Dr Howard Richards
Solidarity for Full Employment

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Solidarity for Full Employment

Dr Howard Richards

Dr Howard Richards (born June 10, 1938) is a philosopher of Social Science who has worked with the concepts of basic cultural structures and constitutive rules. He holds the title of Research Professor of Philosophy at Earlham College, a liberal arts college in Richmond, Indiana, USA, the Quaker School where he taught for thirty years. He officially retired from Earlham College, together with his wife Caroline Higgins in 2007, but retained the title of Research Professor of Philosophy. Dr Richards is a Catholic, a member of Holy Trinity (Santissima Trinidad) parish in Lima, Chile, and a member of the third order of St. Francis, S.F.O.

Blossom where you are Planted – if Possible

Terry McDonagh

Terry McDonagh taught creative writing at Humburg University. Was Drama Director at International School Hamburg. Published ten poetry collections, letters, drama, prose and poetry for young people. Translations into Indonesian and German. 2016 poetry collection, ‘Lady Cassie Peregrina’. Arlen House; 2017, included in Fire and Ice 2 Gilt Education; 2017, ‘IGC by Degrees’ included in Galway Poetry Trail; 2017, Director of WestWords, Germany’s first Irish lit. festival in Hamburg.

Some thoughts about identity and citizenship

Dr Greta Sykes

Poet, writer and artist Greta Sykes has published her work in many anthologies. She is a member of London Voices Poetry Group and also produces art work for them. Her new volume of poetry called “The Shipping News: Poems and Other Poems” came out in August 2016. The German translation of her book ‘Under charred skies’ has now been published in Germany under the title ‘Unter verbranntem Himmel’ by Eulenspiegel Verlag. She is the chair of the Socialist History Society and has organised joint poetry events for them at the Poetry Café.

On Dual Citizenship

Susan Hawthorne

Susan Hawthorne’s poetry, fiction and non-fiction have been published internationally in English and in translation. Her most recent publications are Dark Matters: A Novel (2017), Bibliodiversity: A Manifesto for Independent Publishing (2014) and Lupa and Lamb (2014). She is also Publisher at Spinifex Press and Adjunct Professor in the College of Arts, Society, and Education, James Cook University, Townsville.

Child Sexual Abuse and Protection Laws in India

Dr Debarati Halder

Debarati Halder is Professor and Head at the Centre for Research on Law and Policy in United World School of Law, Gandhinagar, Gujarat. She is honorary managing director of the Centre for Cyber Victim Counselling (CCVC), India. She is the founder secretary of South Asian Society of Criminology and Victimology. She received her LLB from the University of Calcutta and her Master’s Degree in International and Constitutional Law from the University of Madras and PhD degree from the National Law School of India University (NLSIU), Bengaluru.

Imran Khan’s Pakistan & Prospect of ‘Peace’ in South Asia

Dr Bibhu Prasad Routray

Dr Routray served as a Deputy Director in the National Security Council Secretariat, Govt of India, Director of the Institute for Conflict Management (ICFM’s) Database & Documentation Centre, Guwahati, Assam. He was a Visiting Research Fellow at the South Asia programme of the S. Rattanatam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore between 2010 and 2012.

Hanoi - Culture Capital of Vietnam - Part II

Mark Ulyseas

Ulyseas has served time in advertising as copywriter and creative director selling people things they didn’t need, a ghost writer for some years, columnist of a newspaper, freelance journalist and photographer. In 2009 he created Live Encounters Magazine, in Bali, Indonesia. March 2016 saw the launch of its sister publication Live Encounters Poetry & Writing. He is the editor of three books: RAINY – My Friend & Philosopher, Seductive Avatars of Maya – Anthology of Dystopian Lives and In Gethsemane: Transcripts of a Journey.

First-Person Plural

Caley O’Dwyer

Caley O’Dwyer is a visual artist, poet, and teacher living in Los Angeles. His painting practice is driven by postmodern psychology, humor, wonder and musicality, emphasizing uncertainty, process painting and surprise. His paintings increasingly explore the space between abstraction and figuration, bearing intimation but resisting surety. Alongside his painting practice at the Brewery Arts Complex in downtown Los Angeles, Caley teaches creative writing and psychology at Antioch University.

Cuba Impressions

Joo Peter

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

Exploring the colour and form of plant life

Andrea Lamberti

Andrea Lamberti is a nature photographer and a vegan. As well as supporting his physical health, Andrea found veganism is naturally aligned to his philosophy of living simply and minimally, allowing less packaging, chemicals and processing, and avoiding the unnecessary commodification of animals. Andrea documents the geography and underwater plant and animal species of his local coastline, to explore his relationship with the natural world, and his belief that humans should inhabit the planet primarily as curators rather than as consumers.

Mongolia

Mikyoung Cha

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

Cherry and Almond Clafoutis

Ozlem Warren

International cooking teacher and Turkish culinary expert Ozlem Warren is a native of Turkey, lived there and extensively travelled for 30 years. She has been teaching wholesome, delicious Turkish cookery in the US, Jordan, Istanbul and England. Her recipes have been published in the local media in England, Hurriyat and Sahab national daily newspapers in Turkey. Ozlem also took part at the “Turkish Chef of the World,” “Dunyamin Türkşefter” TV program aired at TRT, National Turkish TV channel and in 37 countries.

Contributors

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Solidarity for Full Employment

Dr Howard Richards

PhD in Educational Planning from University of Toronto, with an emphasis on applied psychology and moral development

1. Analysis of the Bottleneck Problem
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3. The Road from Here to There (generalizing from the examples)
4. The Imperative to Maximize Profits (blocks the road from here to there)
5. The Fiscal Crisis of the State (blocks the road from here to there)
6. Unbounded Organization (a way forward)

The Breadline by Sculptor Georg Segal, dedicated to the memory of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the 32nd President of the United States. Presidential memorial in Washington D.C.
The non-market alternative may be purebred, as in the case of a research scientist whose salary is paid entirely by the Rockefeller Foundation; or hybrid, i.e. partly non-market and partly market, as in the case of the coach of a football-4-youth programme whose salary is funded partly by the city government and partly by sales of tickets to games. Whatever the non-market alternative may be in a given case, purebred or hybrid, I want to make it as crystal clear as I possibly can that sales in markets alone cannot solve this bottleneck problem.

Market employment depends on sales. In the standard case, workers contribute to producing goods and services that are sold at a profit. If they cannot be sold at a profit, they are not produced, and therefore no workers are hired. The workers are paid their salaries out of the revenue from the sales of the products. Business owners, tax collectors, landlords, executives, bankers, suppliers, advertisers, as well as several other classes of people are also in line to collect their slices of the revenue-from-sales pie. Unless they too take their cuts, the business is a no-go, and once again no workers are hired. Do you see what I am driving at? I am saying that whether there will be market employment is iffy. There is no guarantee whatever that there will be a job, much less a decent one, for everybody who needs one.

1 - Analysis of the Bottleneck Problem

The problems of drug addiction, gangs, crime, ethnic nationalism, racism, sexism, chronic depression, immigration issues, poverty in old age, mental illness, war, inner city schools, taking necessary measures to save the biosphere that cost jobs, and many others will not be reduced to manageable proportions, much less solved, until human life is reorganized so that most people who need decent employment are able to find it. Would you agree? I call employment a bottleneck problem. If it is not solved, many other problems will not be solved either.

To solve it, I advocate more non-market employment. More non-market employment can be made possible by those of us who have more than we need. We can make it possible by sharing more than we do now with those of us who have less than they need, either voluntarily or involuntarily. One might also add a third category of "semi-voluntary" sharing (sharing is known to economists as "transfers"). The third category would cover transfers where decent employment is made possible by moving resources in ways that are neither voluntary (as is donating to a symphony orchestra, helping it to pay musicians) nor involuntary (as is paying taxes, helping governments to comply with Article 23 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, establishing the right of everyone to employment with just and favourable remuneration) but somewhere in between (like funding a charitable foundation that subsidizes asset based community development, which in turn creates livelihoods where there were none, in order to get favourable publicity and a tax exemption). Although "decent" implies raising wages and freedom from debt slavery, I will save emphasis on raising wages and easing the burdens of debt for other days and concentrate here on inclusion.

The non-market alternative may be purebred, as in the case of a research scientist whose salary is paid entirely by the Rockefeller Foundation; or hybrid, i.e. partly non-market and partly market, as in the case of the coach of a football-4-youth programme whose salary is funded partly by the city government and partly by sales of tickets to games. Whatever the non-market alternative may be in a given case, purebred or hybrid, I want to make it as crystal clear as I possibly can that sales in markets alone cannot solve this bottleneck problem.
While some cultures live by fishing and fishing sets the tone for everything else, some by raising corn, some by pastoralism, some by slash and burn agriculture, some by hunting and gathering, and some in other ways, the basic rules of our game (the cultural rules that constitute the material relations of our basic social structure) are those of buying and selling.

Employment in non-standard forms may also be purebred (non-market) or hybrid (partly market and partly non-market). I am saying that to the extent that employment depends on sales to generate the fund from which salaries are paid, we are talking about a market solution to the problem and therefore it is iffy. [2] The probability that market solutions will reliably provide decent employment for all of the human beings on this planet who need decent employment is the same as the probability of a snowball in hell. Would you agree? Let me explain why that probability is precisely zero, and not some slightly larger number like .01.

The reason is structural. It is a consequence of the rules of the game, not just a conclusion derived by induction from the empirical observation of many labour markets. The basic social structure, also known the basic cultural structure, of modern society is the market. Theodore Adorno calls it the Tauschprinzip, the principle of exchange. He finds that in our times a Tauschprinzip mentality, which tends to see everything and everybody as a commodity for sale, affects and infects all of human life. While some cultures live by fishing and fishing sets the tone for everything else, some by raising corn, some by pastoralism, some by slash and burn agriculture, some by hunting and gathering, and some in other ways, the basic rules of our game (the cultural rules that constitute the material relations of our basic social structure[3]) are those of buying and selling.

The buyers and sellers game is a game with losers. That is why the probability of reliable decent employment for everyone provided by markets alone with no help from other institutions is zero and not .01. The losers are those who do not sell enough at a high enough price to make a living. There have to be losers. Every player aims to have accounts receivable greater than accounts payable. Similarly, everyone wants to take in more money than they pay out. They want to save some. In John Maynard Keynes terminology, everyone has a liquidity preference; people want the freedom that comes from keeping some liquid cash in their pockets or in the bank without spending it. [4] But one person's receivable is another person's payable. If some people take in more than they pay out, some people must pay out more than they take in. The sum of receivables and payables must be equal. Given that it takes expectations of profit to motivate producing and hiring; in other words, an expectation that more will come in than goes out; and given that some such expectations must be mistaken, because not everybody can have receivables greater than payables, and given that business cannot run along forever on illusory expectations that are not true, there will be some investments not made and some people not hired. [5]

The workers are paid their salaries out of the revenue from the sales of the products. Business owners, tax collectors, landlords, executives, bankers, suppliers, advertisers, as well as several other classes of people are also in line to collect their slices of the revenue from sales pie. Unless they too take their cuts, the business is a no-go, and once again no workers are hired. Do you see what I am driving at? I am saying that whether there will be market employment is iffy. There is no guarantee whatever that there will be a job, much less a decent one, for everybody who needs one.

