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FREE ONLINE MAGAZINE FROM VILLAGE EARTH
APRIL 2019



KASHMIR

**Where Islamic Fundamentalism
faces off with Hinduism & Buddhism**

MARK ULYSEAS



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Lotus, Bali, Indonesia.

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Peace is elusive because of inherited hate and religious bigotry. Beautiful gems of ancient knowledge, bridges to peace, have been consciously set aside by the few whose sole purpose is to divide, rule and plunder. Space is running out for people who want to live in harmony in their communities and with other communities — People who want to be treated with dignity, provided with affordable education, jobs, fair priced food and more.

Words don't provide this, the *humane* in humanity does.

Unfortunately, rising *inhumanity* often snatches this away and kills the vulnerable faithful.

Om Shanti Shanti Shanti Om

Mark Ulyseas
Publisher/Editor

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CONTRIBUTORS



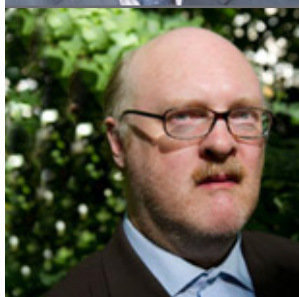
Kashmir: Where Islamic fundamentalism faces off with Hinduism & Buddhism Mark Ulyseas

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, a 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 author of three books: *RAINY – My friend & Philosopher*, *Seductive Avatars of Maya – Anthology of Dystopian Lives* and *In Gethsemane: Transcripts of a Journey*.



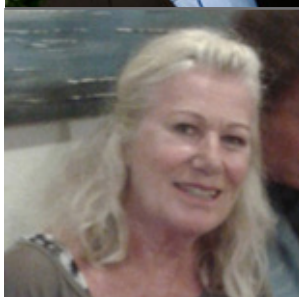
Pulwama Attack: The 'game of chicken' in India-Pakistan relations Dr Bibhu Prasad Routray

Dr. Bibhu Prasad Routray held the position of Visiting Professor and Indian Council of Cultural Relations (ICCR) chair, India Studies at Murdoch University, Perth between July-December 2017. He served as a Deputy Director in the National Security Council Secretariat, Government of India and Director of the Institute for Conflict Management (ICM)'s Database & Documentation Centre, Guwahati, Assam. Routray specialises in decision-making, governance, counter-terrorism, force modernisation, intelligence reforms, foreign policy and dissent articulation issues in South and South East Asia.



Hope Lies in the Hands of the Youth David Morgan

David has been a professional editor and journalist for over thirty years beginning his career on the subs desk of the *Morning Star* newspaper. He is editor of numerous historical publications under the Socialist History Society imprint. David's interests and research include Turkey and the Kurds, literary figures like George Orwell, Edward Upward and William Morris, British anarchism, the 17th century English revolutionary era and the history of psychoanalysis. He has contributed towards many different publications and writes review articles, commentaries, opinion pieces, polemics and poetry.



Nature and the first *class struggle* in history 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 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.



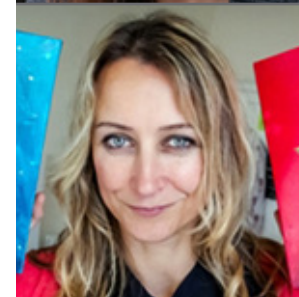
Activating the Five Powers of Law Dr Miranda Forsyth

Miranda Forsyth is an Associate Professor at RegNet and also a Fellow at the Department of Pacific Affairs in the College of Asia and Pacific at ANU. In July 2015 she completed a three year ARC Discovery funded project to investigate the impact of intellectual property laws on development in Pacific Island countries. Miranda is the author of *A Bird that Flies with Two Wings: Kastom and State Justice Systems in Vanuatu* (2009) ANU ePress and co-author of *Weaving Intellectual Property Policy in Small island Developing States*, Intersentia 2015.



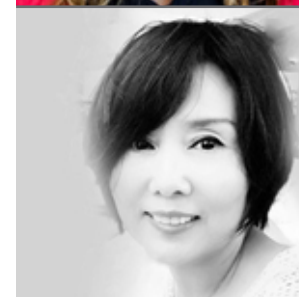
Nomadic Traditions of the Fierce and Bold Eleanor Moseman

Eleanor Moseman is an American photographer that has been documenting China for a decade. Working with minorities, women among religious cultures, the working-class, and those enslaved into poverty, Eleanor strives to immerse herself in the culture of the people. Creating imagery and stories to seek resolutions of the inflicted while sharing voices of the unknown, forgotten, and persecuted. Her time is divided between commercial work while pursuing long term, socially conscious and meaningful photo-journalistic projects, or roaming the plateaus of Tibet and deserts of Xinjiang.



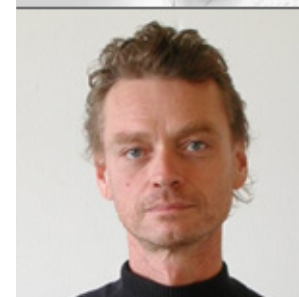
Geometric Landscapes & Cityscapes Emma Barone

Emma Barone is a contemporary visual artist. She makes still life and landscape paintings in acrylic on canvas. She studied animation and has an eclectic design background that ranges from interior design to architectural ceramics, and from stained glass to jewellery design. Barone's work has been featured in various publications including Live Encounters Magazine, The Irish Arts Review, Senior Times, House and Home, and the Sunday Independent; and she has published two books in collaboration with the Hennessy Award winning writer, Eileen Casey. Emma has exhibited extensively throughout Ireland, with 22 solo exhibitions under her belt.



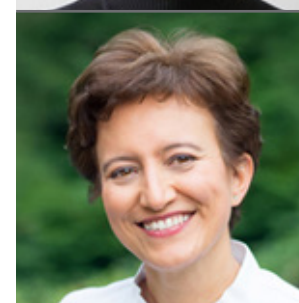
Sri Lanka - III Mikyoung Cha

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



Abstract Realism Wolfgang Widmoser

Born in Munich 1954. 1973 studied with Ernst Fuchs and Salvador Dali. 1970 he painted still-lives in Switzerland introducing curved mirrors which reflect objects in most surprising ways and led to a proposal for the –elegant Universe. Moving to Tuscany in 1980 landscape and atmospheric effects crystallized to intense, portraits of nature. Since 1984 living in Bali. In his search for the- abstract. Papua New Guinea – Warriors combine the archaic with the futuristic. Wolfgang's motto – aesthetic = ethic – points to places where humans experience the Good, the True and the Beautiful.



Home-made Turkish Pide Bread; Pide Ekmek Ozlem Warren

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



THE DAY THEY TERRORIZED US INTO EXILE



Kashmiri Pandits carrying placard during protest to mark 'Holocaust Day' at Jammu on Sunday. -Excelsior/Rakesh



Kashmiri Pandit Exodus Day
19th January, 1990

Kashmiri Hindus protesting loss of their homeland Kashmir to Islamic fundamentalists.

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, a freelance journalist and photographer. In 2009 he created *Live Encounters Magazine*, in Bali, Indonesia. It is a not for profit (adfree) free online magazine featuring leading academics, writers, poets, activists of all hues etc. from around the world. March 2016 saw the launch of its sister publication *Live Encounters Poetry*, which was relaunched as *Live Encounters Poetry & Writing* in March 2017. He has edited, designed and produced all of Live Encounters' 151 publications till date (April 2019). Mark's philosophy is that knowledge must be free and shared freely to empower all towards enlightenment. He is the author of three books: *RAINY – My friend & Philosopher*, *Seductive Avatars of Maya – Anthology of Dystopian Lives* and *In Gethsemane: Transcripts of a Journey*. www.amazon.com/markulyseas
All views expressed here are personal.



MARK ULYSEAS

KASHMIR :

**WHERE ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM
FACES OFF WITH HINDUISM AND BUDDHISM**

The area in question relates to Kashmir (majority Muslim), Jammu (majority Hindu), Ladakh (majority Buddhist).

Let us call the Kashmir issue for what it is,

Communalism: a Muslim-Hindu historical religious confrontation.

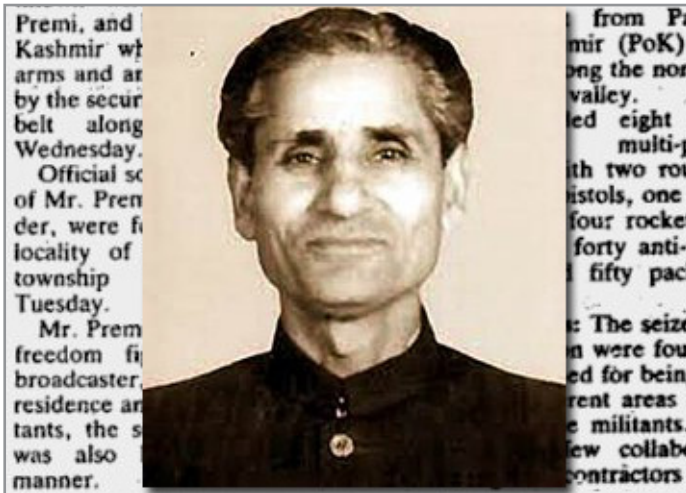
From the moment the Hindu King of Kashmir (1) sought India's protection from the marauding Muslim tribesmen from what is now POK (Pakistan Occupied Kashmir or Azad Kashmir) supported by the Pakistan Army, the stage was set for another historical confrontation for supremacy between Islam (fighting to impose its diktat) and Hinduism (defending its ancient homeland). This was at a time of the Partition (1947) when millions were senselessly killed, both Muslims and Hindus, and when two obstinate independence leaders – Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Jawaharlal Nehru failed to see and accept the consequences of their belligerence towards one another. Jawaharlal's beloved Kashmir is now awash in blood and hate. The vibrant colours have gone, replaced with the colour blood.

Much has been written about the political and legal aspects (2) of the present inherited carnage. Much has been argued in the UN and elsewhere supported by none other than a parochial media and politicians whose sole purpose was/is to create schisms between the two nations/religions for their own political agenda. Bloody charades continue with Pakistan and India ignoring the elephant in the room – communalism. Phrases like self-determination, civil and human rights etc. are thrown around in various international forums to obfuscate the issue of communalism, ethnic cleansing and the bloody actions of Islamic fundamentalists. And, perhaps, to promote a third party involvement, China or Saudi Arabia (?), to lend legitimacy to such actions.



Lashkar-e-Toiba founder Hafiz Saeed (left) master-mind of the 2008 bloody terrorist attacks in Mumbai, with Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front chief Yasin Malik (right) in Pakistan. Malik is now back in Kashmir. The JKLF headed by Malik has been banned by the Government of India. He is accused of being the master-mind behind the purging of Kashmiri Hindus from the Kashmir valley and is responsible for their genocide. (22) India, a moderate democracy, has faced Islamic terrorism funded by Muslim fundamentalists from Pakistan for decades.

