned by the R.A.F, was turned down, as was the offer of Patiala to build a new town for the refugees at Simla hills, ostensibly due to inadequate availability of water. Simla was the summer capital of British India. Sayajirao of Baroda was forced to abdicate, whereby his offer to house the refugees became null. Records from the Association of Poles in India (API) for 1942-48 show that fifty girls were traveling at his invitation, but little is known about what happened to them. The API has assumed that the group may have been amalgamated with the Balachadi group. The Polish consul general considered Aundh State as a destination for Polish civilians and for that purpose approached Maurycy Frydman (alias Bharatanandji), a Polish-Lithuanian-Jewish engineer who had come to India before the Second World War in the service of Mysore State. He was drawn into Gandhianism and left the service of Mysore State to join Apa Pant, the ruler of Aundh State, to implement Gandhi's teachings.

When representatives of the new "Polish government" visited and informed the former prisoners of the Soviets that, according to international law, all orphans were the charges of the country to which they belonged by birth, there was decisive resistance about repatriation to Poland among the children. One teenage boy threatened to jump out of the ship if he was forcibly returned to Poland, recalling his mother dying of starvation in the streets of Russia.

Since the spirit of Indian nationalism was rather strong within the ruling family of Aundh, the destination did not receive the approval of the British government of India. Finally, the Princely State of Kolhapur was chosen as the destination for the new wave of Polish refugees. Since moving the Polish civilian population out of Persia was a pressing matter, it was decided that a large number of Polish refugees would be directed to certain camps in British East Africa. The city of Karachi became the nodal point of transport. Ships laden with supplies for the troops, as well as "Aid to Russia" transport left Karachi and returned with troops from Persia for re-equipping and redeployment in the theater against Japan. The Polish civilian population was hastily removed from Teheran to Abadan in South Persia to await shipping to Karachi, from where they awaited ships to go to Uganda, Kenya, or Mexico, or remain in India. Two camps in Karachi, Country Club and Malir, were transit camps for persons going either to East Africa or to Valivade (Kolhapur). Both the Balachadi and Valivade camps had schooling facilities. For older children schooling was arranged with Catholic institutions in Karachi, Mt. Abu, Mumbai, Panchgani, and elsewhere. At the end of their schooling most boys joined the Polish Armed Forces and were deployed to various parts of the world to fight the Nazis. In 1944 forty boys from Kolhapur and Balachadi camps were granted visas to travel to the United Kingdom for training in the Polish Marine services and fighting in the British war against the Germans. They included six boys who had attended St. Mary's High School in Mumbai; others had attended St. Mary's High School at Mt. Abu.

### Adoption and bidding adieu

After the British government unilaterally transferred recognition from the Polish government-in-exile in London to the newly formed "Lublin Government" in Soviet-occupied Poland in 1943, there was a flurry of activity including the closure of the Polish Consulate in Mumbai. The Foreign Office advised the India Office to inform the Government of India that the Polish consul general could no longer continue to perform consular functions even if it caused inconveniences for the local Poles. The Polish Children's Fund was also closed. Most of the people in the camp were not willing to be repatriated to postwar Poland, which was occupied by Soviet Russia. "It was a hot potato, nobody wanted to touch it," stated Rev. Z. Peszkowski in 2004. On 19 July 1943, Edward Raczyński, outgoing ambassador of the Polish government-in-exile in London, wrote this to Anthony Eden: "I have the honor to express on behalf of the Polish Government their sincere and deep-felt thanks for the interest taken in the welfare of Poles evacuated from Russia and particularly for the generosity of the Indian Government, the Indian Princes and Indian organizations in undertaking to maintain large numbers of Polish children for the duration of the war. . . . By their decision to offer shelter on hospitable Indian soil to thousands of Polish children, India has rendered possible their preservation for Poland, where important tasks will await them in the future." Many refugees were deeply apprehensive after having tasted life in the Soviet Union. There was a great ferment in the camps.

Some former Balachadi children like Franek Herzog and Stefan Kłosowski reached the United States and Canada respectively from the United Kingdom after completing higher education there. Today the children from the former Balachadi Camp in India can be found in the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, and Australia, contributing to the formation of the Polish diaspora in those countries. In the United States they added to the numbers of those accepted under the category of displaced persons, including the residents of the former Santa Rosa camp in Mexico.

### Adoption and bidding adieu *contd...*

When representatives of the new "Polish government" visited and informed the former prisoners of the Soviets that, according to international law, all orphans were the charges of the country to which they belonged by birth, there was decisive resistance about repatriation to Poland among the children. One teenage boy threatened to jump out of the ship if he was forcibly returned to Poland, recalling his mother dying of starvation in the streets of Russia. When shown a letter allegedly from his father asking for his son's return to Poland, another boy wanted to know why his father would send a typewritten letter to a stranger and not a handwritten one to him if he wished to be reunited with his son. The mood of the adult Polish population in Valivade can be surmised from Webb's report of 1 November 1944: "The Poles are convinced that there is a plan afoot to transfer them to the clutches of either the Russian (Soviet) or Lublin Governments." The visit of Special Representative of UNRRA Durrant to the Polish camps caused great unrest and "nearly resulted in a riot". On 17 March 1945 he was "urged to leave camp in his own interest." Those Poles who communicated with their friends or relatives in the camps in East Africa were advised against Durrant and "recommended strong personal action, should he turn up in Kolhapur."

While those over sixteen (the legal adult age at the time) "refused to consider repatriation, guardians were appointed with the consent of Polish Consul General in India just before closing down of the consulate, for those under sixteen years of age." Legal adoption of the orphaned children was worked out in the courts of Nawanagar between Fr. Franciszek Płuta, the commandant of the Polish camp at Balachadi, Jamsaheb Digvijaysinhji and Lt. Col. Geoffrey Clark, the British liaison officer. The camp in Balachadi and the rest home in Panchgani were closed down due to austerity measures and amalgamated with the camp at Valivade. The "adopted" children were moved out of the Nawanagar court's jurisdiction, first to Kolhapur and later overseas. The Legislative Department of GOI "considered this transaction valid in law." Fr. Płuta arranged for eighty-one children to be sponsored by two American missionary organizations: fifty girls were sponsored by the Bernardine Sisters of Pennsylvania, and thirty-one boys by Orchard Lake Seminary, Michigan.

Only those children who chose to return to Poland voluntarily, did so. Roman Gutowski found his mother, who had returned to Poland from the Soviet Union, as did Leszek Trazalski who found his uncle who had insisted that he return. His Majesty's Government had no objections to such a move, and R. N. Gilchrist of HMG informed Rhea Radin of UNRRA accordingly. The Government of India acted as an agent of HMG and raised no objections to this plan. UNRRA then demanded to know the legal standing of such an arrangement. Selene Gifford, director of the Displaced Persons Division at UNRRA, and Rhea Radin, Chief Repatriation and Care Division of UNRRA, were informed that "the position of the children under present guardianship [was] absolutely safe and easy to defend."



At the vineyard, Adelaide, with a former Balachadi boy, Karol M and his wife Rosemary.  
The Second Homeland - Polish Refugees in India/Anuradha Bhattacharjee/SAGE Publications

The formal documents of the case were "water-tight from a legal point of view," according to Webb. One Ms. Burakiewicz, a representative of the government of Soviet-occupied Poland, tried to stop the children's departure, but they had already left Valivade camp. Fr. Płuta was later declared an "international kidnapper" by the postwar "Polish" government in Warsaw. He left for the United States and remained there until the end of his life. Valivade Camp closed in March 1948. Its residents moved to the United Kingdom under the aegis of the Polish Resettlement Scheme (PRC) in India.

The last remaining camp residents were moved to Tengeru camp in Africa to await resettlement. Some like Tadeusz Dobrostanski, went to Australia where they were accepted as displaced persons (DP). Some former Balachadi children like Franek Herzog and Stefan Kłosowski reached the United States and Canada respectively from the United Kingdom after completing higher education there. Today the children from the former Balachadi Camp in India can be found in the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, and Australia, contributing to the formation of the Polish diaspora in those countries. In the United States they added to the numbers of those accepted under the category of displaced persons, including the residents of the former Santa Rosa camp in Mexico.

### Conclusions

The 1942 Nawanagar offer to host Polish children is important on two counts. First, it came at a time when no other country in the world was willing to accept Polish refugees. Second, this offer enabled the British to abandon their erstwhile ally Poland and declare themselves on the side of a newfound ally, the Soviet Union. While the refugees were eventually relocated to destinations in British-controlled parts of the world, they were initially in the territory of the Princely States, saving the British from embarrassment vis-à-vis the USSR. In spite of being fully aware of the plight of over one million Polish people deported to the Gulag by the Soviets, the British were willing to extend aid to only a few hundred people at a time. The rate of evacuation was set at 160 per diem at a time when thousands needed help. It is interesting to note that the British Government of India, who controlled at least one-third of 4,225,113 square kilometers of area of the present-day India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh combined, could not find a place to accommodate 500 orphaned Polish children in 1942, whereas the tiny Princely State of Nawanagar could quickly organize the space to build a special camp for them. The initiative of Jamsaheb Digvijaysinghji of Nawanagar paved the way for several thousand Polish refugees to be received in various parts of the world. His State was the first to host 500 Polish children. He extended his offer to another 2,000 children, and galvanized the support of Maharaja Yadavindra Singh of Patiala to extend an invitation to 3,000 Polish people.



Reunion 2004: Members of API 1942-48 with His Excellency Ambassador Anil Wadhwa and Reverend Z Peszkovski at Katowice, Poland. Courtesy of Danuta Pniewska. *The Second Homeland - Polish Refugees in India*/Anuradha Bhattacharjee/SAGE Publications

### Conclusions *contd...*

These offers were the bedrock for the formation of the Valivade Camp in the politically pliant PS of Kolhapur. Furthermore, the adoption of Polish children by Jamsaheb Digvijaysinhji paved the way for eighty-one children to go to the United States and build a life for themselves there in the free world, after initial assistance from Polish Catholic missionaries.

It is pertinent to note that the Indian people reeling under wartime levies and shortages donated fairly large sums of money for the hapless Polish children to maintain them for several years and continued to do so even during a period of famine in the country. It should also be noted that the Indian Freedom Movement was not xenophobic in nature. There was no antagonism reported from any quarter about the presence of the Polish orphans even during a year of drought and famine.

Not only were wealthy people contributing to the Polish Children's Fund, Mahatma Gandhi was sympathetic to their cause as well. He had a very close association with two Poles: Maurycy Frydman (aka Swami Bharatanandji of Aundh) and Wanda Dynowska (aka Uma Devi) at the time.

The Indian connection has played a critical role in the preservation of the Polish Diaspora in the English-speaking countries.

### Exclusive Additional Input

The subject of Ander's Army (Polish Army fighting alongside British forces) continues to remain rather sensitive in several countries to date. In 1990, an Indian person of Polish descent was awarded the highest Polish civilian honour *Polonia Restituta* by the then newly elected democratic Polish government in recognition of her work in saving Polish lives during the WW II. It is interesting to note that little academic work on the subject, exists or existed between 2000-2005 in Polish communities anywhere in the world, both in Poland and countries promoting free speech.

The publication of the thesis "*History of Polish Refugees in India, 1942-48*" (University of Pune, 2006) and its limited release in 2006 prompted the acknowledgement of Maharaja Digvijaysinhji, the Indian anchor of the evacuation process, by Poland only in 2012. The publication of *The Second Homeland* prompted the first ever reunion of the Balachadi children in the USA in 2013, as reported in *The New York Times*.

More recently, the Polish and Indian governments have commissioned a documentary film on the subject, which does not address the political underpinnings of this largely overlooked side of WW II and is possibly driven only by the growing economic importance of India in the world.



The visionary author *H G Wells* was one who took up the cause and in 1940 he actually wrote a book entitled *The New World Order* in which he addressed the possibility of a world existing without war (ironically, this was at the start of the Second World War). Fighting against despair, Wells still hoped that the ideal of law and order under the control of a single benevolent future government was still within humanity's grasp. After the Holocaust and once the carnage of the Nazis had ceased, the United Nations was created, but along with that came NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

The dream of a perfect life is an idea running throughout the history of humanity shared by all peoples - it may take different forms and have alternative names but there are common features. Dream worlds are created to provide comfort to those in distress. If life is grindingly hard, things are not going too well, food is in short supply, there is job insecurity; people are compelled to conjure up fantasy worlds where all their problems don't exist. The dream of a better world is an essential characteristic of human beings who need to hope as much as they need other basic sustenance like eating and drinking. *The Land of Cockaigne* that preoccupied peasants and poorer folk across Europe throughout the Middle Ages was one such dream that remained stubbornly persistent and remarkably widespread well before the invention of printing. It was transmitted by word of mouth as part of the folk tradition and remained embedded in popular consciousness for many centuries.

## New Orders

Competing versions of a new order are offered as solutions to the problems posed by insecurity in the public domain. Established democracy has its own neoliberal version of the new order; ISIS has its Caliphate and the Kurds have created a new order in Rojava, Syria. The Arab Spring failed because it did not conceptualise any new order and the political left only have vague notions of opposing austerity, although that weakness may in part be remedied with the recent victory of Syriza in Greece but only if it is able to build a popular movement and continue the momentum against austerity at an international level. The New World Order repeatedly spoken of in the last century was supposed to herald a new era of peace and cooperation between the various nations of the world. The term has been used by several US presidents but it was originally associated with the impassioned idealism of Woodrow Wilson in the post-World War One period when politicians claimed to believe in a "war to end war" and which eventually saw the foundation of the League of Nations.

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The veteran political philosopher Noam Chomsky was quite right to define the post-Cold War world with his typically incisive sense of irony as a place where "the New World gives the orders". The new order envisaged by Washington is one where the US is firmly in the driving seat and where its own interests are those seen to be shared by everyone else without questioning.

of glasnost and perestroika, delivered a speech in 1990 where he stated: "For a new type of progress throughout the world to become a reality, everyone must change. Tolerance is the alpha and omega of a new world order." He was arguing as a true idealist that these fine sentiments could be adopted by all the rulers and ruled to create a world community living in harmony, but his actual policies led to the unravelling of the USSR, the dismantling of the Warsaw Pact and decades of conflict. The momentous changes that Gorbachev initiated have yet to bring about any noticeable increase in global peace and social harmony. The peoples of the former Eastern bloc countries, stretching from the Baltic states to the Asian "stans", have been mired in mass poverty, beset with ethnic conflicts and ruled by grasping elites who are notoriously corrupt.