On the other hand, there can be no moral duty to be employed. An employment contract is a sale. A sale requires a buyer as well as a seller. The idea of liberty expressed in the rule of law implies that there is no duty to buy. The social realities constituted by the basic cultural rules imply that it would be self-defeating for business owners and managers to hire people when the products of their labour cannot profitably be sold. [7] Therefore, willingness to sell one's labour is no guarantee that there exists a willing buyer ready and able to buy it. Some people will fail to comply with making the contributions to society and to supporting a family that religion and social norms expect and will be structurally humiliated.

SOLIDARITY FOR FULL EMPLOYMENT

Howard Richards
“Solidarity” is the word chosen here to play the role of name for the cure for unemployment. Runner-up candidates for the part were “unbounded organization,” “dharmic living,” “stewardship,” “servant leadership” or “servanthood,” and “community.” Among the candidates who did not make the short list were “planning,” “development,” “growth,” “productivity,” “tax cuts,” “flexible wages,” “technical education,” “international competitiveness,” “business-friendly governments,” “infrastructure investment,” “incubating start-ups” and “competency-based education partnering with internships in industry to produce the profiles employers are looking for.”

Solidarity has been the rhetoric of unworkable schemes that existed only on paper, while the reality has been inefficient bureaucracies, corruption, the silencing of dissent, and terror. When I am conversing with people for whom “solidarity” brings back a nightmare that has shattered their nerves, I never use the word. Let me explain why I do use it here. The word began its career as a player in the discourse of modernity as solidarité. It was a watchword and an ideal of the French working class in the mid nineteenth century. The French delegation brought it into the first socialist international, the International Workingman’s Association, founded in London in 1861, and through it into the world’s main languages. Its main meanings were two: Stand Together United, and Mutual Aid.

History confirms this analysis of the implications of the rules of the buying and selling game. What the social structure makes inevitable is what is observed. As John Maynard Keynes writes in his *General Theory* [8], the historical record shows that full employment, or even approximately full employment, has rarely occurred, and when it has occurred it has been temporary. Keynes could have added that there are also times when full employment’s alleged occurrence, in addition to being temporary, is also bogus. Full employment can be and sometimes is defined as fewer than 5% jobless, and then announced as a statistical fact even when everybody can see the homeless people on the sidewalks. For example, the fraction of workers who are unemployed is calculated inflating the numerator by counting beggars trying to sell handicrafts as self-employed, and deflating the denominator by disregarding all who are not at the present time known to be trying to sell themselves in the labour market.

All of the above was true even before today’s apparently irreversible trend of technology – exemplified by Toyota manufacturing automobiles with robots instead of workers and Tesco running supermarkets with automated check-outs instead of clerks— started making most human work redundant. Work is indeed becoming redundant as a means for producing goods and services to sell. But it is not becoming redundant as a means for making a living, bringing up children, achieving self-esteem, and achieving self-realization. Worldwide, economies are requiring fewer workers but workers are not requiring fewer jobs. It follows that now, and even more in the future, and even when sales in markets and investments in the expectation of sales are doing as well as can reasonably be expected in generating employment; it will still be necessary to rely on non-market employment in order to meet the needs of all our sisters and brothers in the human family. My brothers and sisters stuff here is solidarity-talk, of course; not Economics 101- talk. We need more solidarity talk.

“Solidarity” is the word chosen here to play the role of name for the cure for unemployment. Runner-up candidates for the part were “unbounded organization,” “dharmic living,” “stewardship,” “servant leadership” or “servanthood,” and “community.” Among the candidates who did not make the short list were “planning,” “development,” “growth,” “productivity,” “tax cuts,” “flexible wages,” “technical education,” “international competitiveness,” “business-friendly governments,” “infrastructure investment,” “incubating start-ups” and “competency-based education partnering with internships in industry to produce the profiles employers are looking for.”

In a given situation one or more of these also-rans might be useful or it might be counter-productive, but in principle none of them could possibly be the cure. The cure must be something that undoes the cause. The cure is structural. The cure must be structural. The cause, the fundamental cause, is that markets generate losers as well as winners. The cure has to turn win/lose into win/win. The choice of “solidarity” sets us on the path toward building cultures where everybody is a winner and nobody is a loser. Even so, the choice of the term was not unanimous. Some members of the jury voted against “solidarity” because there are parts of the world people have good reasons for never wanting to hear it again. Solidarity has been the rhetoric of unworkable schemes that existed only on paper, while the reality has been inefficient bureaucracies, corruption, the silencing of dissent, and terror. When I am conversing with people for whom “solidarity” brings back a nightmare that has shattered their nerves, I never use the word. Let me explain why I do use it here.

The word began its career as a player in the discourse of modernity as solidarité. It was a watchword and an ideal of the French working class in the mid nineteenth century. [9] The French delegation brought it into the first socialist international, the International Workingman’s Association, founded in London in 1861, and through it into the world’s main languages. Its main meanings were two: Stand Together United, and Mutual Aid.
Solidarity is a word historically associated with questioning the system. It is associated with questioners coming from a socialist point of view. It is also associated with questioners coming from a pre-modern religious point of view. It is a word that puts structural change on the agenda by proposing—and often the proposals are made by people who practice what they preach—living by the rules of a different basic social structure.

In its early days, it was used especially in raising funds for international aid sent to comrades in distress in other countries. Pope Paul VI (1963-1978) did more than anyone else to integrate ‘solidarity’ into the social doctrine of the Catholic Church. For the Judaean-Christian tradition the word was new but the idea was not. [10] On April 3, 1987, speaking at the headquarters of the UN Economic Commission for Latin America in Santiago, Pope John Paul II could say: ‘My call, then, takes the form of a moral imperative: Practice solidarity above all! Whatever may be your function in the fabric of economic and social life, construct in the region an economy of solidarity! With these words I propose for your consideration what in my recent message for the World Day of Peace I called a new type of relation: the social solidarity of all.’ [11]

Solidarity is a word historically associated with questioning the system. It is associated with questioners coming from a socialist point of view. It is also associated with questioners coming from a pre-modern religious point of view. It is a word that puts structural change on the agenda by proposing—and often the proposals are made by people who practice what they preach—living by the rules of a different basic social structure.

2 - Examples

Before I consider in general terms the path from a dysfunctional present to a functional future, I will give a specific example of how to dignify the structurally humiliated, and then a specific example of how to generate surplus to be used for that purpose.

Alexandra, affectionately known by its diminutive “Alex,” is a poor district of Johannesburg, South Africa. As is unfortunately also the case in too many other locations on this planet, the majority of the young people are unemployed and unhappy. Many sink into drugs, into indiscriminate sex leading to AIDS and to gender-based violence, into hustling suckers and mugging those who resist; and if they are female roaming the streets looking for a man who will give them money for favours. But if they visit a certain old church building on the main avenue of Alex on a weekday afternoon you will find twelve young people who are employed and happy. [12] They are practicing their song and dance routines: like Black Motion by Imali and Babes Wodumo by Wololo; as well as oldies like Cat Daddy and Bird Walk. They had to audition to get into the troupe. Once they are in, they need discipline and self-discipline to learn their steps and their lines and to do them right, as well as the self-discipline required to show up for work, to be on time, to arrive sober, and to stay clean in more senses than one. Expressing general agreement with Aristotle’s theory of virtue (arete) in his Nicomachean Ethics, although I have no hard evidence about the dancers of Alex, I believe their discipline leads them to virtue, and that virtue leads them to happiness.

Expressing general agreement with Abraham Maslow, I suggest that their performances in public spaces, mostly schools, satisfy their needs for recognition and their needs for self-esteem. [13] Their pay checks give them the dignity denied to the millions who are structurally humiliated because they are rejected by labour markets where for the structural reasons just discussed supply perpetually exceeds demand. And at the base of Maslow’s pyramid, a little money in the pocket gives them food, drink and raiment they do not have to beg, borrow, or steal for. The services the dancers provide for the school children who are their main audiences are more than entertainment. They provide role models of drug-free youth who are having fun. They keep alive the hope that perhaps, after all, employment might be a real possibility for the children in the audience when they grow older.

A main reason why I call the song and dance troupe practicing in the old church on the main avenue of Alex an example of non-market employment made possible by solidarity is that it is paid for by sharing the surplus. Money and other resources are moved from where they are not needed to where they are needed. Thanks to public and private donors, it is possible for non-market employment to step into the breach and save the day when market employment fizzles. Sharing the surplus is working for twelve formerly unemployed youth in one building on one street in Alex; and then it spreads its benefits around the city as the dancers fan out to entertain the kids in the schools. Although numbers are small compared to the 12 million who need decent jobs and do not have them in South Africa, [14] it is a pilot that demonstrates a principle. It helps me–does it help you? —to imagine new civilizations in a future when robots will do the heavy lifting and artificial intelligence will do all the thinking for which there is an algorithm. Labour will not be as large a factor of production as it is now. But compared to now—the percentage of people finding decent employment will increase, not decrease because surplus will be shared and wisely used.
The ethical principle of sharing the surplus is not new. In the 13th century St Thomas Aquinas wrote that your property was not yours alone. It also belonged to the people you could aid with your surplus. Today Pope Francis incessantly repeats the same message. In the 13th century sharing the surplus was already an old idea. It had already been practiced for hundreds of years from the villages of Africa to the igloos of the Arctic and everywhere in between. If our ancestors had not practiced group loyalty and mutual aid, they would not have survived and we would not have been born.

I need another example. The singing dancers of Alex illustrate surplus wisely used. I need another example to illustrate where surplus comes from in the first place, and how it is generated by benefactors of humanity who create it not to hoard it but to share it. I have found no better example than Paul, history’s most famous tent-maker. I will be asking Paul to work two shifts. Here I will ask him to serve as an illustration of basic Christian ethics. Later, not in this paper but in a sequel, I will ask him to work overtime to illustrate the broader norms of reciprocity and redistribution that social scientists find to be busy at work functioning to meet human needs in many different cultures past and present, East and West, North and South. Hear Paul in chapter 20, verses 33 to 38 of The Acts of the Apostles:

33 I have not coveted anyone’s silver or gold or clothing. 34 You yourselves know that these hands of mine have supplied my own needs and the needs of my companions. 35 In every thing I did, I showed you that by this kind of hard work we must help the weak, remembering the words the Lord Jesus himself said: ‘It is more blessed to give than to receive.’

36 When Paul had finished speaking, he knelt down with all of them and prayed. 37 They all wept as they embraced him and kissed him. 38 What grieved them most was his statement that they would never see his face again. Then they accompanied him to the ship.

The lessons I draw from this text are three: Paul was not interested in accumulating wealth. He made tents to meet his needs, and the needs of his companions. After he had made enough tents to meet immediate needs, he went on making more tents for the purpose of generating a surplus so he could help others. Following Paul’s example, the generic principle of creating a surplus for the purpose of sharing it, can be articulated as: make more tents.

3 - The Road from Here to There

The problems of drug addiction, gangs, crime, ethnic nationalism, racism, sexism, chronic depression, immigration issues, poverty in old age, mental illness, war, inner city schools, taking necessary measures to save the biosphere that cost jobs, and many others will not be reduced to manageable proportions, much less solved, until human life is reorganized so that most people who need decent employment are able to find it. This bottleneck problem is going to be solved at all, it will be solved by transferring resources from somewhere. It cannot be solved just by paying people the market value of their labour, out of funds generated by the sale of the products they contribute to making.