China defends terrorist Masood Azhar, chief of Pakistan-based terror group Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM), by vetoing India's bid at the UN to declare Azhar as a global terrorist. accused of several deadly terrorist attacks in India. China is using Pakistan to crack down on the persecuted Uighurs and it is for this reason only that China vetoes in favour of Pakistan in the UNSC. Are certain elements, the likes of Masood Azhar, in terror groups used to ensure security of the CPEC in POK and stability in its restive Xinjiang province?



Militants hang poet, son

Jammu, May 2 (PTI): A well-known writer, Mr. Sarwanand Premi, and his son were killed in Kashmir while a huge cache of arms and ammunition was seized by the security forces in a five-km belt along the border on Wednesday.

Official sources said the bodies of Mr. Premi and his son, Virender, were found in the Devpora locality of the South Kashmir township of Anantnag on Tuesday.

Meanwhile, the security seized arms and amm being brought from Pa occupied Kashmir (PoK) five km belt along the nor border of the valley.

They included eight rifles, one multi-p magazine, 11 pistols, one launcher with four rocket handgrenades, forty anti-nel mines and fifty pac explosives.

China is using Pakistan to crack down on the persecuted Uighurs and it is for this reason only that China vetoes in favour of Pakistan in the UNSC. (3) Are certain elements, the likes of Masood Azhar, in terror groups used to ensure security of the CPEC in POK and stability in its restive Xinjiang province? (4)

Pakistan, which has seen decades of rule by its military and intelligence services, has failed to come to terms of peace primarily due to this inherent communalism. Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq, the long serving de facto head of state ensured that Pakistan moved away from Ali Jinnah's vision of a federal state by introducing Sharia. This opened the door to fundamentalism in its purest form. Enter the USA and its allies in the Afghanistan theatre to add lethal munitions to extremism... thousands of weapons destined for the Afghan war ended up in the hands of undesirables who wrought havoc on both fronts – Pak/Afghan and Pak/India, and unfortunately within Pakistan. Another general who has since fled Pakistan, Musharraf, is accused of being involved in the assassination of former Prime Minister of the country Benazir Bhutto who had returned to the country to fight the national elections. Corruption within the political parties and security forces has bled the country of precious resources. It is now the indisputable centre for terrorism in all its avatars. Terrorism that is supported by a Sharia state that propagates Islamic fundamentalism through extreme violence. It is now on the grey list of FATF (Financial Action Task Force, Paris-based global intergovernmental body working to curb terrorism financing and money laundering) and is on the

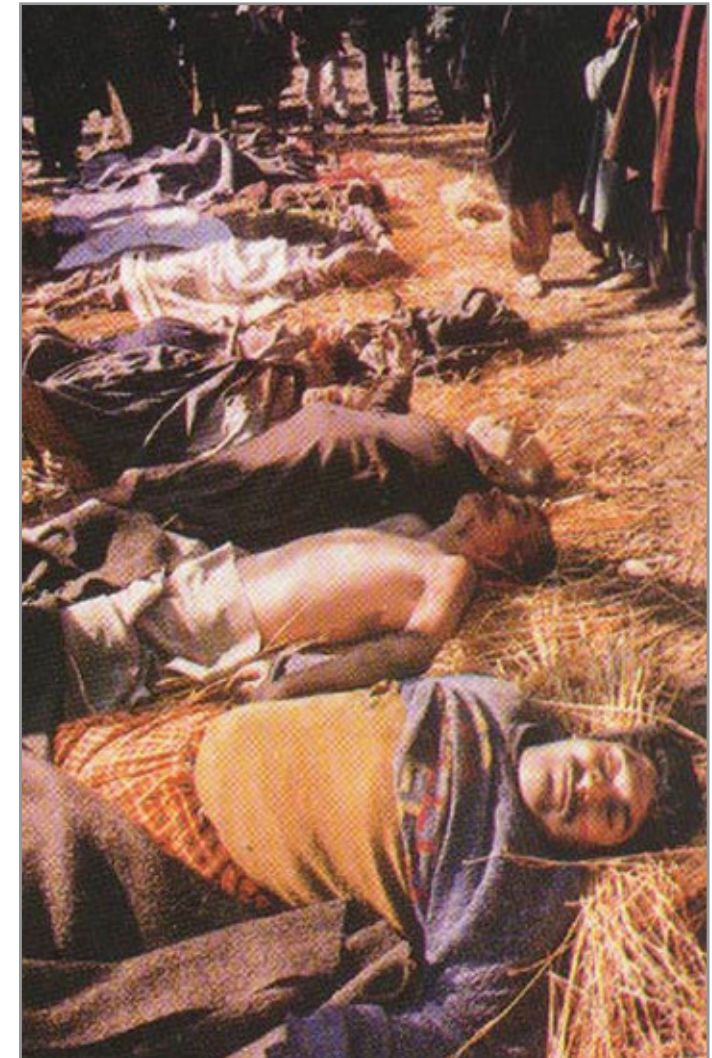
verge of being blacklisted (5) for the *continued* terror financing and state support for *Daesh (ISIS), Al Qaeda, Jamaat-ud-Dawa, Falah-i-Insaniat Foundation, Lashkar-e-Taiba, Jaish-e-Mohammed, Haqqani network*, and all terrorists affiliated with the Taliban.

According to intelligence inputs, the Jamaat-e-Islami (which has been banned, again) (6) based in Jammu & Kashmir has been using its network of religious schools to spread anti-India feelings among children in the Kashmir Valley and encouraging cadres of the Jamaat-e-Islami youth wing (Jamiat-ul-Tulba) to join "Jihad" by getting recruited into terrorist outfits. Jamaat-e-Islami has established strong links with Pakistan's ISI for ensuring logistics support for arming, training and supply of weapons to Kashmiri youths and its leaders continue to maintain regular contact with the Pakistan High Commission in New Delhi for support. (7) (NDTV)

India, a moderate democracy, has faced Islamic terrorism perpetrated by Pakistan based Islamic fundamentalists directed by the ISI and proselytizing by Islamic preachers (8) within the country.

India has the third largest Muslim population in the world (approx.180 million), most of whom are Sunni.

It also has the second largest Shia population in world, second only to Iran.



Islamic fundamentalists ran amok in 1990 onwards murdering Kashmiri Hindus. Judges, scholars, teachers, doctors, businessmen etc. were singled out and killed in cold blood. No one was spared. It is claimed that close to a million Kashmiri Hindus fled Kashmir for Jammu and other parts of India only to be shabbily treated by the government. It was reminiscent of the Partition of 1947.

The Kashmiri Hindus are refugees in their homeland India, whilst Muslim and Hindu Kashmiris in Pakistan Occupied Kashmir are strangers, side lined, in their dismembered homeland. It is believed that there can be a political solution and this must begin with restoration of democracy and by respecting Kashmiris as Indians and not treating them as Pakistani agents. But how many Kashmiris (read as Muslims) want to remain with 'secular India'? And how many want to create a 'Muslim state' in India? And what about the Hindus and Buddhists, don't they have a say in their homeland? The continued 'support' for the Muslim separatists by Pakistan has reached a level of no return.

Certain Indian politicians have failed miserably to counter the rise of this violent ideology (Islamic fundamentalism), which has raised its bloody head not only in Kashmir but in other parts of India and instead resorted to unsavoury tactics in an attempt to grab power. The litany of complaints against the existing government on various issues has given ammunition to Pakistan based Islamic fundamentalists and their sympathisers in India. Politicians across the spectrum are using all methods to garner a higher percentage of approval by appealing to followers of one religion or another, different castes and announcing outlandish financial schemes to lure voters. Perhaps, in the process, creating irredeemable fissures in society. The truth is that India was never a secular country. It is the homeland of the Sanatan Dharma: Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism, which despite invasions and occupations over millennia has flourished. So let us call it for what it is rightly — a Hindu country. The term secularism means devoid of religious aspects in governance and law. But is this so?

The refrain of Kashmir (Muslim state in India?) by hand-wringing individuals and organisations with an agenda lacks a sense of ground reality, religious and historical. They have ignored the butchery and religious ethnic cleansing carried out by Islamic fundamentalists of Kashmiri Hindus, indigenous people of Kashmir who were there before the advent of Islam. (9,10). The media has all but forgotten the killings of Kashmiri Hindus in their rush to condemn the present omissions and commissions of the Indian government in Kashmir. The civil and human rights of the Kashmiri Hindus have never been upheld by any political party. So what should the Kashmiri Hindus do? Cover their faces with *gumchas* and throw stones at the security forces? Gun down security personnel? Ambush army convoys? Murder innocent civilians for siding with the authorities like the Islamists are doing in Srinagar and elsewhere in the State? Or should they turn on the Muslims in Kashmir and start murdering them? Fortunately, the Kashmiri Hindus have not resorted to violence and have struggled to rebuild their lives, peacefully.

Recently, the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) summit passed a resolution condemning India's (excluding Pakistan) actions in Kashmir (not Jammu and Ladakh) which is standard for all OIC statements over the last several decades (11). OIC conveniently overlooks the past bloody ethnic cleansing of Kashmiri Hindus – murder, beatings, rape and theft of properties (reminiscent of the Partition days).

Pakistan ceded 5,180 sq. km of northern Kashmir and Ladakh to China, thereby recognizing its (China) sovereignty over the land. Land that it had no right to give away. Land which is not part of Pakistan but Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh. Further it has relocated thousands of Pakistanis to POK thereby irrevocably changing the demography of the land.

Pakistan ceded 5,180 sq. km of northern Kashmir and Ladakh to China, thereby recognizing its (China) sovereignty over the land. Land that it had no right to give away. Land which is not part of Pakistan but Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh. Further it has relocated thousands of Pakistanis to POK thereby irrevocably changing the demography of the land. Large tracts of land in Gilgit-Baltistan have been handed over to the Chinese for the \$57-billion China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). The indigenous people's resistance movement for independence from Pakistan has been smothered. The suppression of certain elements in the Pakistan press is another method used to prevent reportage from and of this disputed area.



Large tracts of land in Gilgit-Baltistan have been handed over to the Chinese for the \$57-billion China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). (12) The indigenous people's resistance movement for independence from Pakistan has been smothered (13, 14). The suppression of certain elements in the Pakistan press is another method used to prevent reportage from and of this disputed area.