The "new world order" was also the title of a long forgotten book by the American evangelist Pat Robertson which was published in 1991. In this book, Robertson propounded an absurd conspiracy theory and claimed that there was a "behind-the-scenes Establishment" which controlled US policy and whose "principal goal is the establishment of a one-world government where the control of money is in the hands of one or more privately owned but government-chartered central banks." Sadly, more people have sought comfort in simplistic conspiracy theories like those of Robertson as they experience a world descended into chaos following the shock of the 9/11 attack in New York, the financial crash, the impact of climate change and globalisation.

We must resist all conspiracy theories and start to think for ourselves again about the kind of world we want to live in. The ideal of a universal government that inspired Wells and the early campaigners for the League of Nations is still very appealing but as an ideal it remains highly impractical; having said that, sophisticated communications technologies are making the world seem a much smaller place. At the same time, divergent opinions, the widening wealth gap, rival interests and fractious prejudices make people feel further apart than ever.

When US President George Bush delivered a speech on 11 September 1990 titled "Toward a New World Order" he was making a declaration of US global hegemony and asserting that "God's own country" would lead the world as his country was apparently destined to do so. It would usher in an era of democracy and the rule of law across the globe. Bush made no mention of imposing the "American way" by brute force, but, as it transpired, that is more or less what happened.

The veteran political philosopher Noam Chomsky was quite right to define the post-Cold War world with his typically incisive sense of irony as a place where "the New World gives the orders". The new order envisaged by Washington is one where the US is firmly in the driving seat and where its own interests are those seen to be shared by everyone else without questioning.



Iraq War and overthrow of Saddam Hussein

## The Protection Racket

In the frightening world of US foreign policy fomenting chaos makes perfect sense and acts as a crucial mechanism to achieve the objectives of hegemony. A chaos theory of international relations might be useful to make a little sense of the apparent chaotic events we are all experiencing. We need to understand the underlying interests that are at play, the benefits for some that can be derived from spreading chaos and the manoeuvres around manageable levels of crises. The apparent chaos in the world follows a brutal logic and has its beneficiaries.

While the US is not the “master of the universe” neither is it run by complete buffoons; despite what some of the country’s presidential hopefuls have led us to conclude: weak politicians such as Dan Quayle, Sarah Palin and George W Bush are merely the public faces of the political system; the real decision-makers are firmly ensconced behind closed doors. The US has actually been highly successful in extending its influence on the global stage. In the European arena, a major centre of its operations, the US calls the shots. It can provoke a coup in a state on the European Union’s borders; it can compel EU member states to impose economic sanctions on Russia even though this action damages their own economies; it encourages conflicts by following a highly provocative strategy to taunt Moscow while being geographically positioned safely far away from the main zone of conflict. Meanwhile, as a result European economies are weakened and the consequences of such conflicts, more refugees and violence, are inflicted on EU populations.

**Twenty-five years after the collapse of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, its raison d’être and bête noir, NATO flourishes, having extended its membership eastwards and the institution remains the pinnacle of the US-led “free world” alliance. It has been rebranded since the collapse of Communism but to all intents and purposes it functions essentially the same to achieve the same goals of upholding US military power and economic dominance.** NATO has stationed its weapons right up to the Russian border and thus acts as a destabilising influence on Europe. NATO has thrived amid the increased chaos just as the US itself has thrived through the global financial crisis sparked by its own financial irregularities (we all vaguely remember Freddie Mac and Fannie Mae).

So when we look at all the man-made chaos, carnage, dislocation, human misery and bloodshed in a world progressively worsening and seemingly totally out of control, it needs to be borne in mind that there are some powerful beneficiaries from the situation, hard as it is to accept but true. US foreign policy operates like a gigantic protection racket and as such it is very effective and lucrative for US interests, for the arms industry (that notorious “military-industrial complex”) and for the burgeoning private security business, a sector where numerous private security and intelligence gathering firms

have mushroomed - often run by ex-army officers and staffed by ex-army personnel – as chaos and instability have grown.

The protection racket works in an extremely simple way – “there is great danger out there which puts your lives, property and assets at grave risk and we are the ones - the only ones - with the means and the motivation to protect you. We can and will protect you - but there are strings attached. You have to pay a price. You must become part of our gang and not stray from the camp. If you do break ranks, we naturally can no longer guarantee our continued support and things will not look good for you.” I paraphrase and grossly simplify matters certainly but this caricature is essentially true of the relationship that prevails between the master and his vassals. Such an approach has been reflected in many scenarios where the US has sponsored and fomented opposition groups to destabilise governments, to punish, warn, threaten and effect regime change. The deteriorating situations on different continents can be attributed to this process in the cases of attempted coups in Venezuela, today and a few years ago when Hugo Chavez was removed, the coup in Kiev last year, the recent protests in Hong Kong and the unrest seen in Hungary, are just a few examples where governments which have displeased the US by straying outside the camp or where rival global powers hold the reins as in China/Hong Kong, have endured such treatment. This punishment takes the form of a combination of covert and overt actions, including relentless propaganda assaults, psychological warfare, economic sanctions, blackmail of allies to fall into line with direct military intervention usually only used as a last resort. In the Ukraine scenario the US, in collusion with most of the EU, has offered political support to pro-Western forces, many of whom hold very unsavoury political ideologies and affiliations, but the nature of the beast does not really matter; what does matter it that they remain subservient partners and espouse the same objectives, which in the Ukraine case is to extend NATO/Western power right up to the Russian borders in order to weaken an independent Russia and contain its influence in the region and the wider world. Ukraine has been supported in rhetoric in the diplomatic arena, which has become increasingly histrionic and anti-Russian; in the imposition of swingeing economic, financial, diplomatic and possibly cultural sanctions, designed to cripple the Russian economy and teach Moscow a hard lesson for having the temerity to act as an independent state again following its abjectness and disgrace during the Yeltsin years.

**Drawing a lesson from the movies of Martin Scorsese, let us recall that the most dangerous thugs usually wear the smartest suits. Appearances and realities are very different. I write with a passionate detachment and certainly do not regard the US as an embodiment of evil; it is just a global power that ruthlessly pursues its own interests. Unfortunately for too many it inflicts immense collateral damage as it endeavours to achieve its aims.**

Some doubt that the US really regards ISIS to be much of a threat. Chomsky attributes the growth of ISIS to US policy in Iraq. ISIS was allowed to destabilise Iraq and wage holy war against Syrian civilians before the US was prompted to cry wolf. ISIS had been busily constructing its own new order but its success depends on the elimination of the vast majority of the region's population; even a majority of its own faith remain deeply anti-pathetic to its severe injunctions. But it has been permitted to continue its relentless progress across Iraq, Syria and now Libya with horrific results.

### The phantom threat from Assad

A case in point is Syria where the US has sought to remove the incumbent from power without regard to the damage done and suffering inflicted. Apart from his own people who have endured a dictatorship for too long, to whom exactly does Syria's President Assad pose as a serious and immediate threat? Israel for one probably, but this is an exception; by supporting the Palestinian cause, Damascus is denying the Israeli state's existence within current borders. There is also the dispute over the Golan Heights. Militarily, however, Syria is no match for the might of the Israeli war machine which has been built up over decades.

Is Syria with Assad remaining in power a real threat to European and US interests? Surely this is largely of Washington's imagination or invention: Syria had embraced the free market ethic, privatisation and disavowed state control, opening up its market to trade and the influence of US corporations. So economically, Assad's Syria poses little real threat at all. It is certainly not regarded as a realistic alternative model that can inspire the Arab masses with the fervour of old Nasserite Arab nationalism. The "Arab Spring" had absolutely nothing to do with Syria. Assad's remaining in power would surely be much less of a threat than a collapsed regime where the political vacuum is filled with the likes of ISIS.

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### After Charlie Hebdo

A recent opinion poll revealed that one in four French citizens believed that Charlie Hebdo magazine was wrong to publish the Mohammed cartoons, due to the fact that the images are offensive to Muslims. I beg to differ. The right to offend is worth defending. As a journalist, I was shocked and appalled by the bloody massacre in Paris of 10 members of my profession by jihadists inspired by the successes of ISIS; as a human being who upholds the values of the Enlightenment, social justice, and free speech, I stand squarely in solidarity with the 12 needlessly killed and indeed all of those cruelly maimed. The insane orgy of slaughter witnessed in zones of conflict like Iraq, Syria, Afghanistan and now in Europe, will advance no good cause, and it must be utterly eradicated along with all the deadly oppressive forces that inflict similar blood-letting and misery on poor, suffering humanity.

Selective, politically biased interpretations of the limits of freedom of speech are the rule rather than the exception. In the British case, throughout recent history it is not difficult to find examples where the state has responded in a highly partisan manner to define, defend and deny freedom of speech. The government of Margaret Thatcher in the UK was quite notorious in its suppression of the radical opinions of trade unionists, peace activists and Irish Republicans – in the example of the latter, audiences were physically prevented from hearing the voices of members of Sinn Fein even those who had been elected. Their comments had to be ventriloquised by actors when interviews were broadcast on radio and television.

Such wanton acts of killing simply exacerbate historic hatreds between peoples; they incite deeper conflicts, provoke war fever and a lust for revenge. These mindless murders are a fundamental assault on the very meaning of civilisation and the cherished belief in humanity's capacity to create a better society for itself.

After the Charlie Hebdo and more recent Copenhagen attack the ISIS threat has reached the heartland of Europe. They are intent on fuelling tensions to exacerbate community conflict in the European cities where large migrant populations dwell. But it is absolutely vital not simply to fall into the trap of seeing ISIS as modern day "folk devils"; although a real danger, it isn't a cause for another moral panic. The only beneficiaries of moral panics are the existing power elites who seize on the moment to impose more restrictions on the civil liberties of all their citizens, thus tying them down more securely to an exploitative system based on ever growing inequalities in wealth and power.

State security measures are as much a threat to freedom of speech and free expression as ISIS. Historically, state powers, defending gross inequalities, theft of lands and social injustices, have never been friends of freedoms and only came to adopt democracy when they worked out a mechanism how best to control it.

### 'The right type of freedom of speech'

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In the early 1930s British police carefully guarded Oswald Mosley and the British Union of Fascists while simultaneously breaking up the marches and meetings of Communists and anti-fascists. In the 1920s, Home Secretary Sir William Joynson-Hicks justified the prosecution for sedition of leading Communist Party members by stating that they had not been engaged in 'the right type of freedom of speech' – such an argument barely needs commenting on.



ISIS selling looted antiquities and human organs to raise money.

## ISIS and the financial system

ISIS manipulates the existing financial system for its own advantage and it doesn't act alone. ISIS needs respectable business partners to finance its operations, to sell the oil that it has stolen from the people of Iraq as well as even the body parts that it has ripped from the corpses of the Iraqis, Kurds and Syrians it has slaughtered.

So ISIS doesn't act alone in the illicit trade in antiquities stolen from the battle zone. The spoils of war and the right to plunder, though not formally condoned or legally recognised, are accepted as custom and practise having occurred during the course of any major conflict. This trade in artefacts that is part funding ISIS was highlighted by the BBC Radio File on 4, broadcast on 17 February. This is ironic given the destructive impulses of ISIS and its hatred of all civilisations that do not conform to or confirm its narrow world view.

ISIS smugglers as well as freelance opportunists are taking advantage of the unfolding chaos. Looted artefacts from Raqqa that are ending up on the international art market include thousands of precious objects stolen from local museums. Many other items have been destroyed by ISIS in its frenzy.

ISIS could be making millions from looting and smuggling although it is difficult to put an exact figure on what this illicit trade is worth, according to UNESCO. Art objects stolen might not surface on the art market for years. A key trade route for the smugglers is Turkey where they meet up with art dealers. Statues, vases and coins are passed on from smugglers to traders who then sell them on to art dealers to be later sold to art connoisseurs. Many are to be found in London where there is a huge market for such objects. The BBC report estimated that around 60% of all antiquity smugglers are based in the UK capital. The majority of customers for stolen art objects are found in the US and the capital cities of mainland Europe. Police in the UK are simply not sufficiently resourced to deal with the scale of this massive international trade. ISIS has opened up looting on a scale unseen since the Second World War.

This trade is based on a clear commercial relationship with rules- a dealer needs money and auction houses need objects to sell – so they turn a blind-eye as there is so much money to be made. Objects stolen by ISIS are sold on both the legal market and the black market. ISIS sees the world art market as a "crack in the financial system" that is ripe for exploiting to its own advantage. Much more needs to be done by art professionals, curators and historians to make the trade in stolen artefacts so socially repugnant that it is regarded as totally beyond the pale like the fur trade has now become after long campaigning.

Another even uglier alleged source of funding for ISIS was highlighted in February 2015 by Mohamed Alhakim, the Iraqi Ambassador to the UN, who claimed that dozens of mutilated human bodies with surgical incisions and missing body parts have been found in shallow mass graves near to the ISIS stronghold of Mosul. The diplomat claims that doctors have been 'executed' in Mosul for refusing to participate in organised organ harvesting. The news that ISIS reputedly trades in human organs was first revealed in a report by the al-Monitor news website in December 2014. This report claimed that ISIS had even established a specialist organ-smuggling division with sole responsibility to sell human hearts, livers and kidneys on the lucrative international black market. The al-Monitor report alleged: "Surgeries take place within a hospital and organs are quickly transported through networks specialized in trafficking human organs." Most of the organs are then smuggled out of Syria and Iraq into neighbouring countries such as Turkey where criminal gangs sell them on to buyers across the globe, news agencies report. These stolen human organs finally end up in the bodies of the wealthy in the West. It is a form of cannibalism.