Many will fear –indeed for many it is an automatic kneejerk reaction to fear-- that the road from here to there will be closed because the one percent will close it. People whose labour-power still does have a high market value might successfully resist any effort to persuade or compel them to make more tents and hand over the proceeds from selling the tents to people who sing and dance and put on free shows for schoolchildren for a living. The same might be true in spades for rentiers. Indeed, as a matter of history high income people have tended to back free market ideologies that oppose government intervention to transfer wealth from where it is not needed to where it is needed.
According to such ideologies, everything would be peachy keen in a pure free market world: price signals alone will determine who gets what; competition will move prices and therefore demand and supply to equilibrium; everything demanded will be supplied and everything supplied will be demanded; everyone who wants to work will find work; prices (including wages, the price of labour) will be exactly what they should be -- where what they should be is determined by relative scarcities interacting with the free choices of individuals to buy what they want and not buy what they do not want. In technical jargon: the first theorem of welfare economics is that general equilibrium is a Pareto optimum.

History as it has happened has been different. When they are applied, free market policies inspired by orthodox-but-false theories invariably fail to prevent or contribute to creating the growth of a class of have-nots prone to crime, prone to substance abuse, prone to organizing and expanding demi-mondes ruled by violence and by big dirty money, prone to extremism, to terrorism, and to rebellion. The same people who make the free choices of buyers and sellers the ethical foundation of their economic theories, when compelled to cope in practice with the demons that applying their theories generates, invariably call for more power for the police and the military, tougher judges, and more awful punishments. [22]

History suggests that my proposal to follow the example of Paul of Tarsus may not appeal to prosperous conservatives. They may think creating more surplus and using it wisely support dignity for the humiliated (and therefore dangerous) classes is too high a price to pay for social peace. Or too unrealistic to work. Historically, they have usually preferred crackdowns. In today's circumstances, the crackdowns would have to become progressively more severe as structural unemployment becomes progressively more severe. They would fit the pattern of reliance on force to keep power that Arnold Toynbee in his study of history identified with the terminal illnesses of civilizations.

The voice of reason whispers that history is likely to repeat itself. Nevertheless, all things considered, I do not believe that this time around there is no escape from the conclusion that what has usually happened in the past will happen again. Straws in the wind [23] tell me that today's rich and powerful (like certain minorities among yesterday's) realize that they could be more safe in a world where they were less privileged. They see that the ship is sinking, that keeping the poor down by force cannot prevent it from sinking, and that when it goes down the first-class passengers will end up with everybody else at the bottom of the ocean.

I believe the main obstacles to change today are to be found elsewhere. Let me close this paper with a three-item list of what I do think are two of the main obstacles to redistributing the surplus of the haves to create dignity for the have-nots, and one item I do think can be one of the main catalysts for change, namely: (A) the imperative to maximize the accumulation of profit,(B) the fiscal crisis of the state, and (C) unbounded organization (UO).

4 - The Imperative to Maximize the Accumulation of Profit.

It is a main obstacle to change that the system has powerful structural tendencies to reward the accumulation of surplus and to punish the sharing of surplus. When I make this first point I assume as part of its background an important point made by Jürgen Habermas in *The Legitimation Crisis.* [24] In our times, markets are the primary social reality. Governments are a secondary social reality. Governments operate within markets. Governments must adjust to market forces they do not control. When I write of structural tendencies to reward accumulation and punish sharing, I am not yet asking to what extent governments (the secondary reality) can compel people to share surplus they do not need. I am still at level one. I am talking about the primary social reality.
Surplus can and does exist. Some firms stay in business for a long time paying their own staffs and stakeholders enough to sustain the motivation of everybody who has to be motivated to keep the business going, while not maximizing a war chest to fight competitors, but instead choosing to use the revenues that remain after all costs of production are paid in other ways. Firms can escape the rigors of competition by forming cartels where it is legal, by differentiating their products, through tacit understandings not to spoil the market for all players in the industry by aggressive price-cutting, by controlling a scarce resource nobody else has, and in other ways.

In Marx’s terms, every capitalist is the enemy of every other capitalist. Father Time has decreed that as time goes on the bulk of production will be carried out by firms that are fewer and larger, as the losers drop out of the race and the winners expand. [29]

There are many reasons for not seeing as always and necessarily entirely true the Marx/Friedman thesis that individual ethical convictions do nothing to free people in business from bondage to social structures (social structures are “relations” in Marx’s terminology, and also in the terminology of Pope John Paul II cited above.) Some reframe the social structures from which the ineffective- ness of personal good will is deduced. [30] Many empirical studies and many theoretical perspectives show that people in business do have options. Surplus can and does exist. Some firms stay in business for a long time paying their own staffs and stakeholders enough to sustain the motivation of everybody who has to be motivated to keep the business going, while not maximizing a war chest to fight competitors, but instead choosing to use the revenues that remain after all costs of production are paid in other ways. Firms can escape the rigors of competition by forming cartels where it is legal, by differentiating their products, through tacit understandings not to spoil the market for all players in the industry by aggressive price-cutting, by controlling a scarce resource nobody else has, and in other ways. [31]
A second structural obstacle to change is the fiscal crisis of the state. Now I move on to the second level, asking whether public employment, or civil society initiatives subsidized by public funds, can pick up the slack when the private sector — whatever its good intentions may or may not be — rejects millions of people who need to get a good job to make a living and support a family. My first chief overall point here is that the main problem is not greed. If it were greed the psychology of moral development could teach us how to solve it. The second chief overall point here is that it is not dishonest politicians either. It is not that, as a popular saying in contemporary Africa has it, “the government is like a violin: you pick it up with your left hand, and you play it with your right hand.”

Firms can escape the rigors of competition by forming cartels where it is legal, by differentiating their products, through tacit understandings not to spoil the market for all players in the industry by aggressive price-cutting, by controlling a scarce resource nobody else has, and in other ways. [32] Contributions to the common good often increase — not decrease — the prospects for long run survival of a business. [33] But this is not the place to review those studies.

Here I just want to make two points: (A) Economies are open systems. In open systems there are no strict causal laws. There are only tendencies. The tendencies manifest causal powers that are at work in historical contexts where other causal powers are also at work. [34] (B) When all is said and done, Marx and Friedman and those who agree with them make an important point. The basic structure of the system does tend to punish sharing and to reward accumulation. We need to know this in order to be effective in supporting other causal powers that tend to augment the flow of resources from where they are not needed to where they are needed. (In the past it has been the case that the accumulation of capital was itself among society’s needs, because without more accumulation necessary large investments could not be made. Still today this is part of official economics, and part of specious rationales for no end of bogus public policies favouring the financial services industries and the 1%. My view is that today there is much more capital already accumulated than can profitably be invested in the real economy. A sea-change in thinking is needed to catch up with a sea-change in reality. [35])

5 - The Fiscal Crisis of the State

A second structural obstacle to change is the fiscal crisis of the state. Now I move on to the second level, asking whether public employment, or civil society initiatives subsidized by public funds, can pick up the slack when the private sector — whatever its good intentions may or may not be — rejects millions of people who need to get a good job to make a living and support a family. My first chief overall point here is that the main problem is not greed. If it were greed the psychology of moral development could teach us how to solve it. [36] The second chief overall point here is that it is not dishonest politicians either. It is not that, as a popular saying in contemporary Africa has it, “the government is like a violin: you pick it up with your left hand, and you play it with your right hand.” The main problems are the basic structure of the market (the Tauschprinzip) [37] and the basic structure of the modern nation-state (its fundamental legal norms).

The modern nation-state was born crippled. The first one, Holland, whose year of birth is reckoned as 1648, was from its beginnings a subordinate part of an international trading system whose rules it did not make and could not alter. Further, the point and purpose of being a Republic, and not a Monarchy, was first and foremost to set in stone what the government could not do. Forty some years later, when William and Mary ascended to the throne of England, at the invitation of Parliament, on terms dictated by Parliament, the first of the terms was that their government would depend for its funding on taxes voted by Parliament. It was to be what Joseph Schumpeter would later call a Steuerstaat, a tax-state. [38] A milestone in the centuries long social construction of modernity (what Karl Polanyi called the transformation to a market economy [39]) was the formation of the Bank of England in June of 1694. [40] It was a private bank with a royal charter entitling it to issue legal tender. It was to extend credit to finance war with Louis XIV of France, and also to consolidate the government’s previously existing debt. It all became one big loan to the King from the Bank, at the high rate of interest of 8%. Long gone were the days when the monarch could summon his nobles to do their feudal duty by following him into battle, and to bring with them their knights on horseback and their vassals on foot.

From the first, in modern nation-states the power to create money has mainly been taken over by private banks. [41] Private banks create money by extending credit and by discounting notes. As late as the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth, control of money was an integral part of the trade, plunder, and piracy from which the monarchs of England siphoned off money to finance their wars and their governments. They sent the foreign gold and silver they amassed to the Royal Mint to be coined and then kept it for themselves. Not infrequently they raised additional major sums by compelling their subjects to accept legal tender at a face value greater than the market value of the precious metal it was made of. [42] The rising commercial classes of early modernity were determined to put an end to all of that. They wanted the government on a short leash. They got what they wanted. They bequeathed it to us. The process of subordinating European governments to the economy and its owners began several hundred years before the beginnings of democracy epitomized by the French Revolution of 1789. Much earlier the monarchs dubbed “enlightened” collaborated with the bourgeoisie (literally “the city dwellers”) in curbing the abuses of the nobility and in promoting commerce. In principle and in fact the enlightened monarchs owed their legitimacy to honouring the civil law, adapted mainly from Roman Law. [43]
The civil law (also known as private law) separated the wealth of the country from the government of the country. Law filled in the content of the social contract. [44] Basic jurisprudence, with or without a myth attributing the founding of society to a contract, provided that the ruler, to be a legitimate ruler, must respect the rights of the ruled—certainly a good idea in general, but when you get into the specifics of what it means in practice, it means specifically that wealth is protected by principles the nation-state cannot change and must obey. One of the enlightened monarchs, Catherine the Great, Empress of Russia, remarked that there were two sets of laws in her Empire. There were her decrees, implemented by her ministers, and there were the civil laws of commerce interpreted and enforced by judges. The latter were eternal and universal. Fast-forwarding to the 21st century, Thomas Piketty recently found that in the countries he studied private accumulated wealth summed to around six times a country’s GNP, while net public wealth was approximately zero because the total of public assets roughly equalled the total of public debts. There is not much governments can do about it. The fundamental legal norms of modernity give the owners of private accumulated wealth an easy out when they do not like a government. They move.