What the world sees is a sanitized version of Azad Kashmir, unlike the press reportage on the other side of the border (India) where democracy prevails. (15)

The Kashmiri Hindus are refugees in their homeland India, whilst Muslim and Hindu Kashmiris in Pakistan Occupied Kashmir are strangers, side lined, in their dismembered homeland.

When religion becomes the State and the State becomes the religion then there are no civil parameters...all is lost to the subjectiveness of Truth. Interpretation becomes a matter of personal likes and dislikes based solely on religious mongering with verbal and physical abuse. This is why, perhaps, a country that has been artificially formed on the basis of religion will continue to bleed, both in mind and body. The State that is the birth place of ancient religions must be aware of the *civil lines* that demarcate State from religion. For religion is an integral part of culture and can be used as an incendiary device for politics of derision where all concerned become losers. Hence, India must *exorcise* the unfortunate inheritance of the special status of Jammu & Kashmir by cancelling Article 370 and embracing all permanent residents of this State as equal shareholders in the Indian Union. Furthermore, India must demand that Pakistan and China return the land seized by them.

Trending (popular among the politically correct) in India? *Anyone with a tilak on the forehead is a right wing Hindu? Anyone who wears an orange scarf is a right wing Hindu? Anyone who supports the ruling party is a right wing Hindu fundamentalist? The sacred Hindu Swastik is now being deliberately associated with the Nazi Hakenkreuz by those seeking to discredit Hinduism as a whole. (16)*

Media on both sides of the border have taken sides on the political aspects of Kashmir. A sensible objective approach appears to be non-existent. Warped nationalism and skewed religious views have taken over. The refusal to accept that Kashmir is a communal issue and not a political one has been deliberately obfuscated. And this could lead to even more violence. However, one cannot ignore the strategic military importance to India of the tripartite border it shares with Pakistan and China in northern Kashmir, which in a manner of speaking is the gateway to India.(17) It is believed that there can be a political solution and this must begin with restoration of democracy and by respecting Kashmiris as Indians and not treating them as Pakistani agents. But how many Kashmiris (read as Muslims) want to remain with ‘secular India’? And how many want to create a ‘Muslim state’ in India? And what about the Hindus and Buddhists, don’t they have a say in their homeland? The continued ‘support’ for the Islamic fundamentalists by Pakistan has reached a level of no return. Hence, there can never be a political solution, only a religious one to stem the violence and bring about a semblance of peace. Religious leaders from Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism in Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh (18, 19, 20, 21) should meet to work out a method of living peacefully together, to get justice for all citizens *including the Kashmiri Hindus* using the four divine truths common to all religions – love, non-violence, forgiveness and charity.

Further, Article 35A incorporated in the Constitution by a 1954 Presidential order, which confers special rights and privileges upon the citizens of Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) and prohibits people from outside the state from buying any immovable property in the state, must be abrogated because of its discriminatory aspects. Hundreds of thousands of Indian citizens in this state vote in the Lok Sabha (national) elections but are barred from voting in State, municipal or Panchayat elections. Their children cannot get government jobs, they cannot own property and their children cannot be admitted to government institutions. Article 35A was not part of Article 370 but was added years later under the benign rule of Jawaharlal Nehru. If this Article is not abrogated then retaliatory action must follow vis-a-vis permanent residents of J&K. They must not be permitted to buy property anywhere outside the state, vote in any elections outside the state, nor get government jobs or their children admitted to government institutions (outside the state). Supreme Court of India is to hear petitions challenging the constitutional validity of Article 35A. One hopes that justice will prevail.(23)

His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama speaking in Kashmir.



Foot Notes

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Dr. Bibhu Prasad Routray held the position of Visiting Professor and Indian Council of Cultural Relations (ICCR) chair, India Studies at Murdoch University, Perth between July-December 2017. He served as a Deputy Director in the National Security Council Secretariat, Government of India and Director of the Institute for Conflict Management (ICM)'s Database & Documentation Centre, Guwahati, Assam. He was a Visiting Fellow at the South Asia programme of the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore between 2010 and 2012. Routray specialises in decision-making, governance, counter-terrorism, force modernisation, intelligence reforms, foreign policy and dissent articulation issues in South and South East Asia. His writings, based on his projects and extensive field based research in Indian conflict theatres of the Northeastern states and the left-wing extremism affected areas, have appeared in a wide range of academic as well as policy journals, websites, and magazines. This article republished by permission of www.mantraya.org

DR BIBHU PRASAD ROUTRAY

PULWAMA ATTACK: THE 'GAME OF CHICKEN' IN INDIA-PAKISTAN RELATIONS



Site of the VBIED attack in Pulwama on 16 February 2019. Photo Source: NDTV

Abstract

Kashmir yet again captured media attention with the suicide attack by a Jaish-e-Mohammad (JeM) militant on the security forces on 14 February that killed 40 personnel of the Central Reserve Police Force. On 26 February, New Delhi conducted air strikes on the 'biggest JeM training' camp in Balakot. This 'preemptive strike' was part of the official Indian strategy of blaming Pakistan's inaction on anti-India terror groups. While the attack indeed had roots in Pakistan, the fact remains that Kashmir's security situation has worsened in the last five years, owing to an official policy of denial and miscalculations. Projections of optics of a strong state without addressing the basic ground level needs of the people could be driving the state to the brink.

State of Denial

On 12 February 2019 in the Lok Sabha (Lower House of the Indian Parliament), Minister of State of Home Affairs, Hansram Gangaram Ahir, responded to a question by fellow parliamentarian Prem Singh Chandumajra on 'whether there is continuous increase in the terrorist activities in the country'. In his reply, which must customarily be addressed to the speaker of the house, the minister ended with the shortest possible answer. "No Madam", he said.[1] Two days later, a suicide bomber drove his explosive laden vehicle in Kashmir's Pulwama into a convoy of the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) killing over 40 personnel, in what has been the worst terror attack in India, since the Mumbai attack of 2008. While the minister can't be blamed for not foreseeing the attack that was to follow two days later, his statement was in line held by the NDA government in New Delhi that in the past five years, India has become terror free.

In the third statement, the commander of the Hizb-ul-Mujahideen (HM), in an unverified audio message on 18 February, Riyaz Naikoo forewarned how terrorism might evolve in Kashmir in the coming months. Praising Adil Ahmad Dar, Naikoo said that ‘the time is not far away when children in Kashmir will wear suicide vests and target security forces in the Valley’[5].

Three Voices

Apart from the minister’s denial three important statements were made in Kashmir in the past week. The first one was by 20-year-old Jaish-e-Mohammad (JeM) militant Adil Ahmad Dar in a video shot hours before he drove an explosive laden car into a convoy of the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) killing over 40 personnel of India’s primary Central Armed Police Force (CAPF) at Pulwama on 14 Feb-ruary. “My name is Adil. ...By the time this video reaches you, I will be in heaven... this is my last mes-sage for the people of Kashmir.”[2]

The second statement was made on 19 February by Lt Gen. J.S. Dhillon, Indian army’s 15 Corps com-mander. In a baritone the General issued a warning. “Anybody who has picked up the gun in Kashmir will be eliminated unless he surrenders. This is a message and a request to all the mothers that please tell your children to surrender. There is a very good surrender policy being initiated by the government so that they can join the mainstream.”[3] The General was reacting to the 14 February suicide attack and the encounter that took place on 18 February in which five army personnel were killed in an en-counter with JeM militants.[4] While three JeM militants were killed, the army claimed to have suf-fered losses as it tried to protect civilians.

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These messages of a suicide bomber, an active terrorist leader, and the army commander sums up how militancy might evolve in Kashmir in the coming months, despite New Delhi’s attempts of main-taining deniability and also, to corner Pakistan, who it holds solely responsible for terrorism in the state including the Pulwama attack. While Adil’s chilling message and Naikoo prediction of how his outfit might shift its strategy threatens to unveil a new phase of militancy in the state, the Army command-er’s statement predicting almost an all-out war on militancy may mark a brand new phase of confron-tation in which New Delhi seeks to impose order in the troubled state.

Notwithstanding what the BJP government claims to be a stupendous success of its hardline approach in Kashmir, data reveals that the security situation in the state has been on a steady decline since 2012. In fact, compared to 2012, the incidents of militant violence and resultant fatalities have gone up by 55 and 226 percent respectively. In 2012, 220 incidents were reported. In 2018, the numbers increased to 587. In 2012, 102 civilians, security forces, and militants were killed. In 2018, 382 deaths were reported.

Increasing Fatalities: From 102 to 382

Notwithstanding what the BJP government claims to be a stupendous success of its hardline approach in Kashmir, data reveals that the security situation in the state has been on a steady decline since 2012. In fact, compared to 2012, the incidents of militant violence and resultant fatalities have gone up by 55 and 226 percent respectively. In 2012, 220 incidents were reported. In 2018, the numbers increased to 587. In 2012, 102 civilians, security forces, and militants were killed. In 2018, 382 deaths were reported.

MHA’s annual report 2013-14 noted, “the security situation in J&K has witnessed continuous improve-ment since 2000, and the years 2012 and 2013 showed a significant decline in all the parameters of violence in the State.”[6] In fact, coinciding with the NDA forming the government in 2014, the security situation in Kashmir deteriorated significantly. The MHA’s annual report referred to a ‘slight increase in the number of terrorist incidents and the casualties of SFs in comparison with 2013’[7], it took credit for the fact that ‘our soldiers were able to neutralize 110 militants in 2014 as against 67 in 2013’.[8] In 2016, the year the NDA India carried out the surgical strikes within Pakistan and termed the event a success, the number of incidents reached an all-time high of 322. “The 2016 strikes were a tactical success but a strategic failure: Pakistan pushed in numbers of fidayeen into Kashmir right after”, experts opine.[9] Not surprisingly, compared to the previous year, security force fatalities went up by 74 percent.

By 2017, the situation had worsened dramatically. MHA’s Annual report noted, “The year 2017 witnessed an increase in incidents of terrorist violence and casualties of civilians as compared to the last year.” It referred to a “6.21 percent increase and 166.66 percent increase in the number of terrorist incidents and fatalities of civilians respectively in comparison to the corresponding period of 2016”, although the casualties of security forces had declined by 2.44 percent over the same period.”[10]

In 2018 (till 2 December), 587 incidents had been reported. 245 militants, 47 civilians and 90 security force personnel were killed. The MHA noted, ““The rise in number of civilian deaths in the Valley is due to change in Pakistan’s tactics following a strategy of superimposition of militancy over civil resistance through radicalisation by vested interest group and social media.”[11]

In August 2018, the J&K police estimated the number of active militants in the state to be 327, up from only 78 in 2013.[14] Over 65 percent of these were locals. Data on local recruitments indicate that at least 126 youths joined militancy in 2016 and another 130 had joined in 2018 (till August). Even as the security forces continued to eliminate militants, the flow of local youths into the outfits, continued unabated.