## Why the Kurds Matter

In February this year, the Kurdish people were obliged once again to mark a terrible moment in their history. With each year that passes the injustice of Ocalan's continued incarceration deepens their grievances but their determination to secure their freedom and justice has only strengthened with the passage of time. This year the Kurds collected millions of signatures on a petition to call for Ocalan's release and for an end to the international (US/EU) ban on the PKK. These demands are most apt and timely and should be heeded by those who have it in their power to effect a change in policy.

The world situation has been hugely transformed since that bleak day in 1999 when, as a result of a co-ordinated security operation across three continents, PKK leader Abdullah Ocalan was apprehended in Kenya and taken bound and gagged to Turkey. Today the ugly phenomenon of ISIS now poses a ruthless and murderous threat to the peoples of the Middle East and the world. The Kurds have demonstrated their commitment to peace and democratic principles not least by their formidable resistance to ISIS in the town of Kobane in Rojava. For years Ocalan was held in total isolation as Ankara's most dangerous prisoner and as a sole inmate on Imrali Island high security prison. The Turkish-Kurdish peace process would hardly have existed without Ocalan's efforts and it is largely thanks to him that the process has come so far slowly edging forward with the onset of negotiations although it remains at the stage of "talks about talks" as of early 2015. Despite his imprisonment Ocalan stood firm in the course that he embarked upon for the last 20 years which is to achieve a historic reconciliation between the Turkish state and the Kurds by bringing about an enduring peace.

Kurdish women enjoy equal rights in Rojava's new order, the self-governed Kurdish region of Syria. Within the Kurdish movement generally women are treated as equals in a movement directly inspired by the pro-feminist vision espoused by Ocalan. It is a modernist movement. Their remarkable achievements of the Kurds stand in stark contrast to the cruel oppression suffered by women under the fundamentalist nightmare offered by ISIS. Rojava, above which the flag of freedom now proudly flies, has become a haven where men and woman are working to protect their land and build a new order. It is a community of equals where men and women not only live and eat together, but govern together, work together, study and defend their community together.

### Why the Kurds Matter *contd...*

Many now believe that Ocalan should be freed from captivity for the sake of bringing justice to the Kurdish people and in order to give the peace process a real chance to succeed. Ocalan's participation in negotiations with Turkey as an equal partner and leader of the Kurdish team seems absolutely essential to achieving the desired breakthrough. Turkey's leaders should come around to conceding the crucial proposition that Ocalan deserves his freedom.

Women in Kurdistan are confronting the newly resurgent threat from jihadist groups such as ISIS who are seeking to reverse the small gains that women have made in achieving liberation. ISIS reduces women to mere chattels, the property of men and compels them at risk of death into acceptance of forced marriage, prostitution and sex slavery. Girls as young as four years old are sold for less than the cost of a donkey in those areas where ISIS has wrested control from the traditional state power structures in countries such as Syria and Iraq. Fortunately the assault by ISIS on the Kurdish town of Kobane, which came under siege for many months, has been successfully defeated and ISIS driven out by Kurdish forces, including many women. This news was of momentous significance for people everywhere.

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Rojava, above which the flag of freedom now proudly flies, has become a haven where men and woman are working to protect their land and build a new order. It is a community of equals where men and women not only live and eat together, but govern together, work together, study and defend their community together. Rojava is a less well-known name than Kobane where the victory against ISIS was greeted with universal acclamation. But Rojava needs to be known not as a point of resistance only, but for its remarkable achievements and ambitions as a pioneer of Mideast democracy. It has firmly picked up the baton dropped in the dust by the failed Arab Spring. Not without reason Rojava has been defined as a "Kurdish Spring"; it is the promise of a new order that the Arab Spring was supposed to bring to the Mideast but tragically failed to deliver.

The Kurds embody that same existential human spirit as the popular upsurges in Latin America a decade ago that have now turned sour. The same spirit formed part of the world social movements

All these seemingly separate moments of people making history by giving voice to their essential common humanity are linked by a transcending spirit of hope that cannot be extinguished so long as there is life on earth. The spirit of hope is an existential matter. It is a fundamental component of the human psychological make-up. We cannot do without it. We cannot go on day after day without holding onto a belief, however tenuous, that our lives will get better, that there is a destination, a purpose and a point of arrival. That our existence progresses through our own human effort and self-will, that we can reshape the world to fulfil our own desires. To be free is to be truly human, to be human is to be masters of our own destinies.

against neoliberalism and globalisation seen in the mass protests in Seattle when people joined together from all corners of the earth to proclaim defiantly but peacefully that "another world is possible".

The growing anti-austerity movement whose greatest success to date has been the election of Syriza in Greece. The "Je Suis Charlie" phenomenon which saw millions on the streets of Paris and across Europe was a brief flowering of that same hope, despite being quickly seized upon by cynical politicians seeking their moment of glory and new lease of life.

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Rojava takes up the slogan "another world is possible" quite literally and transforms it into a living entity. It transforms the ground beneath our feet by laying the foundations for a new order or cooperative community. It is idealism made realism.

### Different worlds, different species

H G Wells wrote *The Time Machine* in which a Traveller arrives in the year AD 802,701, where he encounters a world divided into two distinct species; humanity had split into the Eloi, a society of small, elegant, childlike adults and the Morlocks, ape-like troglodytes who live underground and appear only at night. To his horror the Traveller discovers that the Eloi are a human harvest to provide food for the cannibalistic Morlocks; humanity has literally started eating itself.

This bleak vision of a possible future described in a work of classic fiction is a perfect symbolic representation of the consequences of the growing divisions in the world where the super-rich of today already behave as if they are a different species from the rest of us, from the poor and the underprivileged. This remarkably prophetic tale by a great author provides a timely wakeup call for modern humanity to change course before it is too late.



Victims of Nazi concentration camp, ISIS slaughtering captives in cold blood, Kurdish women fighters who are an integral part of the Kurdish forces, including the cadres that have retaken Kobane from ISIS.

## An Old Order

For all its claims to be establishing a new order ISIS in reality represents a very, very old order just as for all its railings against the system, it actually works that self-same system very well and operates within it at various levels. As such, it poses no real threat to the existing order whatever. It does not stand for a brave new world but for the existing world of chaos, corruption and carnage, which are the essential characteristics of contemporary capitalism.

ISIS does not stand in opposition to the dominant interests that hold sway in the West. In fact, the organisation is fundamentally a part of the world capitalist order. Its determination to set up a caliphate is regionally specific and only poses a threat to existing states in the Mideast. The Gulf States and Israel have so far been left untouched by ISIS's murderous attacks and it must not be forgotten that ISIS derives direct inspiration from the Wahhabism espoused by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, America's greatest and closest ally in the region.

The existence of ISIS has given the US new justification for intervention in the region after this policy had been utterly discredited by the failures in Iraq following the removal of Saddam Hussein. It is fiercely fighting opponents of America in Assad and the Tehran-leaning Shia dominated government of Iraq. The PKK-inspired Kurds in Kobane, where ISIS mounted a bloody onslaught over several months, also ideologically stand full square in opposition to US free market dogma.

In the matters of trade in human organs, stolen artefacts and above all in oil, ISIS operates within existing markets trading freely with capitalists. It allows business to function freely and established interests to profit considerably from its activities.

The super-rich benefit from ISIS's business ventures: they get cheap oil, they get their hands on unique artefacts and they repair their debauched bodies with fresh organs ripped from the child victims of the ISIS butchers.

## A New Order

Robert Owen wrote about *"A New View of Society"*; Antonio Gramsci wrote for a publication called the New Order. The concept of a new society, a new order, once belonged to the left but was deliberately ripped out of the left's hands by the reactionary counterrevolution of 20th century fascism. The legacy of Nazism has succeeded remarkably well in respect of the persistence of the association of the concept of a new order with racist and authoritarian politics.

We are still no longer able to speak of creating a new order without fear of being tainted with the stigma of Nazism or sympathy for the Austrian corporal. Somehow we need to re-establish a progressive concept of the absolute necessity of building a new society as ultimately this is the only means of pulling the world back from the brink of catastrophe.

Austerity itself is reshaping the social and economic landscape to construct a new order - one where a far harsher post-welfare state regime holds sway under which entitlement is greatly reduced and the obligations piled on the backs of individual are more burdensome: people instructed/compelled to stand on their own two feet but with buckled legs.

The simplistic logic of the prophets of austerity is often difficult to dispute: everyone concurs that it is a good idea to eradicate waste in the delivery of services, but it is when it is implied that certain categories of people - the old, sick and disabled - are treated as waste that we must draw a line and depart company with the austerity-mongers. This callous new order with its harsh prescriptions and regulations is not the brave new world that will ensure a happy and comfortable life for future generations.

What is on offer, it seems to be, is a very segregated world of super rich and mass impoverishment, heavily controlled with strict compulsion, diminished opportunities for the majority and sophisticated all-pervasive electronic monitoring that virtually turns citizens into automatons.

There is a growing resistance across Europe - the call "a better world is possible" still echoes in the streets; embodying the dreams of an improved future, these Utopian sentiments comprise a characteristic that is essential to humanity - the principle of hope.

Today ISIS is busy building its own new order in the Mideast on the basis of the literal destruction of the old order and the purification by bloodshed of the society.

The ideals of peace have been sullied as has the principle of harmonious accord between peoples. "Islamophobia" is the product of a series of terrible atrocities committed by the misguided in what they believe is the name of their religion. The term "preachers of hate" is a travesty of the popular press, but it reveals an element of truth: such people are preachers, even if often self-appointed, but they are providing divine sanction for murder and torture. The spilling of blood is seen as part of the tribute-making rituals of one who is "of the faith" like prayer, pilgrimage and fasting. The carnage is divinely inspired. We have to deal with this. For secularists, it is simple to explain but for those who want to hold onto their religion it is a little more difficult.

The pagan ritualists and proponents of modern-day witchcraft can dance naked in circles at midnight below a full moon and worshippers of Mother Earth can celebrate the Sun with incense and chants. Even what were once feared as dark satanic rites are harmless fads in contrast to those who have declared war on all sense, enlightenment, civilisation and Reason, intent on murder as an essential obligation and absolute necessity of what they regard as an all-powerful faith that tolerates not a scintilla of doubt let alone outspoken dissent. To ISIS any dissent is heresy and to be put to the sword mercilessly.

### **A New Order contd...**

But who are those who would shoot people for exercise of free speech; whose intolerance means the severing of heads; who demonise not only all their active opponents but anyone who differs in the slightest degree from their cruel ideology? The flat earth society is just a harmless group of cranks; the Scientologists, a cult of the lunatic fringe using strong arm tactics and psychic control on its feeble-minded followers, but they are not known to kill in the name of Ron L Hubbard.

The pagan ritualists and proponents of modern-day witchcraft can dance naked in circles at midnight below a full moon and worshippers of Mother Earth can celebrate the Sun with incense and chants. Even what were once feared as dark satanic rites are harmless fads in contrast to those who have declared war on all sense, enlightenment, civilisation and Reason, intent on murder as an essential obligation and absolute necessity of what they regard as an all-powerful faith that tolerates not a scintilla of doubt let alone outspoken dissent. To ISIS any dissent is heresy and to be put to the sword mercilessly.

The media is the business of packaging dreams and nightmares into manageable bits for audience consumption. The reporting of news is thus deeply flawed. Just as a newspaper is designed for a new topic on every page, so broadcast news tries to draw a line under each story and move onto a new agenda each day, even on the hour in the relentless pursuit of the new. A mutilated child has a very short shelf life. Public attention spans are trained to expect news stories that don't dig too deep into the truth of current affairs or into the viewers' consciousness. Merely touching the surface protects our sensibilities and enables us to keep our distance. What happens in the news is a form of entertainment; human suffering is part of the backdrop to our overburdened, stressed-out lives. While we relax at home after a hard day's work the last thing we want is to experience other people's problems; so to be too engaged is to be at all costs avoided. Even world wars and genocide become the stuff of entertainment. Real nightmares are transformed into one-dimensional images, a shock of horrors that grabs the viewer only momentarily before the next instalment of everyone's favourite soap. Yesterday's news however remains today's problem.

But why don't we recoil in horror? Holding up our hands, penning a letter, joining a protest are just not enough, worthy as they are. Humanity requires a great movement for change.

Europe has produced ideals that are incredibly important for the entire humanity – as philosopher Slavoj Zizek explains Europe is not the Euro or the EU - it is Greek democracy, Christianity and modernity representing a conception of a community of equal peoples living in freedom and solidarity

In the globalised economy formerly unionised workers in the West must effectively compete for jobs with bonded labourers and child slaves living thousands of miles away under feudal regimes and earning less than a dollar a day. When their basic needs go unsatisfied people will resist so this new order has to be well managed through enhanced security measures, compulsion and enforced consent. The brutal message is that we all have to be more ruthless to survive; if you get it right, you may even thrive and join the paradise of the super-rich. The only alternative is to wake up and do something to change it.

together and Europe is a place where the progressive movement of socialism was rooted – and also uprooted. This is the contradictory European legacy but is today threatened by the latest tendencies in global capitalism above all. Global capital demands global regulation.

The threat from ISIS reinforces the sense of precariousness and insecurity that has become the modern condition. Governments now rule through imagining ever greater threats to public security whose only remedy is more powers for the state - compelling citizens to willingly relinquish more of their rights and allow encroachment on long cherished freedoms.

This condition demands increased intensity of alienation to secure public consent. People learn the limits of freedom which is dependent on buying and selling. They learn that even their bodies are not their own all the time for to obtain their freedom they must sell it at least temporarily – such as renting out their wombs as surrogates.

### **Conclusion**

The real power of the new neoliberal order and what its core aims are can be summed up thus: “What we are dealing with specifically are strategies for securing domination which rebuild existing concepts of security so that insecurity becomes a normalised mode of governing.” (Lorey, page 64)

We are living under the rule of a “neoliberal government of insecurity” where old welfare state principles have been flagrantly discarded leading the lives of the great mass of peoples to become more precarious and insecure because of the removal of basic support structures, which is championed as the ending of “dependency culture” by the neoliberal ideologues and politicians of all stripes who subscribe to this dogma.

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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.