In today’s world built on 17th and 18th century European foundations, the key measure of the success or failure of a government is the rate of economic growth; it is whether GNP is growing rapidly or slowly or (this is failure) declining. To succeed, governments devote themselves to wooing investors. Wooing investors is not an easy game to win. There are 195 other governments playing it too. It means keeping taxes low but at the same time providing high quality infrastructure and security; it means offering a skilled work force that does not demand high wages; it means making it easy to take profits out of the country, tax exemptions, and often subsidies. [45] Although a consequence of the fiscal crisis of the state is that most governments—and today increasingly all governments—fall short of complying with human rights to health care, pensions, housing and employment, the cause of the fiscal crisis of the state is chiefly the expense and the income forgone to attract investment and—on the flip side of the same coin—prevent disinvestment and capital flight. [46] The answer to the question whether the public purse of a modern nation-state can provide enough money to fund dignity for the millions rejected by the labour market is: not bloody likely!

Nobody has summed up today’s limits on national sovereignty better than Tshepiso Moahloli. She was a student this year in a course Gavin Andersson and I co-teach in the Executive MBA programme at the University of Cape Town. After earning a degree in economics and mathematics, she had a career as a manager in the private sector before starting her present job as a manager in the public sector. In a paper for our course she asserted that the “…system is entrenched and even threatens the sovereignty of countries. I work for the government and there is no single day one does not hear warning bells of driving away investment when looking out for the 99%. Workers are paid low wages, and in some cases paid with alcohol (dop system). Any legislation to raise the wages of workers (minimum wages) or improvement of labour laws will drive away investment. This is on the back of shareholders and executives earning supernormal profits. Any transformative efforts to get shared ownership of the land (mining industry, land appropriation) will drive away investment. Taxation of large corporates will drive away investment, so individuals must be taxed instead. Something is clearly amiss with the economic system. What is next? The principles of Roman Law make it impossible for democracies to compel the 1% who own most of the wealth to share it. These principles are so entrenched that any threat to them raises eyebrows.”

In sum, the power is in the structures. Although greed and corruption exist, neither of them is the main reason why there is money to pay astronomical salaries to bankers, but no money to pay the unemployed to reforest denuded hills. The main reason is that the system works that way. Historically, it evolved to work that way.
In contrast, Alcoholics Anonymous improves the lives of drinkers at a cost that approaches zero, although it never arrives at zero. In AA a little money goes a long way. Somewhat similarly, when a man (or a woman) "gets religion" there is an inexpensive rise in the standard of living of the person and the family because the saved soul stops spending money on liquor, drugs and chasing women (or men). Evangelical churches frequently have unpaid or barely paid preachers, and it is common everywhere for religions to inspire voluntary participation in choirs, cooking for church dinners, teaching Sunday School or its equivalent in other denominations, and other work that would have to be paid for if they were market-based institutions; and often also to pay Zakat or in other religions other donations to improve the lives of needy people outside the church or mosque or synagogue or whatever.

First, although no quantitative projections or studies, have yet been done, an unbounded approach should deliver dignity at a money cost much lower than straight government grants or straight government employment. Simply spending government money to give everyone an income would be very expensive. For example, if there are 12 million jobless people in South Africa, and it costs USD 15,000 to raise just one of their lives to a level one could call decent and dignified, the cost for all of them would be USD 180,000,000,000 per annum.

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My general thesis here, which could be supported by many more details, is that if we take a UO approach, starting from the bottom, by the time we get to the top, i.e. by the time we get to the national government, there are comparatively few problems left for the national government to solve. On a UO philosophy everybody, not just the government, is working on dignifying the humiliated. Everybody’s body’s resources, not just the government’s, are being mobilized to that end. From the government’s point of view, there should be more benefit at less cost.

A corollary of this thesis is that government money is often –not always– better spent on discreetly supporting a local community development than on making direct grants to the needy. Indeed, if the objective is dignity, the direct grant of a cash subsidy to the indigent might sometimes be counterproductive.

A grant just for being, not for doing, might be interpreted as a booby prize for losers, and spent on drowning shame in alcohol. It might be far better for a person rejected by the labour market to enrol in an urban agriculture programme discreetly supported by the whole community in ways that help thousands of people to become successfully self-employed. It might be far better to win in competitive auditions to be paid to dance the salsa or the tango; first winning in the auditions with an unerring sense of rhythm and an inimitable style, and then winning again by being half of the winning couple taking first place, or second place or third place or even honourable mention in a regional dance jamboree.

My second point about UO is that it makes the nation-state, and with it human rights, come out winning on both ends. It gives the state both less to do and more means to do it with. Bottom line: it gets done. On one end human rights win because honouring them is everybody’s business. At the other end, they win because the fiscal crisis of the state is swept into the dustbin of history. While cutting government down to size was the primary objective of the winners of the Glorious Revolution of 1688, it is not the primary objective of any sane person in our age of exponentially accelerating obsolescence of the human being as a factor of production. Today the government has the responsibility of assuring that somebody is meeting people’s needs for employment, health care, education, housing, pensions and other human rights established in international and national treaties, constitutions and laws. And the duty to do the job itself if nobody else is doing it.

UO comes to the rescue. Like its twin, solidarity economics, UO makes an epistemological break that lets us think outside the entrenched categories of the European Enlightenment that still rule most of our minds most of the time. And that allows our minds to venture outside the Steuerstaat, back to the years before 1688 (in the case of the UK) when kings and queens and empresses often financed themselves by owning land, by issuing money, by monopolizing some easy businesses that can be lucrative (like selling salt), by owning mines and plantations, and in many other ways now forbidden and forgotten. And UO allows our minds to venture forward to a future where there is some kind (or kinds) of social ownership and / or supervised trusteeship of the marvellous new technologies coming on line that will make it possible to do more with less, creating the technical potential to make all of our lives easier and greener. UO is a name for the good will and the mental flexibility we will need to realize the upside potential of new technologies.

Mother Teresa often said that what people want most is somebody to pay loving attention to them, and that is something money cannot buy. But she was not quite right. Perhaps true love cannot be bought, but it is possible to pay skilled community organizers, preachers, group therapists, service club executives, union organizers, political activists and others who can do a great deal to bring people out of isolation and anomie, and into the many benefits of bonding and bridging. Small amounts of money, and large amounts of volunteer time and other resources, wisely used, can make a big difference in quality of life.

In community development, family, church, school, local government and the somewhat amorphous residual category called civil society organizations blend seamlessly into economics. It is worth noting in this connection, especially since I have stressed that markets cannot be the whole answer and that the sharing of surplus is indispensable, that markets are also indispensable. Specifically, it should be noted than Jean-Baptiste Say while he was not entirely right was also not entirely wrong. It is really true, as Say wrote in 1803, that if, in a given economically undeveloped locality, formerly unproductive people acquire skills and tools and produce useful products, they can raise each other’s standards of living by providing markets for each other. This is especially true (fast-forwarding to now) if public policy boosts local economic development by helping small local producers defend themselves against the economic firepower of high-capital high-tech products brought in from outside. A good example is (or was in 1978) the Farmers Market in Syracuse, New York. People in many other places have also heard E.F. Schumacher’s message that the small can be beautiful –and small can provide more jobs for more people.

My general thesis here, which could be supported by many more details, is that if we take a UO approach, starting from the bottom, by the time we get to the top, i.e. by the time we get to the national government, there are comparatively few problems left for the national government to solve. On a UO philosophy everybody, not just the government, is working on dignifying the humiliated. Everybody’s resources, not just the government’s, are being mobilized to that end. From the government’s point of view, there should be more benefit at less cost.

A corollary of this thesis is that government money is often –not always– better spent on discreetly catalysing community development than on making direct grants to the needy. Indeed, if the objective is dignity, the direct grant of a cash subsidy to the indigent might sometimes be counterproductive.
SOLIDARITY FOR FULL EMPLOYMENT

H. Richards

Remember Tshepiso’s point that she as a government official is hamstrung when she tries to serve the interests of the 99% because almost anything she tries to do sounds an alarm bell warning that it will frighten away investors. There is a bottleneck in the bottleneck. How to achieve full employment is a bottleneck problem that must be solved before many other problems can be solved. The bottleneck in the bottleneck is whether there will be full employment depends on investor confidence. (That is to say, on their confidence that investing will multiply their money, turning it into more money.) UO comes to the rescue again. What I just wrote is only part of the picture. There are also many other ways to create employment. There are co-operatives, worker owned enterprises where labour employs capi

My third and last point about UO is that the possible steps we take today, working around the system, doing what we can within the constraints the system imposes on us, can transform the system. What does it mean to “transform” the system? How would we know when, at last, the system was “transformed?” Remember Tshepiso’s point that she as a government official is hamstrung when she tries to serve the interests of the 99% because almost anything she tries to do sounds an alarm bell warning that it will frighten away investors. There is a bottleneck in the bottleneck. How to achieve full employment is a bottleneck problem that must be solved before many other problems can be solved. The bottleneck in the bottleneck is whether there will be full employment depends on investor confidence. (That is to say, on their confidence that investing will multiply their money, turning it into more money.) UO comes to the rescue again. What I just wrote is only part of the picture. There are also many other ways to create employment. There are co-operatives, worker owned enterprises where labour employs capital instead of capital employing labour, small businesses that support a family but do not accumulate, self-employment, public sectors at every level of government, non-profits, social entrepreneurs who are mission-driven and not profit-driven, indigenous knowledge systems and material practices that cannot be accurately described in modern European languages, monasteries, mutual insurance companies owned by their customers, families that run motels together, churches that run farms, universities with endowments, subsistence farming supplemented by seasonal labour elsewhere and by government subsidies, there are all of the ways we have talking about channel surplus to pay people to do things that have human value even when they cannot be sold for a profit, and so on and on. The list is in principle infinite. There is no limit to the cultural creativity of Homo sapiens when it comes to inventing material practices to meet human needs in harmony with nature. UO and solidarity economics are about strengthening the innumerable alternatives to capital accumulation. [60] They are about working together and sharing resources to liberate humanity from what the Grenoble school of economics calls “regimes of accumulation.” A regime of accumulation is a way of life where everything we do, and even the unconscious mind, is shaped by the overriding necessity of attracting investors and not frightening them away.

We will know that transformation has happened when Tshepiso comes to her office one morning and finds that nobody worries anymore about frightening away investors. Leaders have become servants. [61] The economy is resilient and plural. Surplus is shared. Capital is in the loving hands of a variety of ethical and democratic institutions, all of which are mission-driven. [62]

Foot Notes


4. Keynes, Book III.

5. Over the years liberals and neoliberal have had made specious replies to all of these points, to which their critics have in turn replied back. For a more complete version of my own case against orthodox liberal economics and in favour of heterodoxy see Howard Richards (2018) Economic Theory and Community Development. Lake Oswego OR: World Dignity University Press. (hereafter referred to as ETCD footnote 4) Paul Krugman (2009) argues that the crisis of 2008 and a series of crises preceding it prove conclusively at a theoretical level that the neoliberalists (and all those Joseph Schumpeter (1954) in his History of Economic Analysis New York, Oxford University Press, calls “hitchless” economists) have definitely lost the argument (and “hitch” economists like Keynes have won). There really is a chronic, persistent and structural insufficiency of effective demand. Krugman, The Return of Depression Economics. New York, Norton.


7. See Porpora footnote 3.


11. Search Google for DISCURSO DEL SANTO PADRE JUAN PABLO II A LOS DELEGADOS DE LA COMISIÓN ECONÓMICA PARA AMÉRICA LATINA Y EL CARIBE (CEPALC), The translation above is mine.

12. The non-market employment at Alex is part of South Africa’s Community Work Programme. It and also public employment programmes in India and in Sweden are examined in ETCD footnote 4.