Local versus Pakistan-sponsored Militancy

The BJP government during its tenure has made numerous references to a hardline approach in Kashmir. The policy usually translates to security forces being given a free hand to kill militants- local as well as those who have been trying to infiltrate into the state from across the border militants. MHA's data shows that from 2014 to December 2018, 826 militants were killed in the state. Interestingly, the ministry's data on net infiltration, i.e. the actual number of terrorists who are believed to have infiltrated into the state from across the border, indicates that 468 terrorists managed to infiltrate between 2014 and 2018 (upto October).[12] The J&K police assessment shows 116 foreign militants are still operating in the state.[13] If one has to hypothetically assume that rest of the 352 Pakistani and Pakistan trained terrorists have been eliminated by the security forces, the number of Kashmiris who never crossed the border and were locally trained before being killed was 474. In percentage terms, this indicates that between 2014 and 2018, 57 percent of the killed militants were locals, who did not receive any training in Pakistan.

The number of active militants highlights the role of the local militants even further.

In August 2018, the J&K police estimated the number of active militants in the state to be 327, up from only 78 in 2013.[14] Over 65 percent of these were locals. Data on local recruitments indicate that at least 126 youths joined militancy in 2016 and another 130 had joined in 2018 (till August). Even as the security forces continued to eliminate militants, the flow of local youths into the outfits, continued unabated. This burns a hole in the MHA's position that 'the ongoing militancy in the state of J&K is intrinsically linked with the infiltration of terrorists from across the border both from the "International Border" as well as the "Line of Control" in J&K.[15] Although a part of the militancy, about one third, receives its support from Pakistan, bulk of the violence has clear local roots.

Pattern of denial and miscalculation

Within 100 hours of the Pulawama terror attack, the Indian Army claimed to have eliminated the JeM's leadership in the Kashmir valley. In an encounter in which the Indian army lost five of its personnel including a major, three JeM militants including two Pakistani nationals were killed in Pulwama. These included JeM's senior commander Kamran, who is a Pakistani national, Hilal Ahmed, a local Kashmiri bomb specialist and Rashid alias Gazi alias Lukaman, also from Pakistan. [16] Kamran was described by the Army as 'the handler of Pulwama suicide bomber Adil Ahmad Dar and responsible for recruiting, radicalising and training terrorists in the Kashmir Valley.'[17]

This clear pattern of denial and miscalculation could have played a great role in the Pulwama attack, which may have been inspired by the JeM's ideology, but had been planned within Kashmir. The slow process of RDX accumulation, use of an old stolen vehicle, presence of local handlers and the involvement of a 'Grade C' militant who had been let off in the previous years, are now the subjects of a detailed investigation by the National Investigative Agency.[18]

On 22 February, another two unidentified JeM cadres were killed in an encounter with the security forces at Sopore. A Deputy Superintendent of Police along with an army personnel were killed in an encounter at Kulgam which ended with the killing of three more unidentified Jaish militants on 24 February.

This swift reprisal notwithstanding, it is fair to say that the Pulwama attack had brought back focus on the JeM. Interestingly, months prior to the 14 February attack, assessments of the J&K police and the Union Home Ministry portrayed the JeM as almost an extinct outfit. All of its top leaders within the state had been neutralized and the outfit, in comparison to the Lashkar-e-Toiba (LeT) and the Hizbul Mujahideen (HM), was considered to be of little significance. Although the outfit's cadres, both Kashmiris and Pakistani nationals were arrested and killed on a regular basis in the valley, the threat perception from the outfit had remained an all-time low.

Notwithstanding the attention the JeM has attracted since Pulwama, the outfit has actually been responsible for only a fraction of actual violence in the state in the past years. Two other outfits, the LeT and the HM, have orchestrated majority of the attacks. While both the JeM and LeT have been Pakistan based and consist of primarily Pakistani cadres, the HM, arguably the most potent outfit operating in the state, is indigenous, composed of local cadres. Added to the militancy landscape are two smaller outfits, espousing the causes of global Jihadism. One is linked with the al Qaeda and the other with the Islamic State. In New Delhi's opinion both these have a handful of followers and neither pose any significant security threat.

This clear pattern of denial and miscalculation could have played a great role in the Pulwama attack, which may have been inspired by the JeM's ideology, but had been planned within Kashmir. The slow process of RDX accumulation, use of an old stolen vehicle, presence of local handlers and the involvement of a 'Grade C' militant who had been let off in the previous years, are now the subjects of a detailed investigation by the National Investigative Agency.[18] Not surprisingly, the J&K governor admitted that the administration had no intelligence of a suicide mission being planned by the outfit. In the name of a hardline policy that is different from the policies of the yesteryears, Kashmir is continuously being driven to brink. A lot has been spoken about how a security force-centric approach would rid Kashmir off militancy. But as a strategic commentator points out, "But truth be told, the Indian defence forces, including the army units manning the Line of Control (LoC) and those internal security components deployed in J&K, are woefully under-equipped and often lack even the most rudimentary technologies now available to combat terrorism." [19]

On 26 February, Indian Air force fighter jets conducted preemptive strike on a JeM training camp in Balakot. New Delhi claimed that the ‘biggest training camp’ run by Maulana Yousuf Azhar, brother in law of JeM Chief Maulana Masood Azhar was destroyed. “A very large number of JeM terrorists, trainers, senior commanders and groups of jihadis who were being trained for fidayeen action were eliminated”, India’s foreign secretary said.[20]

Future trends

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Pulwama attack may not unveil the specter of large scale VBIED attacks in Kashmir, as suggested by the HM leader Riyaz Naikoo. Neither would every child in Kashmir would become a suicide bomber in the coming months, inspired by the likes of Adil Ahmad Dar. However, as the government invests enormously on internationally isolating Pakistan and at the same time, alienating Kashmiris with a range of sanctioned misadventures, while keeping democracy under suspended animation in the state, the security situation could only be projected to deteriorate. The threat to kill all those who take up gun, may lead to only a temporary dip in militant capacities, but such a policy is inherently inadequate to bring durable peace to the state.

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In August 2018, outside the Swedish parliament building, Greta Thunberg started a school strike for the climate. Photograph by Anders Hellberg. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Greta_Thunberg_4.jpg

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DAVID MORGAN

HOPE LIES IN THE HANDS OF THE YOUTH

The President of the European Commission, Jean-Claude Juncker, on 21 February this year, announced a plan to spend hundreds of billions of euros on measures to counteract climate change, which, if implemented, would amount to a fourth of the total European Union budget. The top Eurocrat was speaking alongside Greta Thunberg, the Swedish climate change activist whose selfless actions have inspired a global youth movement to defend the planet from global warming. Greta's determination has even earned her a Nobel Peace Prize nomination from three Norwegian lawmakers in recognition of her activities as a leader of the youth campaign. She has so far inspired hundreds of thousands of teenagers to take similar action and the campaign shows no signs of abating.

Young Greta began her actions in August 2018 when she decided to make a personal gesture to persuade her government to act in response to witnessing heatwaves and forest fires that had devastated the countryside of Sweden. Her action was a simple one that proved effective: she would go on strike from school. Her demands were that Sweden reduce its carbon emissions in accordance with the Paris Agreement, and she began a peaceful protest by sitting down outside or picketing the Parliament (*Riksdag*) each day during school hours holding up a sign emblazoned with the words *Skolstrejk för klimatet* ('school strike for the climate'). Through attracting the attention of social media her action caught the public imagination which led to her actions being quickly emulated by teenagers all over the world.

Evidence that climate change poses a real threat to the existence of our planet seems to be all too clear as does the fact that its capacity to sustain life is coming under strain. But it is only the youth who appear to be really getting the message. The signs of decay and imminent destruction are disturbingly all around us; you need to be wilfully blind not to see them, so it becomes all the more baffling that people, especially ones holding high office or powerful positions in business often remain stubbornly in denial. Their eyes are open but they cannot see or they refuse to see because it is not in their interests to do so.

A group called the UK Student Climate Network (UKSCN) was one of the groups established in response to Greta Thunberg's initiative and it is campaigning vigorously to ensure that Britain takes more effective action to lower its own carbon emissions and that its political leaders fully accept that the world is facing a climate emergency. The students are not easily fooled or won over by empty promises and nice words. They plainly see through all the bluff and bluster of adults. It is after all their future that is at stake and they will accept no valid reason to postpone action.

To admit that climate change is happening and that extreme climate events are occurring more frequently, and to accept as well founded the conclusion that this all can be blamed on the adverse impact of human activity on the natural environment are concessions that many are reluctant to make. To do this would demand real action to find radical remedies and serious solutions to address the enormous challenge. Young people are becoming increasingly aware that their elders are dragging their feet. It is thanks to the courage of young people such as Greta Thunberg who have stood up to bear witness to the folly of humanity that there is renewed hope of real change.

While the green movement has for many years made the necessary arguments for a radical change of political and economic direction it has so far proven to be ineffective at really changing public attitudes and shifting politics to a sufficient extent to save us from the fate of extinction. One meaning of the word "green" was someone who was naïve, gullible, unworldly and easily pliable. It was often used as a belittling term in reference to youthful innocence. The young activists of today are far from green in this respect. But they are green in the far more important sense of being true defenders of the planet and of our natural environment. Young Greta and her compatriots are the natural heirs of Wordsworth, William Blake, Winstanley the Digger, Ruskin, William Morris, Tolstoy, Edward Carpenter, Walt Whitman, and a host of other visionary thinkers who have sought to argue that humanity must live in harmony with our natural habitat.

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The student activists have demanded that their schools include more lessons about the facts of the current climate crisis; they want more students to understand the dangers we are facing if we do not act. Remaining blind to the impact of climate change is not an option. As we witness ever more devastating and destructive natural disasters unfolding all around the world, we are compelled to realise that we are all in this dreadful mess together. It is a global catastrophe the like of which turns

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reality into the plot of a science fiction novel or disaster movie. It is as if the writings of the likes of J G Ballard are becoming the inescapable reality. Science fiction is proving to be all too prophetic and it is a living nightmare that many simply don't wish to confront.

Thankfully there are many Gretas who do have the courage to face up to the threat of global catastrophe and they retain the hope that human action can stop our slide into oblivion. What the young people in increasing numbers are saying ever more loudly is that global action is essential for our survival; how can we not act? Indeed, everyone must rally together to force their governments into sustained and credible action before it is too late. The stakes could not be higher.

The changes are threatening the very existence of humanity and life on earth including all animal life across the world.

The changes are noticed all around the world. Record-breaking temperature incidents occur so often that they no longer attract much comment.