## The new war for the Middle East<sup>1</sup>



<sup>1</sup> This text is an updated and adapted version for [NOREF](#) based on the author's October 6th 2014 lecture at the Columbia University Centre, Amman.

### David Gardner

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#### Executive summary

The would-be new caliphs of ISIS proclaim their intention to unite what were generally known as Greater Syria and Mesopotamia, tearing up the Levantine canvas designed by European imperialists and bulldozing its frontiers. But unity of any sort looks forlorn in this deeply troubled region. ISIS, entrenched in a cross border "jihadistan" in the Euphrates valley, with lines stretching from Raqqa in north-east Syria to the western approaches to Baghdad, has really stepped opportunistically into a sort of three-dimensional vacuum, characterised principally by an absence of the state, a loss of a shared national narrative and the feeble leverage of big powers. In Syria and Iraq, state institutions have collapsed, throwing citizens back into the arms of sect and militia, clan and tribe.

The present situation is the result of the ideological collapse of pan-Arab nationalism, which some people had seen as a sort of secular proxy for modern caliphism, but which long ago became an alibi for dictatorship, masking the will to power of ambitious, usually army-linked local elites.

Shattered mosaic countries such as Syria and Iraq – but some others too – are going to need a new institutional architecture. This will somehow have to combine a high degree of devolved local power with credible federal or even looser confederal institutions. Elements of such a settlement would need to include such things as local policing; a fair share-out of national resources; or, for example, a bicameral legislature with an upper house representing the territorial interests of the devolved powers and a lower house representing the interests of all citizens.

The would-be new caliphs of ISIS proclaim their intention to unite what were generally known as Greater Syria and Mesopotamia, tearing up the Levantine canvas designed by European imperialists and bulldozing its frontiers. But unity of any sort looks forlorn in this deeply troubled region. ISIS, entrenched in a cross-border “jihadistan” in the Euphrates valley, with lines stretching from Raqqa in north-east Syria to the western approaches to Baghdad, has really stepped opportunistically into a sort of three-dimensional vacuum, characterised principally by an absence of the state, a loss of shared national narrative and the feeble leverage of big powers.

When the radical totalitarians of the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant – known to themselves as the Islamic State but usually labelled by the acronyms in English of ISIS or ISIL, and Daesh in Arabic – burst out of eastern Syria into north and central Iraq in the summer of 2014 they announced not just a new caliphate, but that they had “broken” Sykes-Picot, the secret Anglo-French pact of 1916 to carve up the Ottoman Empire’s Arab provinces and throw disparate religious and ethnic groups into European-style nation states. But Iraq and Syria, created by Britain and France after the First World War to serve their imperial interests, had already started coming apart before ISIS appeared on the scene. The de facto partition of Iraq, a state shattered by the U.S.-led invasion of 2003, was well under way. Syria, where the regime of Bashar al-Assad has been waging a pitiless war against its own people since the uprising against his tyranny in 2011, was already fragmenting along sectarian lines – not least because the Assads were cynically wielding a sectarian knife to bolster their ultimately self-fulfilling narrative that what they were facing from the very beginning was the terrorism of al-Qa’ida. What had been a Sunni-Shia subplot in this drama – going back to the schism in 7th-century Islam – burst on to centre stage after the 2003 invasion of Iraq. That catapulted the Shia minority within Islam (a majority in Iraq) into power in an Arab heartland country for the first time in centuries, overturning the balance of power across the region and tilting it towards the Islamic Republic of Iran – Shia, Persian and with ambitions as a regional hegemon.

This more than anything fanned the embers of the Sunni-Shia stand-off into millenarian flame. Iraq dissolved into an ethno-sectarian bloodbath, grinding minorities such as its ancient Christian communities between the wounded identities of the Sunni and Shia. Syria, similar in its ethno-sectarian make-up, has been taken the same way: grafting the Sunni-Shia schism and the Saudi-Iranian contest for regional power onto what started as another Arab struggle against tyranny. With the ensuing fragmentation – acute in the Levant, but extending to other Arab countries, notably Libya and Yemen – it can look as though the Middle East has been pitched back a century into a neo-Ottoman shape: a return to the millet system under which the sprawling Ottoman Empire allowed its Arab subject peoples a degree of autonomy within relatively cohesive ethno-religious units.

### **The ideological collapse of pan-Arabism**

The would-be new caliphs of ISIS proclaim their intention to unite what were generally known as Greater Syria and Mesopotamia, tearing up the Levantine canvas designed by European imperialists and bulldozing its frontiers. But unity of any sort looks forlorn in this deeply troubled region. ISIS, entrenched in a cross-border “jihadistan” in the Euphrates valley, with lines stretching from Raqqa in north-east Syria to the western approaches to Baghdad, has really stepped opportunistically into a sort of three-dimensional vacuum, characterised principally by an absence of the state, a loss of shared national narrative and the feeble leverage of big powers.

By a geopolitical fluke the cold war ended just as technology developed unique power to encourage the formation of global tribes, many of them trivial, some much less so. As the great French- Lebanese writer Amin Maalouf pointed out in his book *Disordered World*, a follow-up to his seminal essay “On identity”, the digital revolution arrived at a moment when identity politics was unleashed and the triumph of the U.S. as sole, fallible superpower had raised questions of legitimacy at a global level, reinforcing tribal narratives and inherited allegiances.

In Syria and Iraq, state institutions have collapsed, throwing citizens back into the arms of sect and militia, clan and tribe. Partly this is the result of the ideological collapse of pan-Arab nationalism, which some people had seen as a sort of secular proxy for modern caliphism, but which long ago became an alibi for dictatorship, masking the will to power of ambitious, usually army-linked local elites. The Ba’th parties in Syria and Iraq became in many particulars an Arab version of fascism. They were also minority regimes: built around the Alawite sect of the Assads, an esoteric offshoot of Shiism, and the (Sunni) Tikriti clan of Saddam Hussein. As already mentioned, their implosion has rekindled the age-old schism between Sunni and Shia Islam into border-busting flame, with Saudi Arabia, a Sunni absolute monarchy allied with Wahhabi doctrinal absolutism, pitted against the Islamic Republic of Iran, a Shia (and Persian) theocracy.

But a huge difference between now and the position a century ago in the Middle East is the relative weight of the superpowers of the day. Britain and France, although about to enter the twilight of empire, could then shape the region – literally dismember it and stitch it back together. Now, after the Iraq fiasco and U.S. and Western mishandling of Syria – let alone Washington’s inability or unwillingness to influence Israel over Palestine – there is real doubt that the U.S. can use its diplomatic clout and unique military power to shape, or even manage, the region. That, incidentally, makes Russia, a subprime superpower, look implausibly good. But even in the Soviet era Russia rarely managed to be more than a spoiler in the Middle East.

Yet there is no real meta-narrative for a mess as chaotic and bloody as the present-day Middle East. Its present condition does originally date from the aftermath of 1914, but also from the end of the cold war, which often replaced ideological difference with divisions based on identity – which we have seen from the wars in the former Yugoslavia to today’s sectarian carnage in the Levant.

By a geopolitical fluke the cold war ended just as technology developed unique power to encourage the formation of global tribes, many of them trivial, some much less so. As the great French- Lebanese writer Amin Maalouf pointed out in his book *Disordered World*, a follow-up to his seminal essay “On identity”, the digital revolution arrived at a moment when identity politics was unleashed and the triumph of the U.S. as sole, fallible superpower had raised questions of legitimacy at a global level, reinforcing tribal narratives and inherited allegiances.

In the Arab-Muslim world, moreover, disfigured by what Maalouf called “a local, nationalistic brand of Stalinism”, a Western mix of support for tyranny and tactical alliances with religion-inspired movements such as the mujahidin in Afghanistan “meant that at the end of the Cold War the Islamists were on the winning side”. This is, then, a world much more complex than that of Sykes-Picot.

A Western official who has been intimately involved in Syria and Iraq says that “they (ISIS) seem to have read everything”; he was not referring to the Koran or the Hadith, but to Mao Tse Tung and Frantz Fanon. But ISIS’s real novelty is that it has managed to fasten on to structures of Sunni power – not just disaffected tribes, but the substantial residue of Saddam’s army and party – and above all place itself at the head of a Sunni mass movement, which a group such as al-Qa’ida could only dream of. There is a lot at stake here. ISIS cannot be relied on simply to over-reach itself and self-destruct in the manner of its precursors, such as the Zarqawi organisation in Iraq, affiliated to al-Qa’ida and driven out of Anbar province by Sunni tribal militias during the 2007-09 U.S. Army-led “surge”.

### Leading a Sunni mass movement

Erupting near the centre of this region, and threatening its neighbours beyond its self-proclaimed state, is ISIS – which is probably best seen more as a symptom than a primary cause of the current chaos. Spawned and then spurned by al-Qa’ida, among other reasons for its insubordination and savagery towards other Muslims, ISIS regrouped in Syria, from where it swept into north and western Iraq, fanning out across the upper Euphrates valley or Jazeera, and pressing down towards Baghdad, which it can now approach from the west after capturing the cities of Fallujah and Ramadi at the beginning of 2014. In autumn 2014, after the collapse of the Iraqi army in Mosul and parts of central Iraq, ISIS got very close to the western approaches to Baghdad.

ISIS is the most sulphurous and savage organisation yet of takfiris – with their extreme interpretation of monotheism that anathematises all other religions, regards less zealous Muslims as apostates, and reserves the lowest circle of hell for the Shia, whom they see as idolatrous and polytheist. They are well armed, well financed and seem to be well versed in the tactics of irregular warfare. A Western official who has been intimately involved in Syria and Iraq says that “they seem to have read everything”; he was not referring to the Koran or the Hadith, but to Mao Tse Tung and Frantz Fanon. But ISIS’s real novelty is that it has managed to fasten on to structures of Sunni power – not just disaffected tribes, but the substantial residue of Saddam’s army and party – and above all place itself at the head of a Sunni mass movement, which a group such as al-Qa’ida could only dream of. There is a lot at stake here. ISIS cannot be relied on simply to over-reach itself and self-destruct in the manner of its precursors, such as the Zarqawi organisation in Iraq, affiliated to al-Qa’ida and driven out of Anbar province by Sunni tribal militias during the 2007-09 U.S. Army-led “surge”.

Were this just about Iraq – a once prosperous Arab country laid low by tyranny, wars, crippling sanctions, and the U.S.-led invasion and occupation in 2003 that ignited the ethno-sectarian carnage – that would be bad enough. But at stake is the disintegration of Syria as well, and the looming shadow of a new Afghanistan in the heart of the Middle East, trying to punch through a jihadi corridor to the Mediterranean across the battlefield of the Levant and reach down to the Gulf.

Meanwhile, ISIS is banging hard on the doors of its neighbours, such as Lebanon and Turkey – maybe eventually Jordan and Saudi Arabia too. All these states have the ability to repulse ISIS militarily, but the jihadis can still rack up political advantage by sowing discord and exploiting divisions among their neighbours. Whatever happens in the present siege of Kobani, for example – which many regard as a second-order strategic goal both for the jihadis and the coalition being cobbled together by the U.S. to fight them – by attacking it ISIS has already driven a wedge between the neo-Islamist new establishment in Turkey and its Kurdish minority.

Western policy in Syria – to use the term “policy” loosely for what seems to have been a catalogue of inept improvisation – has poured more petrol on the fire by failing to support mainly Sunni mainstream rebels against the Assad regime. As mentioned, that created a vacuum for the jihadis, facilitated by Western-allied Sunni powers – Wahhabi Saudi Arabia and Qatar, as well as Turkey – to whom support for the rebellion was subcontracted. ISIS is riding a wave of Sunni revolt from Syria into western and northern Iraq. But religion here is secondary to identity and a sense of entitlement.

### A struggle for power, not for religion

There is an understandable tendency to liken this rapidly ramifying conflict to a religious war, similar to the Thirty Years War that devastated Europe in the first half of the 17th century. Yet this does not quite ring true. In theological terms, the warriors of the new caliphate are painting by numbers (the meticulous deconstruction of their quasi-theological arguments by an international group of senior Muslim clerics late last year highlighted this). Such legitimacy as they do have in their cross-border jihadistan may be ephemeral, leached from collapsing unitary states with oppressive rulers who have driven the Sunni masses temporarily into their bloodstained arms.

In that light, this is not so much a war of religion as a struggle for power bespattering the region, in which rival Islamic identities – Sunni and Shia – have replaced nationalism as the mobilising agent, and the states with most interest in the outcome – Saudi Arabia and Iran – have (to paraphrase Shakespeare) cried havoc and let slip the dogs of sectarianism. Almost every leader in the region, from Anwar Sadat to Tansu Ciller, has at some point played sorcerer’s apprentice with Islamism and sectarianism, even Saddam Hussein. Saddam used nationalism to mobilise against Iran during the 1980s, but with his religious values campaign in the 1990s he sought to emulate the practice of his hero, Stalin, who coopted even the Orthodox Church in the war against the Nazis. Saddam meant to stiffen popular resolve against international sanctions, but it opened doors for Sunni and Shia irredentism, and what Charles Tripp, the British scholar of Iraq, has called “sectarian entrepreneurs”. Sectarianism escapes the control of those who touch it, much more so those who unleash its demons.

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When governments and oppositions – and states such as Iran and Saudi Arabia that back them – play the sectarian card, this prevents popular grievances from becoming a dispute between haves and have-nots, or about access to power and opportunity. There is no room, therefore, for reasoned debate about why this state spends six times more on wasteful energy subsidies than on education, or that state spends four times more on defence and security than on health. Would-be citizens who might seek common institutions to arbitrate their interests are instead faced with the hard wiring of sectarian affiliation and the subconscious grammar of tribal loyalty, both of which are intrinsically cross-border phenomena spilling all over the Middle East.

If this is a Thirty Years War, therefore, it resembles more the convulsion of Europe between 1914 and 1944: not competing nationalisms, but still a clash of aggrieved – in this case, sectarian – identities, in a common space they cannot agree to share amid vengeful atavism and a yearning after past glory: a reich then, a caliphate now.