Foot Notes

14. See ETCD footnote 4, chapter 3.
16. A similar idea has recently been made famous in business circles by Harvard professor Michael Porter. He and a growing number of others promote the idea that the purpose of business is not profit per se, much less the accumulation for the sake of accumulation; it is creating value in order to share value. Michael Porter and Mark Kramer (2011) Creating Shared Value. Harvard Business Review. February 2011, pp. 62-77.
18. Bronislaw Malinowski [1944] argued that whatever else the norms of a culture do, if the culture is to exist at all, its norms must function to meet basic human needs. A Scientific Theory of Culture and Other Essays. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press. Marx and Engels (1845-46) made a similar point in The German Ideology. The first fact of the social sciences is that human beings exist, and for them to exist the physical organization of the means that make their existence possible must exist too.
23. One such straw in the wind is the typical agenda of a World Economic Forum meeting at Davos. Extreme inequality and poverty are regarded as problems to be solved.
25. Translated by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling.
27. Somewhat mistakenly. Piketty finds that the bulk of the world’s wealth is not owned by people actively engaged in running businesses, but by people who have inherited fortune.
29. More recent Marxists have analysed how the scenario Marx envisioned has played out, e.g. Paul Baran and Paul Sweezy (1966), Monopoly Capital. New York, Monthly Review Press.
30. A more detailed and historical, and less schematic, view of the social structures of the modern world emerges from the Annales historians and the series of books on the formation of the European World System and its expansion to form the Modern World-System by Immanuel Wallerstein. Also, sociological and anthropological studies of the evolution of modernity out of earlier basic cultures are being developed at the University of Missouri at Kansas City and the Levy Institute at Bard College.
32. The evolutionary biologist D.S. Wilson (2002), studying a random sample of 25 religions, makes a systematic case showing that religions provide material benefits for their members, deploying numerous and varied means for doing so. Darwin’s Cathedral, Chicago, University of Chicago Press
33. For example, Rotary International.
34. I discuss this at greater length in ETCD footnote 4. Chapter 8.
36. See any issue of Resurgence and Ecologist magazine edited at Rocksea Farmhouse, Cornwall, UK
41. In the UK today, 97% of circulating money is bank-created, and only 3% government created. The Bank of England was nationalized in 1946, and then in 1997 -like many other central banks- given an autonomous status independent of the elected government. To learn more about all of this, just ask Google.
42. Glyn Davies, op. cit. 210, 240-41 and passim.
45. Most items on this list figure in One Economics, Many Recipes (2006) Princeton, Princeton University Press, where Dani Rodrik and his co-authors give advice to governments on how to “get investors excited” about investing in their countries.
48. I make a case that solidarity economics, born in Latin America, and UO, born in Africa, translated to Spanish as organizacion ilimitada, are equivalent in the chapter I contributed to Raúl González (2018) footnote 10.
51. That orthodox economics remains orthodox not because of any scientific merit but because of the social and economic power of its backers is persuasively argued in Frederic Lee (2009), A History of Heterodox Economics: Challenging the Mainstream in the Twentieth Century. London, Routledge.
52. The evolutionary biologist D.S. Wilson (2002), studying a random sample of 25 religions, makes a systematic case showing that religions provide material benefits for their members, deploying numerous and varied means for doing so. Darwin’s Cathedral, Chicago, University of Chicago Press
53. For example, Rotary International.
54. I discuss this at greater length in ETCD footnote 4. Chapter 8.
56. See any issue of Resurgence and Ecologist magazine edited at Rocksea Farmhouse, Cornwall, UK
57. For example, check out agriculture urbana in Rosario, Argentina on the Internet.
59. Adam Smith in Book Five Chapter Two of The Wealth of Nations (1776) reviews the ways in which governments historically financed themselves prior to this time. He finds that the most common way was by ownership of land. Leon Walras believed that the government should own all the land and natural resources, and that its income from rents would be so high that it would not need to impose any taxes. Renato Cirillo (1980). The “Socialism” of Leon Walras and his Economic Thinking. The American Journal of Economics and Sociology, Volume 39, pp. 295-303.
60. On regimes of accumulation see David Harvey (1989), Tauschprinzip.
DUAL CITIZENSHIP

Terry McDonagh taught creative writing at Hamburg University. Was Drama Director at International School Hamburg. Published ten poetry collections, letters, drama, prose and poetry for young people. Translations into Indonesian and German. 2016 poetry collection, ‘Lady Cassie Peregrina’ – Arlen House; 2017, included in Fire and Ice 2 Gill Education; 2017, ‘UCG by Degrees’ included in Galway Poetry Trail; 2017, Director of WestWords, Germany’s first Irish lit. festival in Hamburg.

Terry McDonagh

BLOSSOM WHERE YOU ARE PLANTED – IF POSSIBLE

I grew up in the west of Ireland and have spent more than thirty years living in Germany. It’s been an interesting journey and I’m happy it’s turned out well for me. I’m an EU citizen, speak a second language and feel at home in the country of my birth as well as in my adopted home. I do not possess dual citizenship. Thankfully it is not an issue for me – I know where I belong. I can vote in general elections in Ireland and in local elections in Hamburg. I feel completely at ease with the situation. I have no desire to be a dual citizen with a vote in two countries. I walk the streets of Hamburg, happily, but my home of the heart will always be the west of Ireland. There is no contradiction.

For some people it is not so simple. As Irish people we know about emigration – we have it in our bones. It’s in the songs we sing and the stories we tell. I grew up knowing that the only way ‘out’ for most was emigration. The majority of my primary school class emigrated to Britain, Australia or the USA. Many became citizens of those countries. Some succeeded, grew wealthy, famous or both and were talked about – others were forgotten and became sad, discarded, unspoken chapters of history. Living with the knowledge of having to ‘go’ make the process of growing up straightforward, tragic and sad. Dual citizenship was never discussed but work was and money was.

I think it’s true to say that the world we live in is no longer straightforward and uncomplicated – that is if it ever was. The tragedy of the war in Syria has created vast movements of refugees seeking a home and place of refuge and survival. Voting and dual citizenship is far from their minds – it’s about survival. Europe is shutting down its borders. There was a brave, generous and genuine beginning by Angela Merkel but politics is shifting to the right. Borders are, again, becoming topics of heated conversation and the pro and contra Brexit discourse is on every European lip. My wife is English and thinks about the future – about European citizenship – about free movement.

Just recently the German international footballer, Mesut Özil, retired from the German football team citing his Turkish background and lack of acceptance in Germany as reason for his departure. He would say he was German when they won and a foreigner when they lost. He is German. His grandparents came to Germany as ‘guest’ workers but he’s still got two hearts beating in his breast – and why shouldn’t he? It is complex. Blossom where you are planted. Most of the French team are ‘foreigners’ but they are French. We are all what we are and other. I think it is sad when we have to ‘gang up’ on one side or another. A passport is simply identity...why should we need two?

To live with duality can be exciting and risky. Some are born into it. It can open up avenues of the mind; expose us to new ways of thinking but, for certain individuals, there is the fear that we could lose ourselves and our ‘culture’ if we allow too many outside influences to infiltrate our tried and tested ways. Culture is, and always has been, flexible, pliable and evolving – it means living with change and contradiction. Dual citizenship, in itself, is a meaningless concept – a form of ownership – a foot in two places. To have a say in one country is a privilege not to be taken lightly.

A healthy child must explore its environment in order to grow. It is our duty as adults to continue to explore and grow in a space that will allow that growth to flourish. We are, after all, but one exclamation mark in an epoch. Let’s not introduce full stops.
Dual Citizenship

Poet, writer and artist Greta Sykes has published her work in many anthologies. She is a member of London Voices Poetry Group and also produces art work for them. Her new volume of poetry called ‘The Shipping News and Other Poems’ came out in August 2016. The German translation of her book ‘Under charred skies’ has now been published in Germany under the title ‘Unter verbranntem Himmel’ by Eulenspiegel Verlag. She is the chair of the Socialist History Society and has organised joint poetry events for them at the Poetry Café. She is a trained child psychologist and has taught at the Institute of Education, London University, where she is now an associate researcher. Her particular focus is now on women’s emancipation and antiquity. Twitter: g4gaia. Facebook.com/greta.sykes. German Wikipedia: Greta Sykes.

Dr Greta Sykes

Some Thoughts about Identity and Citizenship

Identity is fashionable in Metropolitan circles, the more specialised the better. A sense of identity is at the heart of what makes us human, and citizenship denotes our belonging to society. How do both affect us in our daily lives?

In 1980 I was obliged to give up my German citizenship because I had requested ‘Naturalisation’ to become British. I was making sure that I could carry on living in Britain with my two children. Dual citizenship within Europe became legal in 2007. The BREXIT vote was a wakeup call for me, as it was for many other people. So a year ago I started the process of regaining my German citizenship. I thought this might be a speedy process. I have no family from another nation or culture. Mother, father and grandparents on all sides were German. I went to school and university in Germany and lived there until I moved to London in the 70s.

It is now a year later. I have had no communications from the embassy apart from telling me that the process takes a long time, perhaps two years. The documentation required was extensive. It included writing a CV in German, declaring that I am fluent in German, that I have German family who is still alive and that I should be of cultural interest to Germany. I had to send copies of school examinations and details of my studies.

The story of a colleague of mine is different. She also applied for German citizenship at about the same time as I did. Her Jewish father lived and died in Germany. She never lived in Germany, does not speak German and has no intention to live in Germany. She received her citizenship papers within three months and is now the owner of a German passport. Neither of us were alive when the Nazis governed Germany. When I raised this matter with the embassy they declared that it was part of the German legal system that Jewish people will be treated differently. There are two aspects to this. Firstly, the requirements in her case are substantially reduced. Secondly, her process is dramatically speeded up. Common sense would suggest that someone who was brought up and educated in Germany would result in a speedy process. Both cases indicate that politics and a certain lack of transparency are part and parcel of such applications.

Few people would dispute that a passport is possibly the most important document a person owns. Without a passport one is a nonperson who belongs nowhere. No embassy will assist you if you are in danger. No hotel will offer you a room, unless you have money. You are stranded. There exists no international passport for anyone. You are always the citizen of a nation or two, sometimes more. The nation state as such is a person’s home in the wider sense, after their family. Globalisation exerts enormous pressure on the nation state to relinquish its power over citizenship as it requires the free movement of people to achieve cheap labour markets wherever they want them. The migration of citizens from the Middle East due to wars is a case in point. Angela Merkel herself stated that Germany needs workers and the welcome culture was created in 2015. The BAMF, federal office for migration and refugees, was completely overwhelmed by the task with members of staff badly trained to cope with the demands.