So far this year, Australia experienced record-breaking heat; the American Midwest was inflicted with freezing conditions colder than the Antarctic and, in the UK, temperature hit 20C in what was supposed to be wintertime. A devastating cyclone has destroyed homes and ripped up infrastructure across large parts of Africa claiming hundreds of lives.



The young activists should not simply believe the top politicians who promise the earth but don't deliver; and certainly will not deliver a thing if the pressure is taken off them. Equally, it is not possible to commend those in the UK who have been marching against Brexit, for a second referendum, erroneously described as a "People's Vote" or taking to the streets of London to revoke Article 50 (the mechanism for leaving the European Union), as they did on 23 March.

Crisis after crisis, one extreme weather incident after another, inflicting misery on communities, death and destruction, leaving wreckage and ruined lives in their wake with clean-up costs and reconstruction demands imposing financial obligations that are spiralling out of control, creating repeated and permanent national crises. People are coming to realise that this is now a permanent condition of existence and increasingly extreme weather is rapidly becoming irreversible. Scientists have issued numerous stark warnings and it is time we listened to them. This is what the young people are now telling us. They have issued a warning that there is now little time left to act to reduce carbon emissions, before the effects of climate change become entirely irreversible. Young people seem more aware of this threat than their peers who are supposedly more mature and educated. Hope lies not in any supposed Green New Deals touted by politicians jockeying for high office, but in the dreams and aspirations of the young who are as yet uncorrupted by the taste and trappings of power.

The young activists should not simply believe the top politicians who promise the earth but don't deliver; and certainly will not deliver a thing if the pressure is taken off them. Equally, it is not possible to commend those in the UK who have been marching against Brexit, for a second referendum, erroneously described as a "People's Vote" or taking to the streets of London to revoke Article 50 (the mechanism for leaving the European Union), as they did on 23 March. These actions, although they seem to have captured the imaginations of many thousands of young people, are not really worthy of their attentions because such campaigns are led by unscrupulous and failed politicians, with other agendas, such as pursuit of power for their own gain and to defend the institutions of the European Union, with their serious democrat deficit and bureaucratic inertia; institutions which ultimately obstruct the achievement of social justice and impede the change that is required to protect our planet from the dangers of climate change. The EU, it must be admitted, represents many of the major international corporations who are some of the leading polluters of the earth; the continent is the birthplace of the modern industrial revolution and combines some of the wealthiest countries who are most responsible for depleting the world's resources driven by the economic ethics of growth and consumerism that guide all their actions and decisions.

So, the idealistic young people who took part in such marches are having their dreams and aspirations hijacked for the sake of a project whose ideals stand firmly in opposition to their dreams and aspirations for a secure and happy future. This is a future that all humanity without exception deserves and for which we should all strive, but trust cannot be given to a collection of politicians whose past actions have contributed by their ill-judged policies to bring the world to its current impasse and cusp of a catastrophe the like of which has never been witnessed before.

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One English student, Millie Hilditch-Gray, in Year 11 at Finham Park School, in Coventry, who took part in the recent school strike, wrote to her head teacher with these fine and powerful words:

"I propose to you the question that if the suffragettes had asked for permission, if Malala had asked for permission, if Rosa Parks had asked for permission, if Nelson Mandela asked for permission, if Martin Luther King Junior had asked for permission, would essential change ever had happened?"

This articulates a true political awakening of the world's youth and this is where our hope for the future resides. Older generations, who have held the reins of power and who make the world-changing decisions in the board rooms, have brought us to the brink of disaster. That is an undeniable fact. If we grasp the enormity of what we face, there is still time to change course and we can start by listening to the young people like Greta Thunberg, who deserve to be properly heard. She has clearly shown that she possesses an amazing tenacity and that she has more wisdom at the age of 16 than all the adults combined who have messed up our world so terribly. Let's hear it for our youth, too often wrongly pilloried for their selfishness and thoughtlessness, when in truth they are the future.





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.

DR GRETA SYKES

NATURE AND THE FIRST CLASS STRUGGLE IN HISTORY



Activists in India protest against virginity tests in the states of Madhya Pradesh and Kerala in 2009. Raveendran/AFP/Getty Images <https://www.npr.org/sections/goatsandsoda/2018/10/19/658155056/u-n-calls-for-end-to-virginity-tests>

(This article is based on a talk I gave at a Green Party meeting in February 2019.)

Current issues affecting women

In a recent New Scientist article (NS, October 2018) a report by the World Health Organisation was discussed. The report calls on doctors, police and employers to ban the use of so-called virginity tests on women and girls. Sometimes the so-called two finger test is used. Such tests have been shown to be unscientific. No such evidence proves a woman has had penetrative sex or not. They are humiliating and degrading. They drive women to depression and suicide. The WHO declares that those professionals who continue using such tests should be prosecuted. However, they are still widely used in countries, such as Indonesia, many parts of Africa, India, Pakistan and the Middle East. Immigrants who live in Europe from those countries may also be subjected to them due to family pressure, says the WHO.

Many researchers now argue that 1975 was the year when more people were better off than any time before that year or after. It is a significant statement and indicates that since the destruction of communist countries – starting with the fall of the wall in Germany, 1989 – we have all become poorer worldwide. We have arrived now at a situation in which four fifth of the global population lives in poverty, while in comparative terms, in the West many people still live as if in a chocolate shop.

Such increases in inequality create a sort of pressure cooker of low status experience in which people who suffer financially feel let down. A sense of humiliation sets in, described in detail by Wilkinson (2005) which can lead to social unrest, racism and sexism. The rise of religious beliefs goes hand in hand with a growth in poverty, leading to people seek comfort from traditional belief structures which are offered by religion. Yet the role and status of women is far from equal in our mainly monotheistic religions. Instead they tend to encourage discriminatory behaviour towards them, such as demanding they wear the hijab.



Mary Beard while filming in Rome, Italy.

The growth of jobs in the emerging industries, like IT and engineering, is set to disproportionately hurt women and the progress made in reducing pay inequality. This is suggested by a report from the World Economic Forum (WEF). It found that despite the fact that the gender pay gap (the difference between average earning for men and women) has been narrowing over recent years, there are still 202 years ahead before the compensation parity is finally reached. The progress could even get lengthier if progress is not made in bringing more women into the workforce, said WEF. While we are within the capitalist system such progress is unlikely. The digital world is driven by capitalist profit motives. It harms nature and natural human relations, i.e. less face to face contact, less scope for personal relationships, more abstraction.

Mary Beard and George Thomson

Historian Mary Beard quotes the Odyssey in her book 'Women and power' (2017). Telemachus, son of Odysseus, speaks to his mother, Penelope, when she asks a bard to choose a more pleasant song. He says to her:

'Mother, go back to your quarters and take up your own work, the loom and the distaff... speech will be the business of men, all men, and of me most of all, for mine is the power in the household.' Beard comments 'right where written evidence for Western culture started, women's voices are not being heard in the public sphere.'

Mary Beard has been subjected to disgusting obscenities in relation to parts of her body after appearing on a TV discussion and debate on women's rights. Women even if they have not been silenced have to pay a very high price for being heard. Similar to 2000 years ago. Lack of respect in society leads to lack of self-respect which in turn leads to not respecting others who also suffer from low status. Such lowering of status was experienced by Paula Williams, a pastor, who transitioned from male to female. She comments that it was shocking how much less respect or attention she received after the change. (New Scientist, April 2018). She was offered fewer jobs, earned less money and found people were taking her less seriously, preferring the views of men.

George Thomson, historian (Studies in ancient Greek society, 1949) had studied ancient languages, Latin and Greek. He was able to trace the origin of words and their role in defining family relationships. Using linguistics, he found that the whole of the Mediterranean basin used to be matriarchic. He suggests that the arrival of Athenian democracy meant that women were banished from the street to the house. Both Thomson and Beard point to the fact that our short history of the western

Historian Mary Beard quotes the Odyssey in her book 'Women and power' (2017). Telemachus, son of Odysseus, speaks to his mother, Penelope, when she asks a bard to choose a more pleasant song. He says to her:

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world of 2000 years is based on subduing the voice of women and shutting her away indoors via childcare. Subduing the voice of women, is, of course, not a prerogative of the western world, other cultures engage in similar discriminations of women.

Within the scope of human life on earth, thought to have existed for at least 50000 years, 2000 years is a short time. This indicates that it is important to look further and altogether outside modern times to explore what the mechanism might be by which it is achieved to oppress women.

The first class struggle in history

According to Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels it is private property that plays this significant role. When human tribes began to be able to accumulate property beyond their immediate needs, either by owning herds of cattle or by building food surplus or making goods, issues of inheritance emerged. At such a time man began to take an interest in their progeny, thus leading them to want to make sure a woman with his children was their property. Marx and Engels called this 'the first class struggle in history (The origin of the family, private property and the state, 1979).

When women had equal power with men property issues were dealt with by the whole community of a clan, tribe or in the early cities through the development of rules. Early societies like that tended therefore to be called matriarchies and matrilineal succession. Thomson could illustrate by accessing names and changes to names in the original language how clans and tribes around the Mediterranean employed matrilineal succession, as well as how it gradually changed to patrilineal succession. In a matrilineal society or group all names are inherited from the mother. It means succession passes from mother to daughter. Women stay in the female household. Men have to move into the household of the woman they wish to have a family with. Women own the wealth and decide over it. Gradually over time men begin to deputise for women in local functions they hold and stand in for a woman. In this manner chiefs and priests gradually obtain rights which used to belong to women. Eventually men demand that their sons or daughters are given their name, and so husbands and fathers emerge in the role of leader of a household or village, giving their names to their children. While originally priestesses were in charge of temple activities, such as brewing, baking and scribing, priests began to take their place. In her moving novel 'The red tent' Anita Diamant (1997) writes:

'This is not your fault or mine, the chain connecting mother to daughter was broken and the word passed to the keeping of men, who had no way of knowing.'

In Mesopotamia, similar to Egypt, a sophisticated society developed under a belief system of many gods and goddesses. Cities were built in which temples were at the heart of social activity. In the temples priestesses were in charge of brewing and baking. The invention of writing is said to originate in Mesopotamia around the years 3000 BC. Everything was recorded on terracotta tablets in writing called cuneiform. The flood is reportedly an event which took place near the Sumer city of Ur. The story of the flood was passed on from generation to generation and finally arrived in the bible at about 400 BC.

We learn about the Semitic herdsmen referred to in the bible and their custom to own all the women and the herds and decide over their fate. It becomes apparent that the ownership of a woman or women demands owning her sexuality and fertility. The emphasis in later centuries on having to prove her virginity, as is still a practice found today illustrates the power men gained to own a woman.