### **A struggle for power, not for religion *contd...***

Take, for instance, the way Qassem Soleimani, master puppeteer of the al-Quds Brigade of Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, is stitching together in Iraq a national Shia militia network like the one he built in Syria for the Assads, the so-called National Defence Force. The need for this irregular and barely controllable force became urgent after Iraq's U.S.-trained army, whose commanders Nouri al-Maliki had replaced with incompetent and corrupt cronies, often in command of non-existent troops whose salaries they pocketed, melted away before the ISIS onslaught. This should have long since been apparent, since Maliki himself had for some time relied for his own protection on a praetorian guard of Iranian-trained militia, such as the Asaeb Ahl al-Haq. Yet under his rule the sectarian mould in Iraq has hardened such that almost everyone became drawn into a circle of patronage and power.

### **An axis of power from Baghdad to Beirut**

As mentioned, ISIS fastened on to the Sunni power networks of Saddam's army and the Ba'th party, supposedly dismantled by the U.S.-led occupation, and the tribes, hostile to jihadi totalitarianism, but subsequently more aggrieved by the Maliki government and its sectarian policies. While sectarianism is not religion, it does seem to have the preternatural power to resurrect the zombie ideologies of Osama bin Laden and the Ba'th – and even get them to work together. The Shia, moreover, after centuries on Islam's sidelines, finally have something to protect. It is not just about preventing a repeat of 1801, when Wahhabi marauders from the first Saudi kingdom sacked Kerbala and other Shia shrine cities. It is about 2003 and the rise of the Shia after the invasion of Iraq, which helped Tehran forge an axis of power from Baghdad to Beirut.

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It is important to stress that the sentiments at work here – which the term “identity politics” inadequately defines – are not unique to this region. In India, for example, a Hindu supremacist party is back in power, whose stock-in-trade is to fire up a sense of victimhood among a billion Hindus, as if they were a minority threatened with extinction by less than 200 million Muslims and fewer than 30 million Christians. To be very clear, this is not intended to compare that party with ISIS. It is just that the takfiris are using a similar tactic in conjuring from the Sunni sense of betrayal in Syria and dis-possession in Iraq the idea that more than a billion Sunnis are in some way a threatened minority.

Yet the clearest policy towards the Middle East outlined by President Barack Obama (aside from his wish to extricate the U.S. from the region's wars) is his idea – spelled out in an interview in *The New Yorker* at the beginning of 2014 – that getting Iran back inside the tent could draw off some of the poison from the Sunni-Shia battle and lead to a self-regulating balance of power in the region.

Are there possible ways through or out of this sectarian whirlwind, even though sectarianism, by its very nature, is not really susceptible to conventional analysis or rational policy? There may be. Some analysts emphasise the role of state actors. Some even insist that is all there is to it: that there is no intrinsic problem between Sunni and Shia, and this is really just a conventional power struggle between Saudi Arabia and Iran. That is wrong, in the sense that once you uncage the demons of sectarianism, they take on a life of their own. But there is, of course, truth in the state actors narrative – fortunately, because states can be influenced. For that reason, it just about possible to imagine a sort of four-stage sequence that just might, conceivably, start to calm the storm.

### **A regional framework for conflict Resolution**

Firstly, there is the possibility in coming weeks of a rapprochement between the U.S. and Iran – following a possible deal on Tehran's nuclear ambitions between the so-called P5+1 and Iran – that starts to reintegrate Iran into the international order and make it part of solutions rather than of problems in the region. This is, of course, intrinsically difficult. There are countervailing forces – hardliners and vested interests in Iran on one side, Israel and Saudi Arabia on the other, with their influence on the U.S. Congress now under the lock-hold of the Republican Party – lying in wait to sabotage any such outcome. Yet the clearest policy towards the Middle East outlined by President Barack Obama (aside from his wish to extricate the U.S. from the region's wars) is his idea – spelled out in an interview in *The New Yorker* at the beginning of 2014 – that getting Iran back inside the tent could draw off some of the poison from the Sunni-Shia battle and lead to a self-regulating balance of power in the region.

Secondly, for this to work would require some form of détente and some framework of security cooperation – or even architecture – between Saudi Arabia and Iran. That sounds, if anything, even more difficult. Yet it is noticeable how the Saudis have dialled down their high dudgeon towards the U.S. and its allies of late 2013, when the interim nuclear deal was reached with Iran. Last March, for example, the Saudis and Iranians stood back from their respective clients in Lebanon, and a coalition government was patched together there after a hiatus of 11 months. Last September the Saudi and Iranian foreign ministers met on the margins of the UN General Assembly in New York. The stakes are much higher now – for everybody, including the Saudis. Pressure, moreover, has already been working to some extent on Iran, whose economy has been crippled by sanctions and which was haemorrhaging away about \$9 billion that it can ill afford to prop up the Assad regime, a sum that has gone up even more – some say it has doubled – with the implosion of Iraq. More pressure needs to be applied to Saudi Arabia, which is less important in the oil universe as a result of the shale revolution and collapsing oil prices and which, despite its perception of the U.S. as an unreliable ally, doesn't really have anywhere else to go.

The Saudis may denounce ISIS as deviants who seek not just to topple the House of Saud, but to usurp its position as Custodians of the Holy Places of Mecca and Medina – in a limited but legitimising sense the nearest modern equivalent of a caliphate. But there were no Wahhabi clerics among the initial signatories of the open letter mentioned earlier that picked apart the ideas of ISIS. That prompts the third element in this sequence. Who exactly is going to turn Sunni sentiment away from ISIS in Syria and Iraq?

### **A regional framework for conflict Resolution *Contd...***

A problem with Saudi Arabia, however, is that while it is politically opposed to – indeed outraged by the presumption of – the so-called caliphate of ISIS, doctrinally there is not much to separate them. ISIS comprises Wahhabis on steroids; they are both doctrinal heirs of Ibn Taymiyyah and Ibn Abdel Wahhab, the ideological authors of the uncompromising and sectarian brand of the Saudi brand of Islam.

ISIS shares Saudi Wahhabism's disdain for all other religions and less rigorous interpretations of Islam. Where do their ideas come from: such as total rejection of the so-called rejectionist Shia; iconoclasm and the destruction of shrines; not to mention the practice of beheadings in the public square on Fridays? The Saudis may denounce ISIS as deviants who seek not just to topple the House of Saud, but to usurp its position as Custodians of the Holy Places of Mecca and Medina – in a limited but legitimising sense the nearest modern equivalent of a caliphate. But there were no Wahhabi clerics among the initial signatories of the open letter mentioned earlier that picked apart the ideas of ISIS. That prompts the third element in this sequence. Who exactly is going to turn Sunni sentiment away from ISIS in Syria and Iraq? Saudi Arabia, the leading power in the Sunni Arab coalition the U.S. has assembled, is hardly equipped for the task of re-energising the Sunni mainstream in both countries and splitting it off from the jihadis. That absolutely vital goal can only be accomplished on the ground, inside each of these countries. President Obama showed an awareness of this by staying his hand in Iraq until Maliki was replaced by a more inclusive prime minister, at the head of a coalition that might have a chance of recapturing the support of the big Sunni tribes – only might have a chance, given how far gone things are.

In Syria, things are very far gone too. Although even the remnants of what is loosely described as the Free Syrian Army, fighting on two fronts against the regime and ISIS, look at least as militarily plausible as the often phantom Iraqi national army – making recent progress, for example, across the southern front. Yet it seems unlikely that the Sunni mainstream in Syria will turn or re-energise until the Assads are removed from the picture. Is that difficult? It may look unlikely now, but ultimately the Assads are wards of the Iranian state – and very expensive ones at that. And if the Iranians saw virtue in ditching Maliki in Iraq, why not the Assads in Syria, provided Iran can conserve at least some of its national interest there? It is possible, absent the Assads – no longer popular inside even their own Alawite community, which has borne such a heavy toll in this destructive war – to conceive of a realignment of mainstream rebels with the less compromised elements of the present regime – in alliance against ISIS and determined to salvage something from the ruins of Syria. Obviously, some basic consensus would then have to follow on power and how to share it; and how to institutionalise it – with full protection for all minorities, without exception.

The type of iron centralism exercised in the past by the classic Arab security state offers no solution. It is part of the problem, as Egypt under Abdel Fattah al-Sisi shows: since the 2013 coup against an elected but divisive Muslim Brotherhood government there, the ban on mainstream Islamists appears to be swelling the ranks of jihadis inspired by ISIS.

Which brings us to the fourth and final point – which may seem very much for the future, but which needs to be thought about now. Shattered mosaic countries such as Syria and Iraq – but some others too – are going to need a new institutional architecture. This will somehow have to combine a high degree of devolved local power with credible federal or even looser confederal institutions. That is a tall order in the best of circumstances – which these clearly are not – but it is not obvious that there is any alternative except warlordism. The type of iron centralism exercised in the past by the classic Arab security state offers no solution. It is part of the problem, as Egypt under Abdel Fattah al-Sisi shows: since the 2013 coup against an elected but divisive Muslim Brotherhood government there, the ban on mainstream Islamists appears to be swelling the ranks of jihadis inspired by ISIS.

In the main arena of the conflict, moreover, there is already local power, i.e. devolved regional power inside existing international borders: de jure, in the Kurdistan Regional Government in northern Iraq; de facto, in the now-threatened Kurdish entity of three enclaves in northern Syria; and on an ad hoc basis across the region. What is now needed is a credible proxy for sect, tribe and clan that everybody can recognise. But for all groups to be more or less comfortable with this, it needs to be institutionalised. It is that which requires a centre and a national compact, a consensual federal government, based on common platforms of equal citizenship that are attractive and secure enough for devolved power to participate.

Elements of such a settlement would need to include such things as local policing; a fair share-out of national resources; or, for example, a bicameral legislature with an upper house representing the territorial interests of the devolved powers and a lower house representing the interests of all citizens. That may come about because of a combination of factors: exhaustion with war and dislocation; revulsion against the brutality of ISIS and others; regional détente – as outlined above – and perhaps some kind of regional congress of nations to advance it, with outside aid to support the right incentives; and other pots of glue, such as oil and gas, as incentives to hold together.

It is very hard to see any of this now. The region could just as easily continue with a bewildering panoply of warlords picking through the ruins and scrabbling for their share of diminishing resources. Clearly, this will only change if the main actors – all the way down through the sequence described above – want it to happen. Perhaps one should paraphrase Churchill, who famously said that the Americans always do the right thing, after all the alternatives have been exhausted. While it is not clear that the alternatives in this case are exhausted, the peoples of the region and their countries certainly are.



## ILLUSIONS OF JUSTICE IN AMERICA AND SYRIA



Photograph © Mark Ulyseas

News of horrific events across the world, be it in the Middle East, Africa, South Asia, Europe or America has meant that certain stories have dominated media coverage. Individual stories quickly become 'slow news' and in their eagerness to hunt for new breaking stories, media houses often ignore or at best sideline important issues. One such case is that of Eric Garner's death in New York City. Despite widespread international coverage at the time, recent news that the evidence on which the jury acquitted Garner's murderer might be made public hardly made the news in America let alone the world.

Eric Garner was purportedly choked to death by a New York City police officer for selling untaxed cigarettes and 'loosies' or individual cigarettes. In the wake of the acquittal of Michael Brown's murderer, Garner's case reignited public conversation in America not only about racial divides but also about an increasingly militarised police force as well as discriminatory law enforcement.

The video of Garner's choking went viral on the internet and viewers can see and hear him say "I can't breathe" while in a chokehold. It was his claim that he broke up a fight. Irrespective of whether the attack was because of selling illegal cigarettes and then compounded by racial stereotyping, the fact is that someone dying because of the deadly application of force for a relatively minor offence speaks volumes about the way in which social, economic and racial divides are entrenched in America. Of course, these are issues that exist in every country albeit with local contexts and often in dividing the world between democracies and dictatorships, republics and kingdoms, liberal states and socialist countries we forget that the experiences of individual citizens in all these different contexts can actually be quite similar.

In Syria in 2009 I was sitting in an Iraqi café on *Shari'a al-Baghdad*, a busy road in the Damascus suburb of Seyyidah Zainab. Just in front of the café, on the roadside, an Iraqi man had set up a makeshift wooden platform next to a busy bakery. Later it transpired that he was a refugee who had come to escape the violence in his home country. Sadly this whole scene was quite common across Damascus, although rules were more strictly enforced in the old city where the tourists spent most of their time. Just like in Manhattan, individual cigarettes were more expensive in the old city of Damascus, whereas in the suburbs of New York, like Staten Island, they are almost half price.

One main difference between a dictatorship and a democracy is the ability to have recourse to justice in the latter. Apart from silently bearing his fate the Iraqi man had no other option whereas in America various freedoms ensure that people have access to justice. However, following the events in Ferguson, then New York City and now Alabama, this very premise is being questioned. Of course, in America people can protest, contact their public representatives, hold rallies and raise awareness about issues, all of which are impossible in a place like Syria.

As the evening rush peaked, a police jeep screeched around the corner and various small vendors scrambled to pack up their goods and run away. Many sold cigarettes from briefcases so that these could be quickly put away. However, the man in front of the café had used a piece of wood for his wares. The jeep pulled up right in front of him. Leather jacket wearing members of the *mukhabarat*, or intelligence agents, got out accompanied by uniformed officers. Two men held the Iraqi man while three others beat him and eventually they bundled him into their jeep. A Syrian man next to me loudly said 'it must be a national security issue' and then added 'you never know with these Iraqis.' As much as security has been a byword for increasingly authoritarian laws and eroded civil rights many in Western countries, it is as much of an excuse for the state to do as it pleases in many other parts of the world. Later the Iraqi owner of the café whispered to me that it was nothing to do with security and he knew the man personally.

As I recalled this incident when I heard about the acquittal of the officer, a number of parallels came to mind. First was the use of extreme force in order to prevent a pretty petty crime. Alongside this is the fact that both Garner and the Iraqi refugee were easy targets of economically disadvantaged minority groups. The Syrian man's comment and the implied stereotype spoke volumes about the way in which some locals viewed 'outsiders'. What is clear is that Garner and the Iraqi man's individual experience of 'the state' was at the hands of its police officers and this leads to interesting questions about the nature of civilian relationship to the state and its institutional apparatus.