In May this year it was found that the irregularities of names and details of individuals were in the thousands. The number of migrants receiving German passports or other legal documents pertaining to their ability to remain legally in the country is not counted but alluded to in newspaper reports. It has been reported that people willingly destroy their identification papers in order to receive new legal documents and at times have several different personas. This was the case with the terrorist who drove a lorry into a Berlin Christmas market at the end of 2016. In government documents it is stated that a person can receive the German passport after living continuously in the country for six, seven or eight years, suggesting the rules are flexible and can be used according to circumstance.
The examples illustrate that politics are deeply entwined with the law. An interpretation of history and global political influences affect how politicians change, adapt and use the law as they see fit. Turkish citizens achieved the right to dual citizenship in 2014 in spite of not being part of Europe. Dual citizenship may mean dual allegiance. German Turkish passport holders are allowed to vote in Turkey. This happened recently. It was found that a higher percentage of Turkish people voted for Erdogan in Germany than in Turkey. How do Turkish people in Turkey feel about that, or, for that matter, Germans in Germany? It appears that the freedom, liberalism and relaxedness of the German society is enjoyed while at the same time declaring allegiance to Erdogan’s restrictions of human rights. Not surprisingly, it led to misgivings.

Cultural identity is recognised as a vibrant force in society. While the diversity of cultures can enrich a society as long as the willingness to assimilate is given, it can become overpowering to the national culture and can then be perceived as a threat and a danger to the survival of national traditions which form the bedrock of a sense of belonging for many, in particular those who have never moved abroad. The jetsetters may not feel affected by such change.

In the UK we have long witnessed the disappearance of Christmas with all its special features of angels, cribs, Christmas plays and songs for the sake of some general, bland, anti-cultural revelling mainly involving shopping. It is deeply human to feel a sense of belonging, trust and closeness with the culture of one’s childhood, yet the commercial and political toying with cultural diversities – aimed at selling us globalisation and the domination of global capital – is pushed into people’s lives leading to a sense of alienation.

Similarly, religious groups vie to influence people’s behaviour and culture, women being the classical target and the burka and veiling a prominent aspect of it. Under the guise of cultural diversity ancient customs of ownership of women by men is making its comeback together with Sharia law and polygamy. The acceptance of such discrimination by the media and politicians indicates whose side they are on: The hegemonic drive for globalisation by big business is supported by them. The derisive comments from Boris Johnson about the burka have to be seen in the context of his aim to become PM at all costs.

Once it is recognised that the law as it stands is an instrument which can be bent and twisted according to political whims and power games, it becomes apparent that dual citizenship is a small part of a larger complex. As David E. Morgan mentioned in his article on dual nationality dual citizenship can offer advantages. One can request the help of the one or the other nation in cases of danger. One can use one passport or another one for ease of travelling. If military service is an aspect of one country – as it was for Turkish citizens – once they have the dual citizenship they can avoid it. It can allow citizens to have access to health care and may include being able to influence elections in two countries. Disadvantages may involve feeling little allegiance to one or the other nation with possible negative effects.

A 2007 academic study found that dual citizenship had a negative effect on assimilation and political connectedness of first generation Latino immigrants in the US. Being able to vote in two countries could be termed an injustice and not fit for democracy.

But deeper issues are also at stake for the person who has dual citizenship. They may suffer from identity confusion over which national culture they should feel allied to. They may spend years dithering between the one and the other which could lead to depression and isolation. I have my own experience in this area and can report that at times I felt bereft of both my childhood culture while not feeling at home in my adopted culture. Last not least there are language issues which can be painful, if a loss of one’s own language is experienced. Similar to many other poets who are ‘bi-cultural’ I have used my ‘permanent stranger’ status to write poetry and study the world from an outsider perspective.

© Greta Sykes
In Australia dual citizenship has played havoc with politicians’ lives over the last year or so. Many had to resign or were forced to because they were dual citizens by inheritance and did not know it or happened to be born a week before legislation would have changed the outcome. Greens Senator, Larissa Waters was born in Canada, but travelled to Australia as a baby and was not aware that she held dual citizenship. Likewise Greens Senator Scott Ludlam was also a dual citizen, in this case of New Zealand and had travelled to Australia at the age of three. At least seventeen parliamentarians have been caught in the dual citizenship net in last twelve months, including the former Deputy Prime Minister, Barnaby Joyce. Politicians from across the political spectrum have been affected including Liberal, National, Labor, Greens, One Nation and Centre Alliance (SA-BEST).

What is not being discussed is that while Australia claims to be multicultural, the dual citizen debate potentially affects the representation of multicultural Australia. The first round of dual citizen casualties were mainly of Anglo origin and from Canada, UK and New Zealand. But given the difficulty of getting information out of some governments it is quite likely that dual citizens will find it so hard to get confirmation that they no longer have dual citizen status that they may well decide not to bother standing. There are many gains to be had with a parliament that recognises dual citizens (while insisting they declare any conflict of interest).

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ON DUAL CITIZENSHIP

A parliament in which dual citizens are allowed might be more multilingual and be more engaged with international politics. Dual citizens can declare in which country they will vote and have this noted on their electoral roll. Most of the problems raised can be sorted out administratively, but they take intention on the part of politicians and government institutions.

There are philosophical issues here too. What does it mean to have divided loyalties? Many people live quite adequate lives with loyalties to a number of different political or social groups. I would rather see stricter rules about who can register a company in Australia (which is very lax) than to see people with dual citizenship left out of the political process.

While I take the point that in the event of wars against other nations who have people in parliament, it might cause problems for the parliament. But there would be other ways of dealing with this. It would be reasonable to have all parliamentarians declare their dual citizenship. In the event of a war, say with New Zealand, the dual citizens would have to step back and declare a conflict of interest. But it could also have positive results in cross-border negotiations where one politician understands well the needs of both countries. And on the declaration of conflict of interest, this is already required in relation to commercial conflicts of interest in the Australian parliament. How hard can it be to introduce it in relation to citizenship?

I am reminded of the words of Virginia Woolf who challenged the entire notion of citizenship when she wrote in Three Guineas: 'As a woman I have no country. As a woman I want no country. As a woman, my country is the whole world.'

I have two reactions to this. As a feminist who believes that nation states are simply modern-day patriarchal castles in which the ruling class kings – men, colonisers and the rich – get to make the rules and the wars, I am in total agreement with Woolf and would prefer a world without nation states. I am, however, aware that until we have a major outbreak of peace and an end to capitalism, racism and misogyny, along with patriarchy, it is highly unlikely and would fail if tried.

Patriotism and loyalty are traits demanded by domineering patriarchal leaders. We can see it in the demands of strong men leaders or authoritarian groups such as Daesh or the Klu Klux Klan. What we demand in liberal ‘democracies’ is simply a watered down version of these domineering ideologies.

My second reaction is to say that we do all have nostalgia for homeland. And for peoples who have been dispossessed of land, particularly Indigenous Peoples or those who have been forced from their homeland as refugees, the notion of country is intensely important.

Therefore, it is not sufficient to simply say ’my country is the whole world’ as it smacks of entitlement. Nevertheless, in a world in which war and competition are not the norm, it might be possible. We would need to begin working together, genuinely. Given the likely problems of impending climate change, this philosophical attitude might become necessary for survival.

In an ideal world a negotiation could be made so that traditional owners get to have their relationship with Country recognised, while allowing people to move freely (I do not mean plunder freely). Perhaps a crazy ideal, but one worth considering.

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CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE AND PROTECTION LAWS IN INDIA Published by SAGE Publications

The impact of digital contents on the minds of the children may also need to be assessed to understand how it directly or indirectly aids in child sexual abuse and sexual harassment. Above all, the stakeholders must also be concerned with the rehabilitation of the abused children. The whole process of receiving the report, investigation of the case, getting the information from the victim directly, sending the child for medical test and medical assistance incase he/she has undergone severe physical and emotional trauma, assisting the child in the court, counseling the child and the family of the child etc., must be done following the Therapeutic jurisprudential principles which advocates for use of laws as a “healing mechanism”. The book focuses on this very discussion. The uniqueness of the book lies in the Chapterisation: the book is divided into five parts including the epilogue which contains conclusion. These parts discuss about impact of Child right convention and its protocols on the development of child sexual abuse law and juvenile justice administration laws in India (from the perspective of child sexual abuse, rights of the child victims and juvenile offenders, rehabilitation aspects etc), typology of child sexual offences with special emphasize on judicial interpretation of the existing laws dealing with such types of offences, penology for different kinds of child sexual abuse, procedural practices for reporting, investigation, prosecution and trials and sentencing and rehabilitation with special emphasis on Indian socio-legal understanding about child sexual abuse, sentencing and need for rehabilitation of child victims, especially girls. This book also throws special emphasis on sexual abuse of girls when they are within the marriage institution with the help of the recent Supreme court judgments.

This book focuses on the need for gender neutral laws for preventing and punishing child sexual abuse. Earlier, the regulating laws including the Indian Penal Code emphasized more on the gender of the child victim: female child victims of sexual abuse were the primary concern for the criminal justice machinery. But with the creation of Protection of children from sexual offences Act, 2012, the concept of child victims has been broadened to include children belonging to male, female and the ‘other category’ who may be having gender orientation problems and who may belong to the LGBTQ category.
This book discusses the success of POCSO Act and Juvenile Justice Care and protection Act, 2015 in dealing with such cases. It also throws light on lacunas of these laws including the amended provisions of the Indian Penal Code (Criminal laws amendment Act, 2013) and provides suggestions in this regard. It also discusses about the differentiating points between different legal provisions, sentences that are prescribed by different provisions in table format.

This would help the practitioners and students to understand the legal provisions in a better way. The POCSO Act has categorized child sexual offences in three main categories: sexual assault, sexual harassment and using of children for pornographic purposes. This book further analyses the categorization in the light of penetrative, non penetrative sexual assaults, institutional victimization, sexual harassment and from the perspective of cyber-crimes against children. Because of the existence of the POCSO Act and also the Information technology Act 2000 (amended in 2008), adolescent sexual habits of children are also seen from the perspectives of regulable or offensive sexual activities. This book throws light on this very issue with the help of recent international as well as domestic judicial interpretations and understandings. It also discusses extensively on cyber sexual offences targeting children by adults as well as children. While using children for creation of porn contents has already been recognized as an offense under the Information Technology Act, 2000 (amended in 2008) and also under POCSO Act, several issues are still considered to be in the grey area: these may include sexting, revenge porn by teens and adults and the responsibility of the web platforms. Right to be forgotten again is another issue which needs to be discussed from the perspectives of Child rights. This book covers all these issues.

The procedural part again, needs a thorough discussion. How to deal with a child who may have been victimized by his/her own parent or family member/s? How to rescue the children from institutional victimization if the children are in children’s home? What is the legal procedure for the same? What is the role of Child welfare committee in this regard? How should the Juvenile Justice board deal with the child in conflict with law who may have been involved in sexual abuse of another child? How should Therapeutic jurisprudential principles used by the courts to deal with child sexual abuse cases? This book deals with these issues. Further, POCSO Act does not specifically mention about categorization of bailable or non-bailable offences. This book throws light on this issue. It shows that the punishment for certain offences is restricted to less than three years.

Such cases must be considered as bailable relying on the Part II of the 1st Schedule (classification of offences against other laws) of CrPc One; on the other hand, when the punishment increases from three years to more than three years, such offences must be considered as non-cognizable.

One of the unique issues that this book deals with is unique communication method between the child victim and the parents and the criminal justice machinery including the lawyers, judges and other concerned care givers: the author has researched on the development of dance mudras as specific body language which may be used as communicating mechanism to convey about sexual victimization of the children. This book suggests that such kind of unique communication methods should be researched and used for dealing with cases of child sexual abuses.