From polytheism to monotheism

Jan Assmann stresses that the shift from polytheism to monotheism changed the world radically (From Moses to Akhenaten, 2016). Ownership of property meant that the diversity of many gods and goddesses which had so far fulfilled the spiritual needs of the people had to give way to the one god. It may not be surprising that the religion to believe in one god arose in the desert where nothing grew. Societies, like Egypt and Mesopotamia, on the other hand, had fertile land. Great societies developed through the labour of men and women who successfully used the fertility of the land to grow food. Their spiritual inclination led them to adore nature and pray to nature. All the gods and goddesses are figures who represent aspects of nature, such as the earth, water, rivers, reeds, the moon etc. Figurines of gods and goddesses were washed, dressed and fed at the time of festivals when they were carried through the town or village to honour them. In Diamant's story Jakob orders his women to destroy all their god figures, a poignant example of no permission of more than one god.

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The Code of Hammurabi

Around the years 1700 BC Hammurabi had a code or law written which is considered to be the first such code. We know from assyrologists who have deciphered thousands of cuneiform tablets that the rights of women were reduced by the time of 1700 BC. Jean Bottero (2001) comments that Mesopotamian women before Hammurabi could freely possess property of any kind, jewels, money slaves and could bequeath them as they wished. She could borrow funds, lease land and act as a witness.

Matriarchies still exist today. The Khasi people live in India near Assam. All property goes to the youngest daughter, and she has the responsibility to look after the old parents. Men leave to live with the family of a woman he has children with.



Jainti women from a sub-tribe of Khasi (matriarchal), Meghalaya, India.
<https://www.utsavpedia.com/attires/khasi-garo-jaintia-mikir-meghalaya-tribes/>

A matriarchal society can be defined as one in which women enjoy recognisable economic, social and religious privileges. As we know rights to a woman's sexuality and fertility disappear when the other rights are under attack. George Thomson argues that women began a lot of the cultural activities that led to civilisation's success, such as cultivating plants, seed planning, herbal remedies, writing, brewing, all came under the power of the temples and priestesses.

She had rights over her own body, meaning her sexuality and her fertility were her own.

In 1928 Sir Leonard Woolley, archaeologist, made a major discovery in southern Mesopotamia, when he found a mass grave. One of them contained the skeleton of queen Shuh-bad from Ur. All her jewellery was still on her body, as well as a beautiful crown and many artefacts such as beakers and vases, illustrating the high esteem in which she was held.

Skewed history of time

If we take one hour to be equal of 1000 years we are only 5 or 6 hours away from the beginning of civilisation. Such a metaphor can bring us closer to comprehending that we are small in the face of the human story and the ancient epics and myths are likely to feature larger in it than we usually think. We usually study just the last few hundred years, perhaps as far back as the birth of Jesus Christ, while the human story of civilisation goes back much further, at least to 3000 BC in terms of the invention of writing. In that sense we tend to look at a skewed perspective on history. Mark van Mierop comments (2009);

'Somehow, when women's history is involved very atemporal attitude emerges in scholarship, as if a woman's lot is a natural condition – much of it determined by the bible and Semitic interpretations and Aeschylus.'

Egypt and Mesopotamia had highly developed cultures with belief systems in a multitude of gods and goddesses while the Semitic tribes were herdsmen in the desert. In these myths goddesses often feature as at least as powerful as gods, thus reflecting the human society from which they emanated. Such early myths were told and retold, such as the story of the flood which later ended up in the bible. As society changes the new rulers adapt the myths to their new belief and power structure.

Matriarchy in early Greece and now

A matriarchal society can be defined as one in which women enjoy recognisable economic, social and religious privileges. As we know rights to a woman's sexuality and fertility disappear when the other rights are under attack. George Thomson argues that women began a lot of the cultural activities that led to civilisation's success, such as cultivating plants, seed planning, herbal remedies, writing, brewing, all came under the power of the temples and priestesses.



Clytemnestra & Agamemnon - Pierre-Narcisse Guérin (1774-1833)

George Thomson studied ancient Greek societies using the language clans and tribes were using and found early matriarchies around the whole Mediterranean. However, this changed when classical Greek writers like Aeschylus arrived. He used his substantial skills to portray the change from matriarchy to patriarchy in order to world-build an architecture in which the control of women evaporates and is handed over to men. Shrewd, powerful Clytemnestra rebels against battle hungry men by taking a lover during Agamemnon's absence. By the last play the young god Apollo, champion of conjugality and law, with the support of androgynous Athena – who was not born from a woman- wins, and Orestes, the murderer of his own mother, is declared innocent.

Matriarchies still exist today. The Khasi people live in India near Assam. All property goes to the youngest daughter, and she has the responsibility to look after the old parents. Men leave to live with the family of a woman he has children with.

Conclusion

In the course of a relatively short time human society has become dominated by men who forced their desire for property and ownership on most aspects of life. The ownership of women goes hand in hand with a belief that nature can be owned and controlled by human action. Thus nature, women and art are degraded to become instruments for buying and selling and the enhancement of property. We have reached a stage where 1% of humans own 99% of the wealth. Along the way spirituality has been destroyed leaving many people feeling a sense of loss, confusion and hopelessness. By returning to a feminist inspired ecological spirituality we can begin to rebuild a society that becomes worth living in with an attitude of care towards each other and towards nature. This rebuilding entails confronting the nihilism that arose when 'capitalism won' and the wall in Germany fell and beginning to rebuild socialism and an ownership of the means of production by the many, instead of by the few.

Miranda Forsyth is an Associate Professor at RegNet and also a Fellow at the Department of Pacific Affairs in the College of Asia and Pacific at ANU. In July 2015 she completed a three year ARC Discovery funded project to investigate the impact of intellectual property laws on development in Pacific Island countries. Prior to coming to the ANU, Miranda was a senior lecturer in criminal law at the law school of the University of the South Pacific, based in Port Vila, Vanuatu for eight years. Miranda is the author of *A Bird that Flies with Two Wings: Kastom and State Justice Systems in Vanuatu* (2009) ANU ePress and co-author of *Weaving Intellectual Property Policy in Small Island Developing States*, Intersentia 2015. Republished by permission of <http://regnet.anu.edu.au/>



DR MIRANDA FORSYTH ACTIVATING THE FIVE POWERS OF LAW



Dr Miranda Forsyth conducting field research in Bougainville. Photograph courtesy Dr Miranda Forsyth.

Some methods of rule of law promotion, such as support for the development of new legislation, frequently lead to disappointing results. The reason for this is that partner states such as Germany only focus on one of the many different powers of the law and do not pay attention to activating the full range of its powers. German ministries should take a careful look at the methodologies of their implementing agencies and “activate” all the powers of the law. Many rule of law assistance programs have a heavy emphasis on supporting the development of legislation. Laws are frequently viewed as a magical tool capable of wondrous development outcomes – ending gender-based violence, preventing land grabs, empowering the poor. Legal anthropologists and development scholars have spent decades rightly critiquing such mythologization and the problematic emphasis on legislative drafting which so often fails to result in meaningful changes to socio-legal realities. Yet, the role of the state and state law in much of the world is increasing, including in places where the German government’s new strategy for the rule of law assistance is applicable. It is worthwhile, then, probing deeper into what legislation actually “is” in particular contexts, in order to identify its many and varied possibilities. To do so, we need a conceptual framework that can disambiguate the different powers of legislation, and explain how they are brought to life within their targeted communities. Such a framework should stress the importance of going beyond the “draft, gazette, implement”-concept of a legislative journey and contend that legislation possesses many different potential powers. Those that are sought to be used in a given context need to be identified, together with the precise mechanisms necessary to activate them and increase their impact.

The different powers of law

Citizens and policy-makers often see legislation as possessing only one power - the **instrumental power** of law: written articulation by a state of rules that require the conformity of individuals and other legal entities, backed by the threat of legal sanctions, and, ultimately, the use of force. This is the most visible power of legislation and receives the most focus during the development of legislation. When a legal “gap” analysis is done, for instance, it is this highly positivist approach that is most usually adopted to determine which new laws are needed.

A further power is the **jurisdictional power of the law**. This is the claiming of authority and legitimacy to regulate a particular space through the enactment of legislation. As such it really involves two assertions of power: first, that something is the subject of legal regulation, and second, about the identity of the regulator. This jurisdictional power may be exercised by a state or sub-state actor, or by an international regime, such as the International Criminal Court. This type of power is not concerned with the contents of the legislation per se, and is often part of state-building and boundary-marking by different levels of government or justification by international actors.

The instrumental power may be exercised in practice in a fair, arbitrary or prejudicial manner. In contrast, the most commonly overlooked power of legislation is the **hybridizing power of law**. This is the legislation's impact on other regulatory regimes or normative frameworks, such as religious legal orders, customary law regimes or industry codes of conduct. For instance, leaders of a particular community might decide to prohibit forced marriage of girls, given their desire to act in congruence with state legal principles. The most commonly overlooked power of legislation is the hybridizing power of law - its impact on other regulatory regimes or normative frameworks. Another important power is the **narrative power of law**. This refers to the manner in which law is incorporated into narratives about its meaning and how it engages with individual and community norms, self-identities and moral standards. Regulatory scholars who argue for the need to change the 'storybook' as well as the 'rulebook' are referring to this particular power. A further power is the **jurisdictional power of the law**. This is the claiming of authority and legitimacy to regulate a particular space through the enactment of legislation. As such it really involves two assertions of power: first, that something is the subject of legal regulation, and second, about the identity of the regulator. This jurisdictional power may be exercised by a state or sub-state actor, or by an international regime, such as the International Criminal Court. This type of power is not concerned with the contents of the legislation per se, and is often part of state-building and boundary-marking by different levels of government or justification by international actors. As such, it is often highly contested and political, particularly when it involves moving into the socio-cultural domain. The final power identified here (there are others) is the **signalling power of law**. This is the use of legislation to convey messages about new standards of behavior or expectations from the state to society, such as the criminalization of domestic violence. It is sometimes also called the power of law to "name and frame."

Activating the powers of law

The second key part of the conceptual framework proposed here is that each of the powers of law need to be "activated" in order to have the desired effect. The enactment of legislation or even its implementation is not sufficient to fulfil its various powers. In contexts characterised by oral legal traditions, activation usually requires a relational process, involving the formation of relationships and social practices around the legislation to give it voice, power and agency. Activation, therefore, occurs primarily through people orally interpreting, re-enacting, story-telling, and performing legislation through a variety of networks (professional, religious, family, and/or community), rather than solely through written communications or directives. The activation of the five different powers of law will vary across time and space. The narrative power and the hybridizing power – to an extent – include activation within their very definition, whilst the paths to activate the other powers may

In order to utilize legislation in an effective way in rule of law programs, the German government and its implementing agencies should understand first of all what legislation actually is in the context of the partner country. This involves unsettling assumptions about what Fitzpatrick has termed the **"holistic, unitary conceptions of law."** One way to do this is to analyse the different types of potential powers of legislation.

be less obvious. The extent of activation will depend on the context, individuals and networks of relationships involved, as well as the particular content of a particular piece of legislation.