Although in both Garner and the Iraqi man's case they were targeted for purported wrong-doings, a recent case in America actually illustrates the targeting of an innocent individual, seemingly just because of his skin-colour and his inability to speak English. A 57-year-old Indian man was walking around near his son's house in a northern town in Alabama. On being stopped by the police he was unable to communicate and so was slammed to the ground leaving him partially paralyzed. **Suresh-bhai Patel** had recently arrived in the United States, having been granted permanent residence, to look after his baby grandson so that his son could concentrate on his graduate degree. Of course, this is an isolated incident but nonetheless it does tell us something about the assumptions a police officer makes about a non-white non-English speaking man walking around in a mostly white neighborhood.

In public conversations we often speak of the broad and vague categories of democracy or dictatorship and then use visible symbols to identify one or the other: Obama and Al-Assad in this case. However, for most citizens in many countries, be they dictatorships or democracies, the experience of government at the individual level is manifested through their interaction with local level government officials and offices.

Alexander Hamilton, in *The Federalist Papers* wrote, "the people are commonly most in danger when the means of injuring their rights are in the possession of those [toward] whom they entertain the least suspicion." A government by its very definition is a selfish, and at best amoral, entity that needs to be kept in check and this is regardless of which one is picked out of the roughly 196 countries that exist.

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However, these do not always translate into meaningful change. In terms of general institutional and governmental structures America and Assad's Syria are vastly different, especially when talking about the broad categories of freedom, access to justice, an independent media and representative democracy. However in only focusing on the macro picture, the individual is often forgotten. The daily struggles of the disenfranchised across the world are often not that different. The fact is that in Garner's, the Iraqi refugee's and Patel's experiences, the state was characterized by the brutality of its officers who operate as agents of a system that monopolises violence.

At the basis of the very idea of the nation-state is an assumed moral-high ground because the state, our twenty first century deity, is assumed to be infallible. Its interests, regardless of whether it is a democracy or dictatorship, override everything else. One of the most prescient and admirable aspects of the American constitution was the suspicion its framers had of the very government they were trying to form. Alexander Hamilton, in *The Federalist Papers* wrote, "the people are commonly most in danger when the means of injuring their rights are in the possession of those [toward] whom they entertain the least suspicion." A government by its very definition is a selfish, and at best amoral, entity that needs to be kept in check and this is regardless of which one is picked out of the roughly 196 countries that exist.

The author teaches Cultural Studies at New York University. She has lectured and written extensively on issues having to do with Eurocentrism, Orientalism, and Postcolonialism. More specifically, since the 1980s she has developed critical approaches to the study of Arab-Jews/Mizrahim, elaborating on the question of the hyphen, and arguing for complex historical narrative beyond the simplistic dichotomy of Arab versus Jew. Shohat has written a number of award winning books.

## Dislocated Identities: Reflections of an Arab-Jew

Professor Ella Habiba Shohat

When issues of racial and colonial discourse are discussed in the United States, people of Middle Eastern and North African origin are often excluded. This piece is written with the intent of opening up the multicultural debate, going beyond the U.S. census's simplistic categorization of Middle Eastern peoples as "whites." Provoked by the Gulf War, my personal narrative questions the Eurocentric opposition of Arab and Jew, particularly the denial of Arab-Jewish (Sephardic) voices both in the Middle Eastern and American contexts.

I am an Arab-Jew. Or, more specifically, an Iraqi Israeli woman living, writing and teaching in the United States. Most members of my family were born and raised in Baghdad, and now live in Iraq, Israel, the United States, England, and Holland.

When my grandmother first encountered Israeli society in the '50s, she was convinced that the people who looked and ate so differently—the European-Jews—were actually European-Christians. Jewishness for her generation was inextricably associated with Middle Easternness.

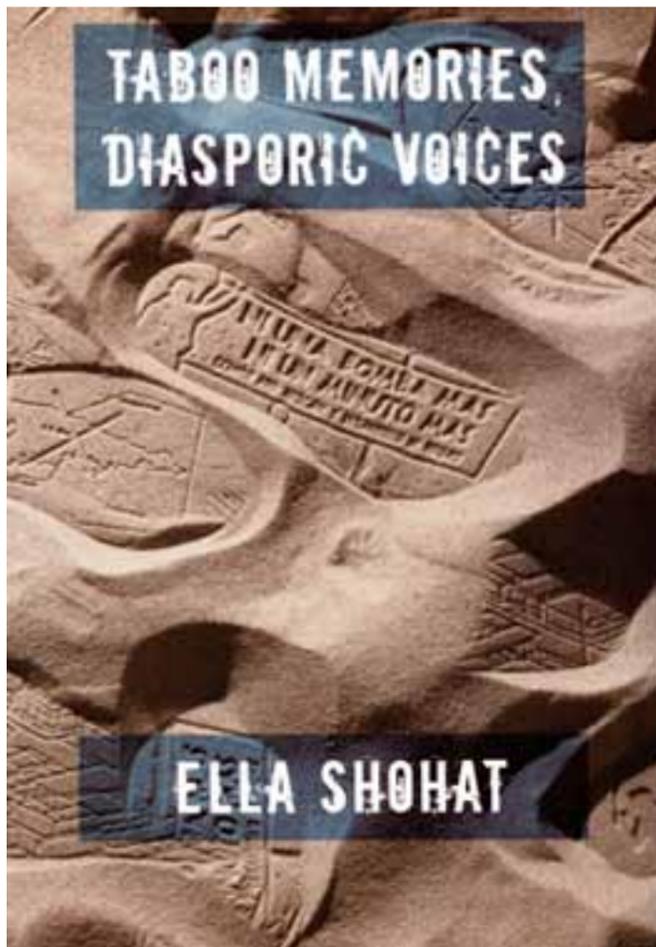
My grandmother, who still lives in Israel and still communicates largely in Arabic, had to be taught to speak of "us" as Jews and "them" as Arabs. For Middle Easterners, the operating distinction has always been "Muslim," "Jew" and "Christian," not Arab versus Jew. The assumption was that "Arabness" referred to a common shared culture and language, albeit with religious differences.

She is a recipient of such fellowships as Rockefeller at Bellagio and the Society for the Humanities at Cornell University, where she also taught at The School of Criticism and Theory. She was awarded a Fulbright research / lectureship at the University of São Paulo, Brazil, for studying the cultural intersections between the Middle East and Latin America. Together with Sinan Antoon, she was awarded the NYU Humanities Initiative fellowship for their work on "Narrating Iraq: Between Nation and Diaspora."



Ella Habiba Shohat and her parents' Iraqi Laissez-Passer from the film "Forget Baghdad" (2003) by Samir. Photo courtesy Ella Habiba Shohat

Living in North America makes it even more difficult that we are Jews and yet entitled to our Middle Eastern difference. And that we are Arabs and yet entitled to our religious difference, like Arab-Christians and Arab-Muslims. It was precisely the policing of cultural borders in Israel that led some of us to escape into the metropolises of syncretic identities. Yet, in an American context, we face again a hegemony that allows us to narrate a single Jewish memory, i.e. a European one. For those of us who don't hide our Middle Easternness under one Jewish "we," it becomes tougher and tougher to exist in an American context hostile to the very notion of Easternness.



Americans are often amazed to discover the existentially nauseating or charmingly exotic possibilities of such a syncretic identity. I recall a well-established colleague who despite my elaborate lessons on the history of Arab-Jews, still had trouble understanding that I was not a tragic anomaly—for instance, the daughter of an Arab (Palestinian) and an Israeli (European-Jew). Living in North America makes it even more difficult that we are Jews and yet entitled to our Middle Eastern difference. And that we are Arabs and yet entitled to our religious difference, like Arab-Christians and Arab-Muslims. It was precisely the policing of cultural borders in Israel that led some of us to escape into the metropolises of syncretic identities. Yet, in an American context, we face again a hegemony that allows us to narrate a single Jewish memory, i.e. a European one. For those of us who don't hide our Middle Easternness under one Jewish "we," it becomes tougher and tougher to exist in an American context hostile to the very notion of Easternness.

As an Arab-Jew, I am often obliged to explain the "mysteries" of this oxymoronic entity. That we have spoken Arabic, not Yiddish; that for millennia our cultural creativity, secular or religious, had largely been articulated in Arabic (Maimonides being one of the few intellectuals to "make it" into the consciousness of the West); and that even the most religious of our communities in the Middle Eastern and North African never expressed themselves in Yiddish-accented Hebrew prayers, nor did they practice liturgical-gestural norms and sartorial codes favoring the dark colors

Intellectual discourse in the West highlights a Judeo-Christian tradition, yet rarely acknowledges the Judeo-Muslim culture of the Middle East, or North Africa, or of pre-Expulsion Spain (1492) and of the European parts of the Ottoman Empire. The Jewish experience in the Muslim world has often been portrayed as an unending nightmare of oppression and humiliation. Although I in no way want to idealize that experience—there were occasional tensions, discrimination, even violence—on the whole, we lived quite comfortably within Muslim societies.

of centuries-ago Poland. Middle Eastern women similarly never wore wigs; their hair cover, if worn, consisted of different variations of regional clothing (and in the wake of British and French imperialism, many wore Western-style clothes). If you go to our synagogues, even in New York, Montreal, Paris or London, you'll be amazed to hear the winding quartertones of our music which the uninitiated might imagine to be coming from a mosque.

Now that the cultural topographies that compose my ruptured and dislocated history --Iraq, Israel, and the United States — have been involved in war, it is crucial to say that we exist. Some of us refuse to dissolve so as to facilitate "neat" national and ethnic divisions. My anxiety and pain during the (1991) Scud attacks on Israel, where some of my family lives, did not cancel out my fear and anguish for the victims of bombardment of Iraq, where I also have relatives.

But war is the friend of binarisms, leaving little place for complex identities. The Gulf War intensified a pressure already familiar to the Arab-Jewish diaspora in the wake of the Israeli-Arab conflict: a pressure to choose between being a Jew and being an Arab. For our families, who have lived in Mesopotamia since at least the Babylonian exile, who have been Arabized for millennia, and who were abruptly dislodged to Israel 40 years ago, to be suddenly forced to assume a homogenous European-Jewish identity based on experiences in Russia, Poland and Germany was an exercise in self-devastation. To be a European or American-Jew has hardly been perceived as a contradiction, but to be an Arab-Jew has been seen as a kind of logical paradox, even an ontological subversion. This binarism has led many Oriental Jews (or name in Israel, referring to our common Asian and African countries of origin) to a profound and visceral schizophrenia, since for the first time in our history Arabness and Jewishness have been imposed as antonyms.

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The liberal and secular trends of the 20th century engendered an even stronger association of Iraqi-Jews and Arab culture, which brought Jews into an extremely active arena in public and cultural life. Prominent Jewish writers, poets, and scholars played a vital role in Arab culture, distinguishing themselves in Arabic speaking theatre, in music, as singers, composers, and players of traditional instruments. In Egypt, Morocco, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq and Tunisia, Jews became members of legislatures, of municipal councils, of the judiciary, and even occupied high economic positions. (The finance minister of Iraq in the '40s was Ishak Sasson, and in Egypt, Jamas Sanua—higher positions, ironically, than those our community had generally achieved within the Jewish state.)

The same historical process that dispossessed Palestinians of their property, lands and national-political rights, was linked to the dispossession of Middle Eastern and North African Jews of their property, lands, and rootedness in Muslim countries. As refugees, or mass immigrants (depending on one's political perspective), we were forced to leave everything behind and give up our Iraqi passports.

The same process also affected our uprootedness or ambiguous positioning within Israel itself, where we have been systematically discriminated against by institutions that deployed their energies and material to the consistent advantage of European-Jews and to the consistent disadvantage of Oriental Jews. Even in our physiognomies betrayed us, leading to internalized colonialism or physical misperception. Sephardic Oriental women often dye their dark hair blond, while the men have more than once been arrested or beaten when mistaken for Palestinians. What for Ashkenazi immigrants from Russia and Poland was a social aliya (literally "ascent") was for Oriental Sephardic Jews a yerida ("descent").

Stripped of our history, we have been forced by our no-exit situation to repress our collective nostalgia at least within the public sphere. The pervasive notion of "one people" reunited in their ancient homeland actively disauthorizes any affectionate memory of life before Israel. We have never been allowed to mourn a trauma that the images of Iraq's destruction only intensified and crystallized for some of us. Our cultural creativity in Arabic, Hebrew and Aramaic is hardly studied in Israeli schools, and it is becoming difficult to convince our children that we actually did exist there, and that some of us are still there in Iraq, Morocco, and Yemen.