The book would be helpful for practitioners, researchers, students and activists who are working to prevent child sexual abuse in any form, penology and Victimology on child rights and the violation of the same and Therapeutic jurisprudence. This book will also necessarily be helpful to understand about cyber sexual offences targeting children, penology and rehabilitation mechanism of the victims as well as the offenders (especially juveniles).
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IMRAN KHAN’S PAKISTAN & PROSPECT OF ‘PEACE’ IN SOUTH ASIA

Abstract

The selective euphoria with the poll results in Pakistan’s National Assembly elections notwithstanding, Imran Khan’s ‘new Pakistan’ suffers from inherent limitations. It may not augur a new or dramatic turnaround in policy towards India and Afghanistan. Unless the military establishment is willing to revisit its position, Pakistan’s policy towards India and Afghanistan, under a new Prime Minister, is unlikely to change. However, if modest goals are set in bilateral relations with India and Afghanistan demonstrating their willingness to give Mr. Khan a chance, his chances of delivering on his promises would be greater.

On 25 July, ahead of voting in Pakistan’s general elections, Army Chief General Qamar Javed Bajwa urged the people to vote to defeat the “inimical forces”[1] working against the country. After the Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf (PTI) emerged as the largest party in the National Assembly with 115 seats in the elections, which is largely believed to have been rigged in favour of the PTI, the army’s spokesperson Major General Asif Ghafoor took to Twitter to underline that the objective has been fulfilled.[2] The PTI will manage to put together a coalition government and its leader Imran Khan would be the country’s prime minister. This would invariably serve the interests of the men in uniform. How should India and Afghanistan reconcile to this reality in Pakistan is the subject of analysis of this article.
**Conciliatory Gestures**

On 28 July, Khan in his press conference after the results were announced attempted to appear conciliatory and statesman like. His speech was devoid of plans for Pakistan's economy which is undergoing one of the worst crises. He neither spoke of land or tax reforms. His plans for peace with India, however, were conciliatory. “I really want to fix our ties... If they take one step towards us, we will take two, but at least (we) need a start.” While he made no reference to Kashmir, he underscored the trade ties with India. “The number one priority of any government should be trade ties with India,” he said.

On 29 July, President of Afghanistan Ashraf Ghani telephoned Khan to congratulate him. Although Khan’s office did not reveal the details of the conversation, Ghani took to Twitter to underline that Khan has to ‘overcome the past’.[3] Ghani tweeted, “I just spoke to @ImranKhanPTI and congratulated him on the victory in parliamentary elections. We both agreed to overcome the past and to lay a new foundation for a prosperous political, social and economic future of both countries #Afghanistan and #Pakistan.”

**Winds of change in South Asia?**

The PTI contested the elections on a platform to bring about change, leveraging on the legacy of corruption of the previous government. Khan promised a new Pakistan that he would transform the country into an Islamic welfare state. Although PTI’s manifesto mentioned ‘strategic discussions with India to curb proliferation of arms and ammunition’, it was largely silent on how Khan would address the distrust that Pakistan generates from its two neighbours. Will Khan’s new Pakistan start its relations with India and Afghanistan afresh or will the military continue to cast its long shadow on his India and Pakistan policy? There is little doubt that Imran Khan is Rawalpindi’s poster boy. Short of a coup, Khan in the Prime Minister’s seat is the best scenario that the military can hope for: The fact that he does not have clear majority also plays into the hands of the military. Khan’s state is somewhat comparable to Aung Saan Suu Kyi of Myanmar, whose victory in the 2015 elections has translated to nothing significant as the military remains firmly in control, vide the country’s 2008 constitution.

Afghanistan is witnessing a surge in violence. The number of civilians killed in Afghanistan reached a record in the first half of 2018. Forty percent of these 1692 fatalities were attributed to the Taliban[4], which is believed to be the recipient of Pakistan military’s generous patronage. Neither has United States President Donald Trump’s moves to pressurize Pakistan by sharply decreasing military assistance demonstrated results, nor has the peace process with the Taliban progressed substantially. Amid such bleak scenario, Imran Khan’s proximity with the military arouses an unrealistic hope in President Ghani.

Majority among the policy experts in New Delhi, however, are of the firm opinion that the Pakistan military would ensure an unchanged India policy. Unverified reports do suggest that the Indian High Commission was in touch with Khan for last few months prior to the elections. However, the reaction of the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) was in sharp contrast to Ghani’s overtures, who went to the extent of inviting Khan to visit Kabul. The MEA, in contrast, expressed hope that the new government of Pakistan will work constructively to “build a safe, stable, secure and developed south Asia free of terror and violence”. There was no formal statement by the MEA. “We welcome that the people of Pakistan have reposed their faith in democracy through general elections”[5], the foreign ministry spokesperson said in response to a journalist’s query on elections in Pakistan. Prime Minister Narendra Modi, who was the recipient of Khan’s predecessor Nawaz Sharif’s gesture of attending his swearing in ceremony in May 2014, made a courtesy telephone call only on 31 July.

**A soft line towards India?**

In the past months, contradictory signals have emerged from Pakistan, with regard to the prospect of peace with India. The military has indicated, in multiple ways, some sort of strategic flexibility that it is not averse to peace with India. In March 2018, the Army chief, General Qamar Javed Bajwa invited the Indian military attaché and his team in Pakistan to the Pakistan Day military parade in Islamabad.[6] This was a historic first. Subsequently, General Bajwa said two weeks later that the Pakistan military wanted peace and dialogue with India.[7] This year the military even invited a team of South Asian journalists including two from India on a conducted tour to Rawalpindi.
Among other examples of Pakistan's assuaging gesture is former Pakistan National Security Advisor General Nasser Janjua's statement in a regional conference on 'Connectivity and Geo-Economics in South Asia' organized by the Pakistan Institute of Peace Studies (PIPS) on 27-28 June 2018. General Janjua noted that 'stability in South Asia is a prerequisite for its connectivity and it is only through connectivity economic growth and stability can be brought about[8].

These ingenuities, however, have come along with almost weekly exchanges of fire along the Line of Control in Kashmir[9]; also, amid media reports that the terrorist infrastructure in Pakistan remains intact and the military is, in fact, firmly behind a project of mainstreaming the terrorists. Recent investigative reports suggest that Jaish-e-Mohammad (JeM), the outfit responsible for countless acts of terror in Jammu & Kashmir—five times the size of its existing headquarters[10].

Khan himself has been a firm critic of former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. He has taunted Sharif over his “friendship” with Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi and accused the two of creating the law and order situation in the country and tension at the border to manipulate the situation in favour of the rival PML-N. Khan himself tweeted once, "Beginning to wonder why whenever Nawaz Sharif is in trouble, there is increasing tension along Pakistan's borders and a rise in terrorist acts? Is it a mere coincidence?" In the same spirit, Khan's supporters, which incidentally include the out-fits like JeM, have raised slogans like "Modi ka jo yaar hai, ghaddar hai ghaddar hai" [11] (whomsoever is Modi's friend is a traitor) in his rallies.

One can argue that to make peace with India, Khan would need to break free of such rhetoric and convince his supporters consisting of, among others, religious fanatics and bandwagon of Islamic orthodoxy, to start admiring policies of the man they viscerally hated, Nawaz Sharif. Khan would probably be risking hold over his political constituency by any such action. But observers of elections in South Asia would concur that speeches in election rallies are rarely factored into the policies of parties elected to power. The strategy to gain votes is clearly distinct from the strategy to run the affairs of a country.

Message from New Delhi

Khan, in his speech on 28July, said that he is willing to take two steps towards peace if New Delhi takes one. The response from New Delhi has been cold, bordering on the negative. Interestingly some analysts have prescribed that India should learn to ignore Pakistan. P Chidambaram, former Home and Finance minister and leader of the Congress Party, however, argued that although Khan could be only posturing on the eve of being sworn in as Prime Minister, but “nothing would be lost if we take Mr. Khan at his word and appeal to him deliver on his words"[12]. President Ghani's gesture indicates his willingness to chart a similar path.

Can the Indian government adopt a similar line? With India going to polls in less than a year, how easy would it be for the ruling Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) to take any step towards friendship, especially amid continuing border firing and infiltration attempts by terrorists? Pakistan does not figure prominently in the imagination of the Indian voters, barring those inhabiting the border states like Punjab and Jammu & Kashmir. However, like Khan, who carries the burden of his past and whose actions are likely to be influenced by his allies, the government in New Delhi too is a prisoner of its proclaimed muscular approach on Pakistan.

Prudency, however, would be to aim for modest gains such as stopping the border shelling, resuming the process of dialogue, nudging Pakistan to prosecute the perpetrators of the Mumbai terror attacks and other confidence building measures. Success in those would form the foundation for future engagements and may be, resolution of intractable issues. The specter of possibilities should drive policies rather than the trap of pessimism.

End Notes overleaf.
End Notes


[2] “The Director General Inter-Services Public Relations (ISPR) tweeted from his verified personal account a Quranic verse, which translates as: “[O Allah,] You exalt whom You please, and abase whom You please”. This was a thinly-veiled reference to the PMLN’s election slogan “vote ko izzat do(uphold the dignity of the vote)”. The DGISPR was effectively taunting Nawaz Sharif and his party that the God has degraded them. See Mohammad Taqi, “Pakistan: An Election Heist and Beyond”, The Wire, 29 July 2018, https://thewire.in/politics/pakistan-elections-imran-khan. Accessed on 30 July 2018.


[9] In December 2017, the Indian government said there was a 230 percent increase in ceasefire violations along the Line of Control (LoC) in 2017 compared to 2016. In 2017, Pakistan violated ceasefire 771 times along the LoC while the figure stood at 228 last year. There were 153 violations in 2014.


The cathedral was built by the French colonial government in 1886, after demolishing the Bao Thien Pagoda, a sacred Buddhist temple that had been built when the city of Hanoi was founded during the Lý Dynasty in the 11th Century.

St. Joseph's was consecrated on Christmas Eve, 1886. The architects who designed the building in neo-Gothic style are said to have added the twin bell towers...imitating those of the Notre-Dame de Paris.

After the Geneva Accord of 1954 was signed much socio-economic change followed in the aftermath of the colonial era. The ensuing bloody war for unification of this great country, which ended in 1970, did not help in bringing about a continuance of Christian worship because of its association with colonialism. The cathedral was shut but reopened on Christmas Eve of 1990.

Today, St. Joseph’s serves as the cathedral of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Hanoi. There are over six million Catholics in the country, today. Vietnam’s vibrant ethos continues to shine despite the hardships faced by its citizens in the past. Peace has come to the land.
Holy relics of Vietnamese Martyr and Saint Andrew Dũng-Lạc (1795-1839) who was executed by beheading in the reign of Emperor Minh Mang.

The Vatican estimates that the number of Vietnamese martyrs are between 130,000 to 300,000. They were tortured and killed in the Dominican and Jesuit missionary era of the 17th Century, and the Christian persecutions of the 19th Century. A representative sample of 117 martyrs were beatified on four separate occasions: by Pope Leo XIII in May, 1900; Pope Pius X on May 20th, 1906 and on May 2nd, 1909 respectively; and by Pope Pius XII on April 29th, 1951.

Andrew Phu Yen (1624 – 26 July 1644), Protomartyr of Vietnam, was beatified in March 2000 by Pope John Paul II.