Activation is often overlooked

For example, those seeking to activate new legislation targeted towards stopping family violence should consider three points: First, a program of socialization of the new legislation within justice agencies in which officers should share their thoughts and experiences with the new legislation with each other. Second, convening workshops with customary leaders in communities and at provincial and/or national levels to discuss tensions and synergies between the new legislation and their approaches to these issues. And third, identify theatre or multi-media groups working in the area that are interested in including some key new content from the legislation into their productions. The activation part of the legislative process is often overlooked or hurried in rule of law programs. For all legislation, it is possible that one or more powers are not activated. There is also the risk that powers are activated in ways that are unintended and unwanted by the creators of the legislation. These problems can be addressed by closely considering the actual activation pathways (and existing networks and modes of communication) that are likely to be the most conducive to the drafters' initial policy objectives, as well as those that are likely to be activated independently and in undesirable ways which may need to be countered.

Understand what legislation actually "is" in a particular context

In order to utilize legislation in an effective way in rule of law programs, the German government and its implementing agencies should understand first of all what legislation actually is in the context of the partner country. This involves unsettling assumptions about what Fitzpatrick has termed the **"holistic, unitary conceptions of law."** One way to do this is to analyse the different types of potential powers of legislation. The second necessary step is to understand that in a countries with strong oral legal traditions – such as countries across Oceania, Yemen, Mali and many others – it is necessary to activate law through its performance as well as oral retelling in order for it to have meaning and effect. For this, people not only need to have knowledge of the law, but it needs to be integrated into the individual's own social practices. Actors formulating legislation often neglect to actively take this step, nullifying the potential of the legislation to fulfil policy directions. For this reason, Germany's strategy should include an "activation" step as part of all rule of law assistance programs that involve legislative development.



Eleanor Moseman.

Eleanor Moseman is an American photographer that has been documenting China for a decade. Working with minorities, women among religious cultures, the working-class, and those enslaved into poverty, Eleanor strives to immerse herself in the culture of the people. Creating imagery and stories to seek resolutions of the inflicted while sharing voices of the unknown, forgotten, and persecuted. Her time is divided between commercial work while pursuing long term, socially conscious and meaningful photo-journalistic projects, or roaming the plateaus of Tibet and deserts of Xinjiang. Eleanor's photography and writing has been published internationally and a [TEDxShanghaiWomen](#) speaker in 2016. Recently, she was awarded the Ohio (State) Arts Council 2019 Individual Excellence Award and financial grant for her photography and story-telling in Tibet

NOMADIC TRADITIONS OF THE FIERCE AND BOLD

TEXT & PHOTOGRAPHS BY
ELEANOR MOSEMAN

Last year's World Nomad Games, a celebration of nomadic heritage, took place in the Issyk-Kul province of Kyrgyzstan. I photographed female competitors who had travelled from all over central Asia and eastern Europe, and explored the difficulties and challenges they face as competitors.

The third World Nomad Games took place from September 2 to 8, 2018, in the Issyk-Kul region of Kyrgyzstan. Under the patronage of UNESCO, this sporting and cultural event is the largest international project held in the Kyrgyz Republic, and initiates the preservation and revival of nomadic traditions. The slogan for 2018 – 'United in Strength! United in Spirit!' – was aimed at fostering a more integrated relationship among the diverse nomadic clans of the world. The biennial games provides a venue not only for competitors in Central Asia but also nomadic communities from Europe and North America. The first-ever World Nomad Games was launched in Kyrgyzstan in 2014, with the participation of 600 athletes from 19 countries. Last year, 3,000 athletes and cultural performers from 77 countries participated in 37 nomadic sports and the week-long Nomad Universe ethnoculture festival



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02 World Nomadic Games, Issyk-Kul, Kyrgyzstan.



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03 World Nomadic Games, Issyk-Kul, Kyrgyzstan.



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05 World Nomadic Games, Issyk-Kul, Kyrgyzstan.



06 World Nomadic Games, Issyk-Kul, Kyrgyzstan.



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10 World Nomadic Games, Issyk-Kul, Kyrgyzstan.



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16 World Nomadic Games, Issyk-Kul, Kyrgyzstan.



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18 World Nomadic Games, Issyk-Kul, Kyrgyzstan.



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19 World Nomadic Games, Issyk-Kul, Kyrgyzstan.



23 World Nomadic Games, Issyk-Kul, Kyrgyzstan.



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24 World Nomadic Games, Issyk-Kul, Kyrgyzstan.



26 World Nomadic Games, Issyk-Kul, Kyrgyzstan.

<https://www.emmabarone.com/>



GEOMETRIC LANDSCAPES & CITYSCAPES

ARTWORK BY
EMMA BARONE

Irish artist Emma Barone reinvents scenes as otherworldly landscapes made of colourful geometric shapes inspired by nature's incredible beauty. Her vivid use of colours, contrasts and shapes make scenes look broken, yet perfectly put together, like a mosaic.

Using a bold colour palette, the artist's abstract landscape compositions explore the contrast between hard and soft by highlighting the diverse shapes found in nature.

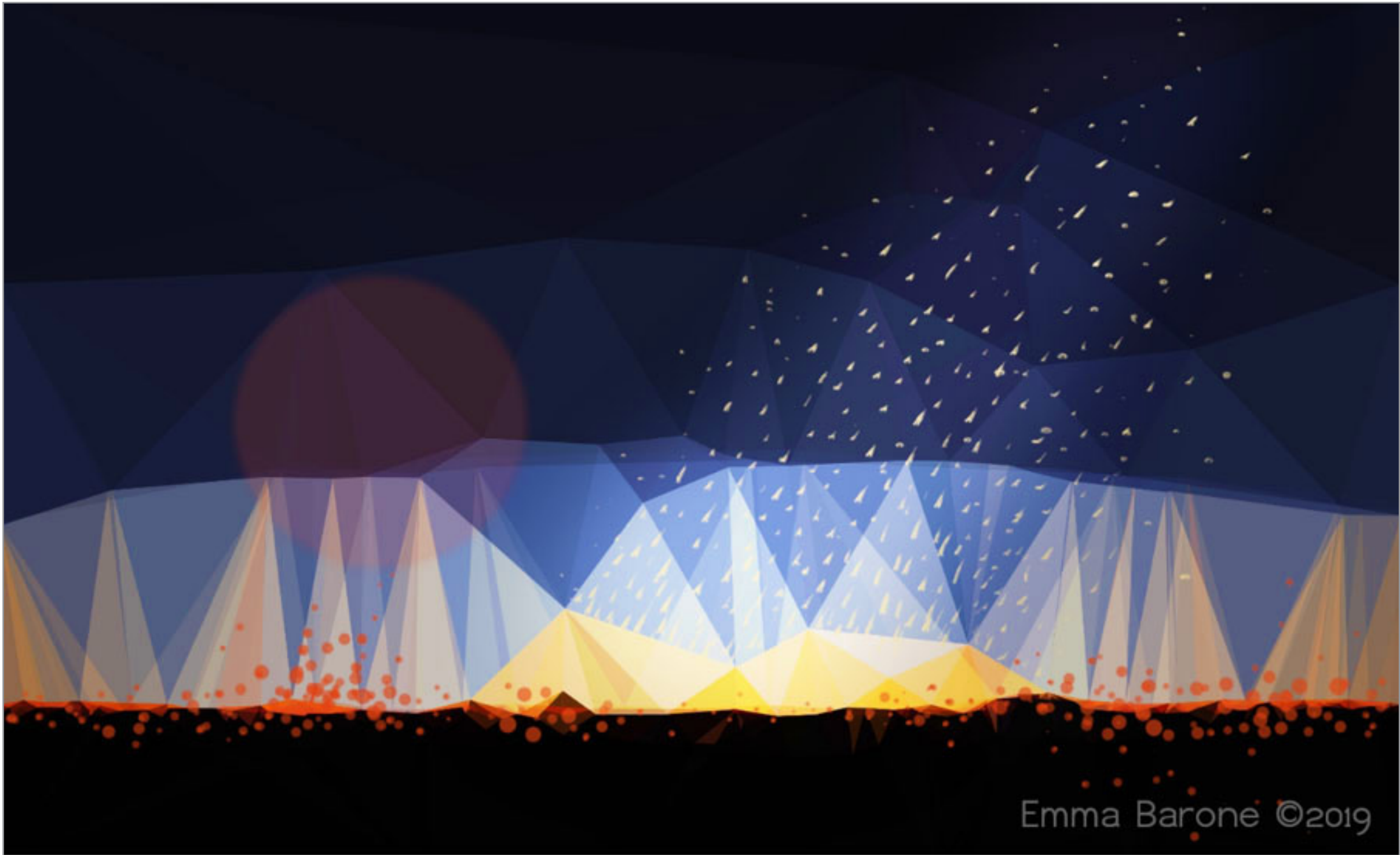
In her cityscapes the effect of the modern architecture is slightly softened and abstracted with texture and given a geometric effect with blocks of vibrant colour throughout.

Barone uses double exposure and multiple layering techniques and processes to create both vibrant landscapes and cityscapes. Her geometric style continues to evolve throughout time. Naturally, this leads her to experimenting with a lot of different settings and situations which widens the scope of her current work.