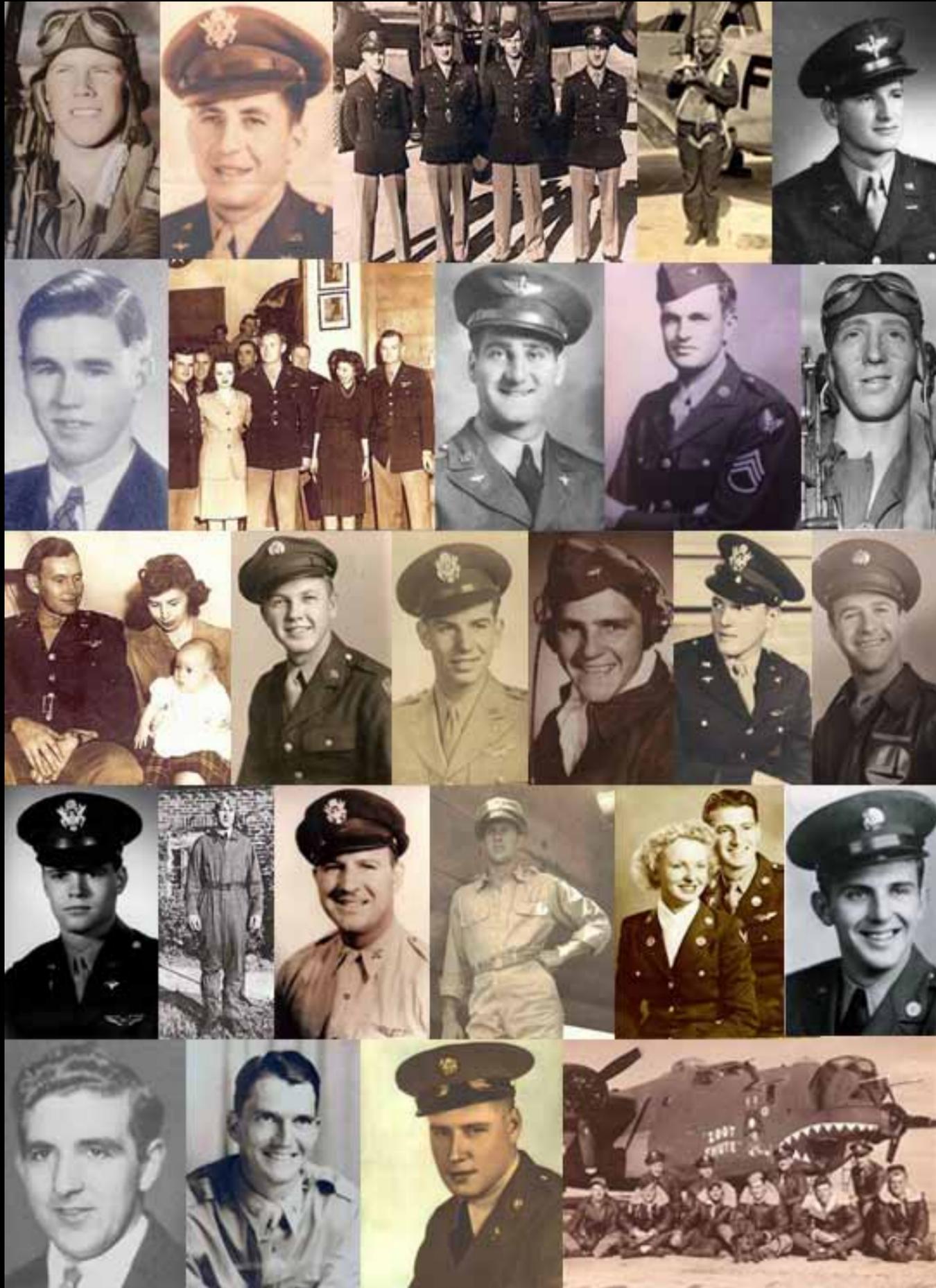
The notion of in-gathering from exile: does not permit to narrate the exile of Arab-Jews in the Promised Lands. My parents and grandparents, 30 or 40 years after they left Baghdad, still long for its sights and sounds. Oriental Jews in Israel are enthusiastic consumers of Jordanian, Lebanese, and Egyptian television programs and films, just as our Oriental-Arabic music is consumed in the Arab world often

without being labeled as originating in Israel. The Yemenite-Israeli singer Ofra Haza has been recognized by the Yemenites as continuing a Yemeni cultural tradition. Back in the days before the horrific bombing of Baghdad, we used to play a bittersweet game of scanning the television to spot changes in the city's urban topography. But the impossibility of ever going there once led me to contemplate an ironic inversion of the Biblical expression: "By the waters of Zion, where we sat down, and there we wept, and when we remembered Babylon."

In the U.S., watching media images of the East, one gets the impression that there are only Euro-American Jews in Israel and only Muslim-Arabs in the rest of the Middle East. In the media, one finds few images of Palestinian-Israelis or of Iraqi, Moroccan, or Ethiopian Israelis, even though we compose the majority of the population. During the Gulf War, most Israelis interviewed by American reporters tended to be Euro-Israelis, often speaking English with an American accent. The elision was especially striking when the missiles hit Iraqi-Jewish neighborhoods in south Tel Aviv (television networks referred to "working-class neighborhoods," the equivalent of called Harlem a working-class neighborhood, effacing its ethnic/racial cultural identity) and in Ramat Gan, a city well known for its Iraqi population, popularly nicknamed "Ramat Baghdad." (A local joke had it that the Scuds fell there because they smelled the amba, an Iraqi mango pickle). Furthermore, some Iraqi-Jews living in the U.S., Britain, and Israel still have families in Iraq. The media showed images of prayers in mosques, and even in the churches of Baghdad, but there was no reference to prayers in the synagogue of Baghdad. In the American context too, it is the story of European-Jews that is narrated, denying Arab-Jews the possibility of self-representation.

As an Iraqi-Jew, I cannot but notice the American media's refusal to value Iraqi life. The crippled animals in the Kuwait Zoo received more sympathetic attention than civilian victims in Iraq. The media much prefer the spectacle of the triumphant progress of Western technology to the survival of the peoples and cultures of the Middle East. The case of Arab-Jews is just one of many elisions. From the outside, there is little sense of our community, and even less sense of the diversity of our political perspectives or Oriental-Sephardic peace movements, from the Black Panthers of the '70s to the more recent East for Peace and the Oriental Front in Israel. Perspectives Judeo-Arabs in France, and the New York-based World Organization of Jews from Islamic Countries, not only call for a just peace for Israelis and Palestinians, but also for the cultural, political, and economic integration of Israel/Palestine into the Middle East. And thus an end to the binarisms of war, an end to the simplistic charting of Middle Eastern identities.

*From Movement Research: Performance Journal #5 (Fall-Winter, 1992), p.8*



Crashsite Reports - [www.miarecoveries.org](http://www.miarecoveries.org)



## Americans MIA in the Second World War along Northeast India-China border in the Indian State of Arunachal Pradesh

Gary Zaetz, Founder and Chairman

Families and Supporters of America's Arunachal Missing in Action

For many years (at least since 2004), the US Government has known, and has stated publicly, that the mortal remains of over 400 US airmen still lie unrecovered at their World War II crash sites in northeast India, primarily in Arunachal Pradesh. These aircraft crashed while flying back and forth between Assam and south China, in support of the Chinese war effort against Japan. In the years immediately after the war, the US military made efforts to locate these crash sites, so as to recover and repatriate these airmen's mortal remains to the US for proper burial, but by and large failed.

Starting early in the 21st century, however, an independent American investigator, Mr. Clayton Kuhles, became the first (and so far only) person to locate and document many of these crash sites, trekking to them personally and submitting their GPS coordinates to the US Defense Department. The families of these airmen (including my own) eventually became aware of Mr. Kuhles' discoveries and pressed the Defense Department, which has a specialized agency for recovering US war dead around the world (The Joint POW/MIA Accounting Command), to investigate these crash sites. For many months, that agency (known as JPAC) showed no interest at all in investigating Mr. Kuhles' reports. But after considerable family lobbying and media attention, JPAC finally started negotiating with the Indian Ministry of Defence and reached an agreement with the Government of India (GoI) in early 2008 to permit recoveries to proceed.

The GoI permitted one crash site - the site of my uncle's B-24 crash in the Upper Siang district - to be investigated, but after only a few weeks of investigation, abruptly stopped the operation. Since then the GoI has not permitted any of the 20 crash sites discovered by Clayton Kuhles in Arunachal Pradesh to be investigated for human remains: this amounts to a virtual moratorium and a repudiation of Indian Government obligations under the Geneva Conventions, its pledged bilateral commitments to the US, and India's own heritage of respect for the dead (especially respect for war dead). In response to this very hurtful and pointless moratorium, the families of these heroic airmen have created an organization, Families and Supporters of America's Arunachal Missing in Action, to persuade the Government of India to immediately lift this moratorium and permit the large-scale recovery of the mortal remains of US airmen for return to their native homeland and their families for honored burials.

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On 25 Jan 1944, this aircraft departed Kunming, China at 0740 for Chabua, India on a routine ferrying mission. This aircraft was assigned to the 14th Air Force, 308th Bombardment Group, 425th Squadron. Crew : Pilot: 1st Lt. William A. Swanson, Co-Pilot: F/O Sheldon L. Chambers, Navigator: 1st Lt. Irwin Zaetz, Bombardier: 1st Lt. Robert E. Oxford, Radio Operator: SSgt. Harry B. Queen, Flight Engineer: SSgt. Charles D. Ginn, Gunner: Sgt. Alfred H. Gerrans, Jr., Gunner: Sgt. James A. Hinson. Gary Zaetz and Oken Tayeng at the crash site of his uncle Irwin Zaetz.

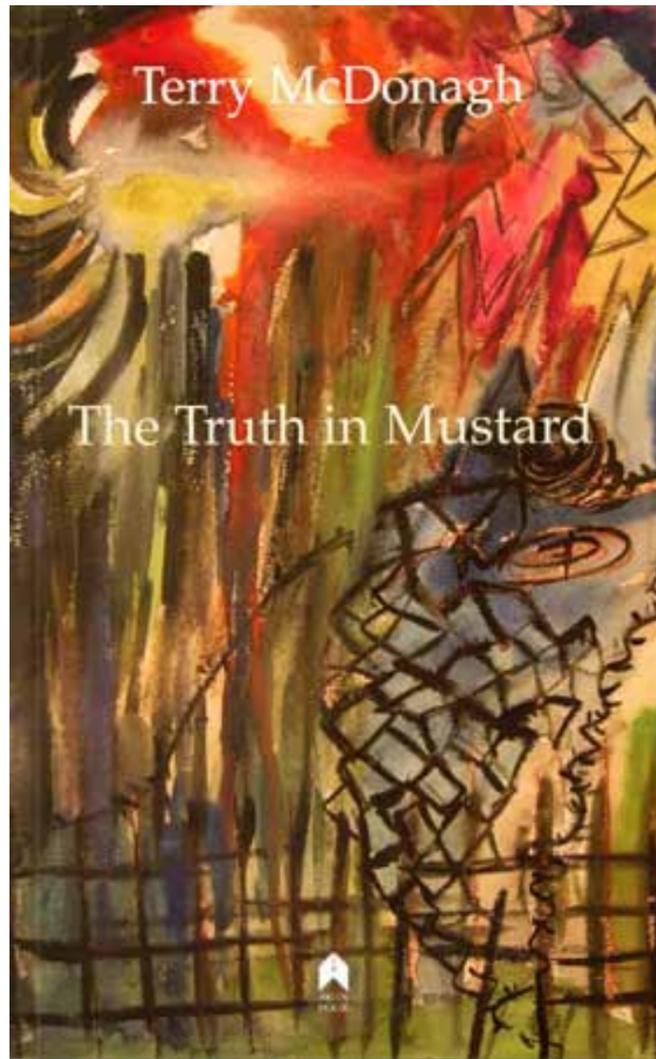
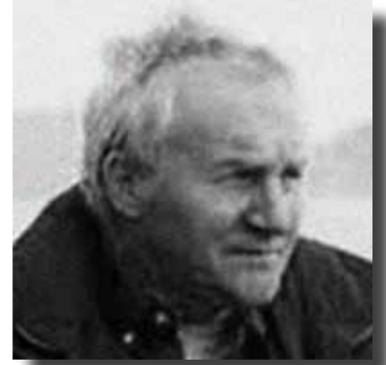
What could possibly be the reason for this very hurtful moratorium, which has inflicted major damage on the humanitarian relationship between the US and India by convincing the families of these airmen and their supporters around the world that the Government of India cannot be trusted to live up to its promises ?

On March 25, 2008, a China Radio International commentary denounced evolving US-India plans to recover US airmen's remains from Arunachal, describing "New Delhi's motivations in this regard as attempting to strengthen military ties with Washington and legalize the status of Arunachal Pradesh as an Indian province, expecting that this would contribute to an increase in India's weight in the ongoing negotiations with China on the disputed border. The US motivations, according to the Commentary, were to further develop its military relations with India and use the Arunachal issue as means to restrain China's intentions."

Knowing of the Chinese Government's past public denunciations of remains recovery operations as part of a US-India plan to contain China, the Government of India fears antagonizing China over an issue that the Government of India attaches very little importance to, and to which the US Government regrettably attaches very little importance as well.

Despite the Indian Government's loud verbal denials of China's claim, its refusal to permit US remains recovery teams to investigate crash sites in Arunachal Pradesh undermines those denials by amounting to tacit recognition by the Indian Government of the validity of China's claim: actions, after all, speak louder than words.





*About Albert* is an excerpt taken from quite a long poem based on post-war conversations I've had in Germany with people who'd had first-hand experience of World War Two, as well as with some people born after 1945. War is always a terrible tragedy. There are winners and losers – sadly, winners are often losers as well: feelings of hate, regret, pain and loss remain. In the end, the economist/ the traders in arms will win out. The sad thing is that it is almost always 'ordinary' people who really suffer; who are led to believe in some cause/belief or another. I know there are times when defence is called for but, in the main, war leads to alienation from self and from other decent people who could have been friends and not enemies. The leaders are the problem.

In this poem, we see Albert, a man who has lost his parents; who grows up in an orphanage and who never really comes to terms with his life in post-war Germany. Albert is an outsider who, as a result of war, has become alienated from himself and his society. In this final section of the poem, he writes to his deceased mother:

### About Albert

Dear Mother, why did you leave me all those years ago|?  
My wings were too young to keep hanging in the sky, but  
I know it was in spring they placed you pale and firm in the clean earth.

You used to bring red to weaving flowers and unwrap layers  
of heat and rain on thick grass. I was orphaned in garlands  
seeing the sky slowly turn its back on me.

Now you are at one with persistent darkness, but when I see  
us crossing fields of barley, I curtsy to your humming  
of *Mozart's Zauberfloete* from a suspended rock on the headland.

There never was time to stare at shop windows.  
War and your sickness left me ragged loss  
and a photo of an older woman in a distant country.

I have sifted through women on corners, opened my heart  
behind hedgerows, sprang helplessly at the messenger's throat  
with nothing but a fingerprint attached to the surface of my universe.

I change my tune to meet the needs of every wretch in suburbia.  
I don't want to be alone in Paradise.

I remain your son, Albert.



From left to right : Eitz Tut and Bella Mia

## Truth, Tourism Among Top Casualties of War

If truth is the first casualty of war, in Israel, tourism runs a very close second.