The martyrs had undergone considerable torture - their limbs were hacked joint by joint, flesh torn off by red hot tongs and drugs administered to enslave their minds, while their families were slaughtered and villages razed to the ground.
Saint An Le Thi Thanh (1781-1841)
Also known as Ba De. She lived during the reign of the Nguyen Dynasty, which imposed a strict ant-Catholic policy. Her home was often used as place of refuge for priests and others fleeing persecution, in Ninh Binh. On numerous occasions she was detained by the authorities and tortured. Finally in 1841, she died in prison.

The Catholic community in Vietnam view her as the model Catholic mother.
Side-Altar
Or bye-altar on the side-aisle of the nave dedicated to Mother Mary.
Side-Altar
Or bye-altar on the side-aisle of the nave dedicated to Our Lord Jesus Christ.
The Confessional box where the faithful can confess their sins to a priest and seek absolution (above). Stained glass window (left). The main altar, by-altars and windows are beautifully decorated with stained glass, which had been designed and produced in France and then shipped to Vietnam.
Our Lady of La Vang - Đức Mẹ La Vang
This refers to the reported sighting of an apparition of Marian that appeared at La Vang in 1798 when Catholics were being persecuted and killed in Vietnam during the reign of Emperor Cảnh Thịnh.

(The Shrine of our Lady of La Vang (Basilica of Our Lady of La Vang) is situated in what is today Hải Phủ commune in Hải Lăng District of Quảng Trị Province in Central Vietnam.)

On the right is the Baptismal Font, which is used to baptise children. It contains Holy Water.
Stations of the Cross

The Stations of the Cross or the Way of the Cross, also known as the Way of Sorrows or the Via Crucis, refers to a series of images depicting Jesus Christ on the day of his crucifixion and accompanying prayers. The stations grew out of imitations of Via Dolorosa in Jerusalem, which is believed to be the actual path Jesus walked to Mount Calvary. The object of the stations is to help Christian faithful to make a spiritual pilgrimage through contemplation of the Passion of Christ.*

* wikipedia
HANOI

The Nave of the Cathedral (left). Close-up of the main altar (above). The Nave is flanked by two aisles (can’t be seen in the photograph), one on either side, behind the massive arches.

The wooden panelling of the main altar, and of the bye-altars, is gilt trimmed and is similar to that at the Phat Diem Cathedral, Kim Son District of Ninh Binh Province of Vietnam. The influence of royal Hue architectural embellishments is evident in the stunning detail.
St. Joseph’s Cathedral with the bronze statue of Regina Pacis (Queen of Peace) in front.
First-Person Plural

Artwork by
Caley O’Dwyer

In this series of gouache collage paintings, I explore the idea that the self is relational and plural along with my sense that selves are fluid and mercurial. I like the idea that selves are both individual and multiple, that differences in context bring forth variations of self and that these changes happen across time. Gouache is a favorable medium for depicting change because it can be worked over and over again, heaps of solid opacity blocking out what was underneath it, or more transparent washes with less pigment inviting glimpses into the under layers. The cutting out and collaging of the painted paper to reposition figures speaks to my sense of life as revision, this process that happens in time and which never ends, but which still images can seem to “fix.” These paintings struggle against this sense of fixity, such that arguably beautiful passages are sometimes sacrificed in favor of painting over them or scratching them out.

If painting is a kind of conversation wherein physical gestures merge ideas with materials, I’m increasingly interested in keeping the conversation going, with how to render “ongoing-ness” in a way that isn’t just a mess. But the process involves risking messiness because the paintings typically only feel “right” or finished when they’ve been worked up to an extent that seems almost irretrievable. When they work, some leap of faith into further conversation (more painting, more cutting, more pasting, more doing) eventually yields a new order I couldn’t have planned or known.

En Masse
(2018)
24 x 30 inches

Caley O’Dwyer is a visual artist, poet, and teacher living in Los Angeles. His painting practice is driven by postmodern psychology, humor, wonder and musicality, emphasizing uncertainty, process painting and surprise. His paintings increasingly explore the space between abstraction and figuration, bearing intimation but resisting surety. Alongside his painting practice at the Brewery Arts Complex in downtown Los Angeles, Caley teaches creative writing and psychology at Antioch University and was previously an Associate Professor in University of Southern California’s Writing Program.
ARTWORK

CALEY O’DWYER

Causeway
(2018)
24 x 30 inches

Photographs © Caley O'Dwyer

© www.liveencounters.net  september 2018
The Fabulist
(2018)
24 x 30 inches

Photographs © Caley O'Dwyer

© www.liveencounters.net  September 2018
Tropical Holdup
(2018)
24 x 30 inches
Dutch Uncles
(2018)
24 x 30 inches

ARTWORK

CALEY O’DWYER

Photographs © Caley O’Dwyer
Thundershower
(2018)
24 x 30 inches
Push, Pull, Exile
(2018)
24 x 30 inches
Aka Joachim Peter is a Visual artist and writer based in Southwest Germany, presently working on documentary & travel photography in Asia right. He loves to explore and combine all arts in his work. Joo has studied Arts; painting and graphics, worked for theatre (designing stage, costume and light), did some work for television and film, went into teaching. He writes essays and a blog in his native tongue, German, for he feels his language combines philosophy and humour.


Cuba Impressions
Text & Photographs by
Joo Peter

Raúl Castro stepped down as President earlier this year and handed over power to Miguel Díaz-Canel. For the first time in almost 60 years, Cuba has a head of state from outside the Castro family.

Change comes slowly in Cuba, which still resembles a place marooned in time of its own.

Tommy restaurant in central Havana.
Tommy's restaurant in central Havana. It's an old tradition to collect plates, which are then fixed on the wall.
Worshippers made little paper models of their houses as offerings to pray for protection by Holy Mother Mary.
Old Cathedral in Havana Vieja. According to legend, the bones of Columbus are buried here until the late 18th century. Slaves built the church from 1748 to 1777 with blocks of coral cut from the ocean floor in the Gulf of Mexico. Marine fossils can be spotted in the façade.
Clothes hanging on line on balcony of an apartment in central Havana.
This satiric painting in a gallery at the Prado reflects Cuban history. It depicts the capitol in the background, a skeleton with a Cuban flag and a bird with a Castro-like hat and beard.
Pharmacy in Havana Vieja.
Food stall in Santa Clara.
Red bici-taxi with passengers in Havana Central.
Andrea Lamberti is a nature photographer, taking panoramic images as well as close-up perspectives of the natural world, above and below water. His main passion is documenting the geography and underwater plant and animal species of his local coastline in the UK. Andrea uses photography to explore his relationship with the environment, and the belief that humans should inhabit the planet primarily as curators rather than as consumers.

The fifth in a photo series by Andrea Lamberti as he explores his relationship with nature.

EXPLORING THE COLOUR AND FORM OF PLANT LIFE

TEXT & PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANDREA LAMBERTI

It's really quite astonishing to take time to look closely at plant life and see the true beauty of its colour and form. Plants have no concern about what they will look like and how they will turn out, yet they always end up a stunning creation. I've always been amazed at the contrast of a flower's strength and fragility. Plants and flowers really draw us to them with their own individual identity and call to us – humans, animals, birds, insects – "come look at me, look at me" when in full bloom. The flowers in these photographs speak for themselves. They make our landscape a more appealing place and positively lift our spirits.
Mikyoung Cha is a graduate in Oriental Painting from Hyosung Women’s University, Daegu, South Korea. She has participated in a number of group art exhibitions in South Korea and Japan. In 2016 she took up photography – the camera becoming her paint brush. This globe trotting photographer is a regular contributor to Live Encounters Magazine.

MONGOLIA

Mongolia

Text & photographs by Mikyoung Cha

Mongolia, land of the Great Khans, an empire that once stretched from Korea in the east across China, Central Asia to Eurasia. The famed Mongolian horsemen were the shock troopers of their time. The formidable Genghis Khan was the founder and first Great Khan of the Mongolian Empire. An empire which covered nearly 15 million square kilometres of land. It is believed that at one time (between 1270-1309 CE) 110 million people, 25% of the world’s population, lived within its borders.

For 100 years at the height of the Empire, the East-West Mongol trade routes became the fabled Silk Road, which for the first time linked Europe to Asia, allowing the free flow of ideas, technologies and goods.

The old lady I met at Aryapala Meditation & Initiation Center, Gorkhi Terelj, Nalaikh.
Ger, the traditional dwelling of the Mongolians is wooden lattice attached together with animal hide, and ropes. It is covered with felt.
A family that live in a Ger, Gobi Desert.
Inside a Ger.
From famed horsemen to riding bikes.
The Genghis Khan Equestrian Statue, part of the Genghis Khan Statue Complex, is a 40-metre tall statue of Genghis Khan on horseback, on the bank of the Tuul River at Tsonjin Boldog (54 km east of the Mongolian capital Ulaanbaatar), where according to legend, he found a golden whip.

In the forefront is a Mongolian with his Golden Eagle that is used for hunting small prey.
A poignant image of Mongolian horses in the vastness of the Gobi Desert.
A double rainbow over Gorkhl-Terelj National Park.
In the summer time Turkey’s orchards yield an abundant range of mouth-watering fruits. Cherries are amongst them; they are native to Anatolia and plentiful. We eat them in abundance as fresh fruit, make wonderful cherry jams out of them and put them in cakes and puddings.

I adopted this lovely, fruity, easy to make pudding from the cookery book *River Cottage Everyday* by Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall, one of my favorite chefs in England. I added almonds to this classic French pudding, and the outcome took me to my childhood, the very welcoming smells of lovely cherry cakes and puddings after coming back from school, a very happy sight! It goes very well with coffee and tea or served as a dessert.

I like to stone the cherries, as the pudding is heavily consumed by small children. You’re welcome not to stone them if you’d like and make the most of the juices.

**Afiyet Olsun,**

**Ozlem**

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**VISNELI, BADEMLI TATLI**

Cherry and Almond Clafoutis
Serves: 6

Preparation time: 15-20 minutes  
Cooking Time: 40 minutes

Ingredients:

- 425 gr / 15 oz cherries, stalks removed and stoned
- 50 gr / 1 3/4 ounce plain flour
- 30 ml / 2 tablespoon almond flakes
- A pinch of sea salt
- 100 gr / 3 1/2 ounces caster sugar
- 3 medium eggs, lightly beaten
- 240 ml / 8 fl oz whole milk
- Icing sugar for dusting (optional)

Instructions

Preheat oven to 180 C/ 350 F / Gas Mark 4

Lightly butter a 25 cm (10”) round baking dish or a 25×20 cm (10”×8”) rectangular one. Spread the cherries out in a single layer in the baking dish.

Sift the flour and salt into a bowl and stir in the almond flakes and sugar. Make a well in the centre and add the beaten eggs. Gradually draw in the flour from the sides, mixing well. Then beat in the milk, a little at a time, to form a smooth batter.

Pour the batter over the cherries and bake in the preheated oven for about 40 minutes, until golden and puffed up. This pudding is best eaten warm though still enjoyable when cold. You can dust with icing sugar before serving if you like. Serve it plain, or with some vanilla ice cream or clotted cream.

Cherry and Almond Clafoutis. Pic © Ozlem Warren