During 2014, for example, after a spectacular 18 per cent jump during the first half of the year, visitor totals later crashed by an overall seven per cent because of Operation Protective Edge – the IDF's invasion of Gaza. Indeed, the 182,000 recorded visitors to Israel during August marked the lowest total for the month since 2006 – the year of the Second Lebanon War. Instead, Israelis fled in their droves and trips abroad during July and August rose by two per cent compared to the same period in 2013.

In September, soon after the war ended, Tourism Minister Uzi Landau revealed that incoming tourism had plummeted by 20-30% during the hostilities but it was estimated that matters would be back to normal within three-six months. However, while Bank of Israel Governor Karnit Flug expressed confidence that the war would have only a 'moderate effect' on the economy, she warned soon after it ended that its impact on certain sectors, especially tourism, was likely to continue for some time. Her words now seem prophetic as recent IDF-Hezbollah clashes in the Golan have had a harsh effect on domestic tourism.

Indeed, I've seen the consequences first-hand while dining at two excellent eateries.

The first, in July, was at the **Eitz Tut** (Mulberry Tree) Restaurant deep in the artists' quarter of Tzfat, the famous hilltop holy city of mystic piety.

The other, during January, was at **Bella Mia**, an Italian Grill Bar in Ma'alot-Tarshiha, a mixed Jewish-Arab town, near to both Karmiel and the coastal resort of Nahariya.

Eitz Tut, in Tet Vav Street and adjacent to the Khan of the White Donkey cultural centre, was previously known as 'Isidora'. The new owner has renamed it in honour of the splendid, ancient tree that provides a presiding presence over both the trellised courtyard and patrons while they dine. As customers were so few the day we visited, the talented young owner's wife and infant daughter enjoyed their own meal at a table directly under the tree while he served us.

It was, as my husband observed, war or no war, an idyllic setting on a perfect summer late afternoon. The only thing missing was more company for us all!

Although Eitz Tut is not fully vegetarian, the menu is varied and between us we chose an imaginative blue cheese salad and a pasta dish accompanied by hearty bread, followed by suitably indulgent desserts. An English language menu is available on request.

Our only caveat was that when we visited, the restaurant was not open in the evening. This policy may have changed but I can offer no further details as none are apparent on the web. I must presume this is because of the relatively recent change in ownership.

Bella Mia is billed as 'romantic' but also suitable for families with children! Whatever the reason for an outing there, we found it eccentrically fetching with its log cabin facade and European bar interior. Again, we noted a dearth of fellow diners but were greeted by extremely friendly and efficient staff who provided a full English language menu.

Portions at Bella Mia are extremely generous and soon we began to wish we had not devoured such large starters of home-made bread and savoury dips!

Dishes each of richly flavoured ravioli and spaghetti followed in speedily served succession, with a grand finale of a shared giant slab of excellent cheesecake.

As we visited Bella Mia on a dark, cold winter's evening, we could not take advantage of the attractive outdoor seating that overlooks spectacular countryside.

But Bella Mia, like Eitz Tut, is well worth a second visit, so we'll be back to both soon.

Bella Mia is open: Sunday – Saturday- 10:00 - 12:00 midnight.  
Email: [Bella\\_mia@walla.com](mailto:Bella_mia@walla.com) Tel: 04-957-5075



## THE FAIR FACE OF THE EPIC

### A CLOSER LOOK AT WOMEN IN MAHABHARATA

Love, eternal love, a grand wedding, wedded bliss – these are bright colourful concepts that paint every girl's imagination while growing up. Reality, however, tends to fade the colours a little. The Mahabharata is a testimony to this.

In this epic tale, it was the women who defined and redefined power and influence. They were seen as both positive and negative, associated with prosperity and destruction, but they all had one thing in common, they were all deceived in some way or the other as far as love and marriage were concerned.

Renowned Linguist, Academician and Sanskrit Scholar Dr. Sucheta Paranjpe has shed light on this aspect of the women in Mahabharata in many talks and lectures. Based on the Mahabharata Critical Edition – BORI (Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune) Dr. Paranjpe has unraveled the threads of deception faced by different women at different times in the Epic. She points out that each female character in the Mahabharata was deceived or cheated in some way or the other, but this did not mean they were victims, they found a way to carve their respective identities despite the circumstances.



## Satyavati

Satyavati was a teenager when Parashar asked her to marry him. She didn't know better. He probably left her the very same night they got married, to never return. Satyavati soon gave birth to a son, Vyas. This deception must have scarred her very deeply. When after many years King Shantanu proposed her, her reply, devoid of any emotion was "Ask my father". To prevent herself from any further deception in life, Satyavati made sure she got Shantanu's only other son to swear celibacy so that the throne would be reserved for her son and grandson. She surely came across as calculative and cunning, but did she have a choice? They say... Once bitten, twice shy.

## Amba, Ambika and Ambalika

It was a known fact that Satyavati and Shantanu's sons Vichitravirya and Chitrangada were not the most desirable men in the kingdom and getting wives for them was not an easy task. Bhishma was sent to Amba, Ambika and Ambalika's swayamwar to fetch wives for his half-brothers. When Bhishma arrived at the swayamwar in his chariot in all his glory, the women assumed he had broken his vow of celibacy and come for them. They readily got into the chariot. He didn't bother to clear the misconception, and took them to Hastinapur to be wed to Vichitravirya and Chitrangada. Ambika and Ambalika obliged but Amba, committed suicide by burning herself to ashes.

## Kunti

Kunti didn't want to get married to Pandu, but was not given a choice. She got stuck with a man who could not satisfy her physically or emotionally and was widowed at a young age. She raised her five sons as a single mother and against all odds, did a very good job of it.

## Gandhari

Gandhari was from Gandhara, now Kandahar in Afghanistan. Dhritarashtra was the king of Hastinapur in North of India. Why was he wedded to a princess from so far away? There was no dearth of princesses closer to home. But, closer to home, it was a known fact that the King of Hastinapur was blind. And Gandhari was blind to this fact. She didn't discover the truth until the eve of her wedding. Until, it was too late. So shocked was she and her brother Shakuni who had accompanied her from Gandhara, that he decided to stay back in Hastinapur to ensure his sister's well-being rather than go back to the comforts of a kingdom where he probably had a throne awaiting him.

## Draupadi

The celebrated heroine of Mahabharata has many long passages describing her beauty to her credit. Many men wanted her, but that doesn't mean many men (five to be precise) should have her. Arjun had won her hand in the Swayamvar, so Arjun should have been her only husband. She was instead married to all five brothers. No one asked her for her consent.

Dr. Paranjpe has also questioned the lack of mention of women characters like daughters and wives of various characters unless they played a significant part in the story. Everyone seems to have given birth only to sons. Kunti had sons, Madri Had sons, Satyavati had sons, Five Pandavs, 100 Kauravas, Draupadi's five sons, Draupadi's mother, is mentioned only thrice in the original epic and almost absent in all the retellings. The women are given negative importance; this resonates in the fact that all their names were reflections of their fathers' names or the places they belonged to. Gandhari was from Gandhara, Draupadi was Drupad's daughter, Madri was from Madra, Kunti was Kuntibhoja's daughter - A clear indication of the lack of personal identity of women in the said period.

Mahabharata is history, this fact is reiterated with the words, 'Itihasam puranam' presenting themselves at regular intervals throughout the text. Most of the female characters mentioned above, despite the odds managed to carve a space for themselves on the pages of history. They emerged as strong characters. Another little lesson to be learnt from history. **Another little inspiration on Women's Day this March.**



## The Bully 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. You can access your natural path, heal your wounds and move toward your Divine Soul purpose.*

Today we will explore the Bully Archetype. It may seem odd that after introducing the Lover archetype in February, I would follow up with the Bully archetype in March. In the area in the Pacific Northwest where I live, March can be like a bully. The saying is that “March comes in like a Lion, and goes out like a Lamb.”

It is actually situations in my own life, well situations that I am privy to, that stimulate this writing on the Bully. The scope of the Bully archetype is massive. There is bullying in the workplace, on college campuses, in schools and schoolyards and as seen in the news on a daily basis today, there are bullies attempting to take over countries! When looking at the psyche and bullying, there is even the issue of bullying yourself and internally beating yourself up. There is so much about this archetype that can be explored. This article is taking a small slice of the issue and will focus on parents who bully their children. This may be a difficult topic to read about, but I think you will find it valuable.

Recently, when listening to others share stories, the topic of abusive yelling has surfaced over and over again. As an adult, if someone yelled at me, I would just walk away. Children don't have the ability to do this. The response is generally to shut down and be quiet, to fight back, or to get revenge.

What is bullying and why do people bully? First of all there is a difference between bullying and having the bully archetype. There may be periods of time where someone uses bullying in his or her life and then they learn skills to behave more appropriately. Having the *bully archetype* is when this tendency becomes a strong part of their personality. It becomes a pattern that directs their behavior in an attempt to dominate another person or ultimately, to control their own coward within.

Another way that children survive is to rebel and fight back. What happens here is there is continual yelling, conflict and fighting between the child and the parent. It becomes a battle of the wills. The children may also run away to get away from the situation. These children often go on to bully others, including their siblings. Although they fight to gain power, ultimately the parent has the power because they control the money and the access to the child's fun and freedom.

Bullies often use threats or coercion to gain power over another. They will intimidate and be abusive. Sometimes the bully will use physical power to dominate, but here I want to look at the emotional abuse of bullying. Children especially are vulnerable and parents, in an attempt to control them may use yelling and threatening. They may resort to name-calling, shaming, and other aggressive measures. The reality is, in their attempt to control the child, they are really only showing that they themselves are out of control. So what happens to these children who are bullied at home? One response is to become quiet and withdraw. On the outside they may appear to become a well-adjusted, compliant child, but on the inside they have a mind of constant negative self-talk. This self-talk can be anger directed at their parent, but more often, it is directed at themselves. This internal abuse becomes a survival technique. In their own attempt at gaining some control they use self-abuse. In some cases this is not just abusive self-talk, but turns into using sharp objects to physically cut on themselves. This may be to release the pain they feel. They want to let it out. When they do this, they may think no one else can hurt them as much as they can hurt themselves. The parent's response to this may be to use force to try to control the child even more. They blame the child (the victim of the bullying) rather than looking at and owning their own behavior.

Some children become compliant and work hard so they are not abused. These children excel in school, on the football team and become the leaders in their community. They develop manipulative skills that serve them at home and in other areas of their lives. As adults these skills can go either way. They can help them catapult to the top or eventually destroy their relationships and career. Sometimes children end up not using their full potential. They may be extremely bright, but end up with low grades. They may have mental health problems such as depression, anxiety, or behaviors such as over-eating or using drugs. Turning their fear, hurt and anger inward eats them alive. When these children become adults, these old wounds begin to surface in their relationships, their jobs, and in their health.

Another way that children survive is to rebel and fight back. What happens here is there is continual yelling, conflict and fighting between the child and the parent. It becomes a battle of the wills. The children may also run away to get away from the situation. These children often go on to bully others, including their siblings. Although they fight to gain power, ultimately the parent has the power because they control the money and the access to the child's fun and freedom. For children, other than their need for love, their need for fun is essential. In this case the parent continues to be out of control and the child continues to suffer from emotional abuse. Another way children respond to bullying is to get revenge. There are several ways they do this. One is directly by breaking something of value to the parent. They may also "tell on" the parent. In this case they may tell their friends, reach out to a teacher, a neighbor, a relative or even the police. They may also share in front of others something embarrassing that the parent did. Often this is difficult for the child because, even though they are angry and feel the parent isn't fair, they also feel at fault.

The Bully archetype may or may not be a significant archetypal pattern for you. If it is, remember archetypes cross cultures from the beginning of time and so you are not alone. This is a pattern that can be balanced. The positive attribute of the bully archetype is learning to become courageous. As you reflect, take notes on this and other archetypes you identify with. Notice what thoughts, feelings, and memories have surfaced for you when reading this article. Think about how others see you. Is there something you noticed that is blocking you from your Divine Soul Purpose?

Another way they get revenge is indirectly through passive aggressive behavior. Passive aggressive behavior is a way that people express their anger, frustration or hostility indirectly. The child may not finish their chores or move really slowly when the parent is in a hurry. They could pick at something like a lampshade making small holes in it that are not noticeable to their dad. Children who underachieve may be being passive aggressive, especially if the parent has a high need for them to excel. Other passive aggressive behaviors are using sarcasm, being stubborn, or procrastinating. Whatever would get back at the parent without immediate repercussion gives them some sense of power. So what should a child do when they have an abusive or bullying parent? It is important that they find a safe adult who can help them. As a reader of this article, I ask you to be aware of the children around you and to make sure that they know you are a safe adult. Talk to the children around you and get to know them. Build a rapport so they understand that you are someone they could trust and depend upon. You never know if the child is secretly suffering in her own home.

What if you find that you have the Bully Archetype fully active in your own life at this time? Whatever situation you find yourself in, if you find that you are yelling, name-calling, taking or breaking someone else's belongings, or even pushing and shoving or other violence, it is important to get help! There are so many resources for you. One I would suggest first is to find a counselor or a minister that you can confide in. Counselors will provide you with a safe place to learn how to manage your anger and to gain better control in your own life. If you have a child that is difficult to manage, a counselor can assist you with some parenting skills. What happens is the more out of control you feel, the more you try to solve the problem yourself and the less likely you are to resolve the issue. Remember the bully in you, the bully archetype is covering for the inner coward. It takes courage to reach out and get assistance. Seeing a counselor becomes a confidential place for you to share and it is the counselor's job to listen, support, teach and provide resources for you.

Another resource in addition to counseling is to educate yourself about the problem. Search for books on dealing with your anger. The first step to changing a behavior is identifying it and owning it. You will be amazed at the relief you feel when you start to learn simple steps to shift the pattern that has taken over your life. If you find you are bullying someone, then you too are certainly bullying yourself in the process.

The Bully archetype may or may not be a significant archetypal pattern for you. If it is, remember archetypes cross cultures from the beginning of time and so you are not alone. This is a pattern that can be balanced. The positive attribute of the bully archetype is learning to become courageous. As you reflect, take notes on this and other archetypes you identify with. Notice what thoughts, feelings, and memories have surfaced for you when reading this article. Think about how others see you. Is there something you noticed that is blocking you from your Divine Soul Purpose?

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