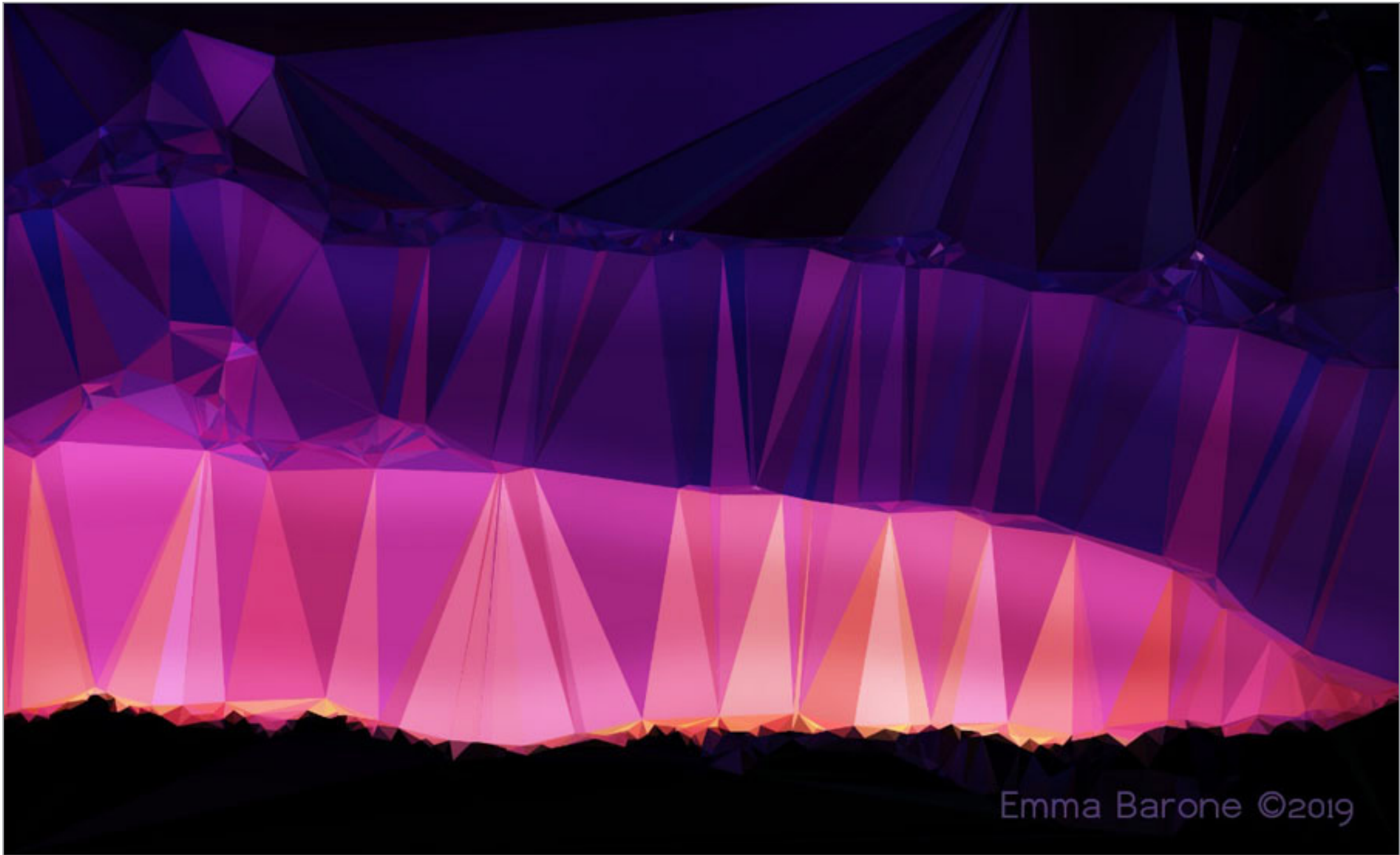
These surreal scenes are expressive and unique with whimsical touches that draw the viewer in, encouraging the mind to imagine what an alternate and more vivid world could look like.



Dryland



Raining up



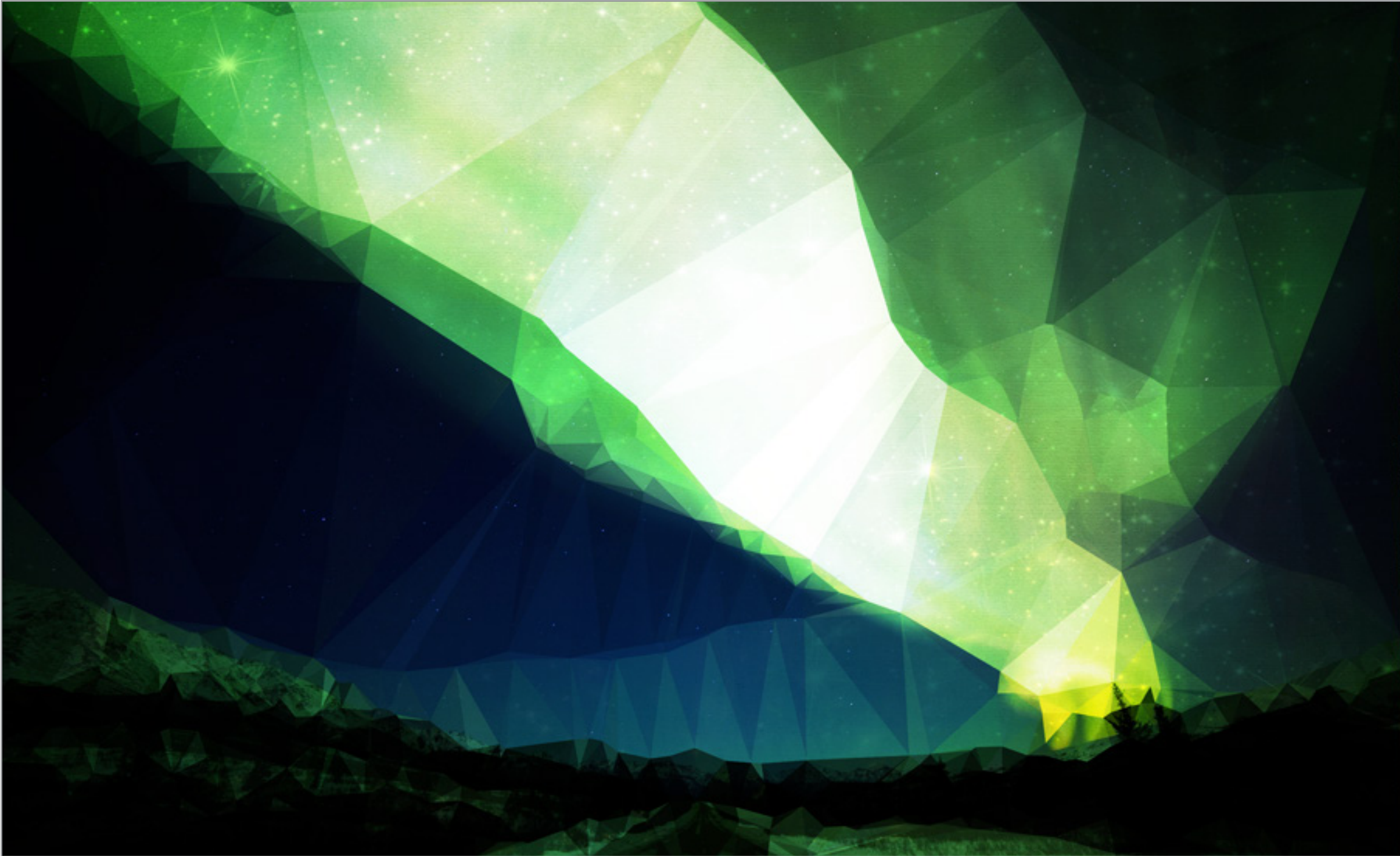
Magenta glacier



City in the sky



Polar Light



Aurora



Venice matrix

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*.



SRI LANKA, WHERE ELSE?

TEXT & PHOTOGRAPHS BY
MIKYOUNG CHA

These photographs are third in a series on Sri Lanka, the first and second being in the February and March issues of LE Mag.

The following silhouettes of *serendipity* captured my senses. I hope you enjoy them so much that one day you too will visit beautiful Sri Lanka to experience first-hand its vibrant ethos.



The Nine Arch Bridge, between Ella and Demodara railway stations..



Sacred City of Kandy.



Negombo Fishery Harbour.



Stilt fishing at the beach of Weligama.



View of Sigiriya Lion Rock from the top of Pidurangala Rock.

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ABSTRACT REALISM

ARTWORK BY
WOLFGANG WIDMOSER

Having a close look at my palette, fresh and dried areas of oil-colour, I thought to take a photograph with a high resolution digital camera. Soon I was amazed what this magnifying glass revealed, looking down at strange colourful landscapes, geological structures from distant corners of the universe appeared mountains, valleys violet lakes and yellow rivers, golden deserts and pink islands, cracks like the strokes of a Zen-master....the voyage had started. Though I was considered a phantastic-realist painter, I thought of myself more of an abstract artist, being obsessed with exact geometry, complicated reflections in distorted mirrors, composition with colour-segments, the energy of the brush-stroke etc. There it was: everything I ever could imagine contained in a square centimetre of my palette...

Abstract Realism was born.

The essence of things must be right under that pink blob, its shiny surface reflecting the rest of the universe or at least half of it.....



Bo - 2015 oil on canvas 150x180cm

Anik - 2015 - oil on canvas 150x180cm



Adil - 2015 - oil on canvas 150x180cm





Luh Sari - 2018 - oil on canvas 160x100cm



Telaga - 2018 - oil on canvas 160x100cm



Red blobs – oil on canvas 180x112cm



Golden birds - oil on canvas 180x112cm



Artemis reggio – oil on canvas 180x150cm

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Signed copies of
Ozlem's Turkish Table; Recipes from My Homeland
 by Ozlem Warren is available at
www.gbpublishing.co.uk/product-page/ozlem-s-turkish-table-hardback



PIDE EKMEK HOME-MADE TURKISH PIDE BREAD

Bread, ekmek is a major staple in Turkish cuisine and appears generously at breakfast, lunch and dinner. Bread is treated with high respect and rarely wasted at home; stale bread is used in spreads like in this [Walnuts and red pepper paste dip, Muhammara – Cevizli Biber](#), in soups as well as in puddings. Traditional oval or round pide bread, Ekmek, is a national favorite, traditionally cooked in hot clay oven. Pide bread is also a must in Turkish tables and highly consumed during the Ramadan period to break the fast. I have lots of fond childhood memories of strolling through [Uzun Carsi, Long Market in Antakya](#) to pick up the freshly baked bread and how delicious it was. Grandma would always order a spare one as she knew we had a soft spot for pide bread and half would be gone on the way home – just irresistible.

Afiyet Olsun,

Ozlem



Pic one: Stretch the dough into large, uneven rounds and indent the dough with your fingertips.
 Pic two: Turkish pide bread, pide ekmek, straight from the oven. © Ozlem Warren

Serves: 8 to 10

Ingredients:

- 1 lb. / 450 gr all-purpose plain flour
- ¼ oz. 7 gr dried yeast or ½ oz. / 15 gr fresh yeast
- ½ tsp. sugar
- 6 fl. oz. / 175 ml lukewarm water
- 5 ml / 1 tsp. salt
- 30 ml / 2 tbsp. thick yoghurt
- 30 ml / 2 tbsp. olive oil
- 1 egg, beaten
- 30 ml / 2 tbsp. nigella seeds or poppy seeds
- 30 ml / 2 tbsp. sesame seeds

Instructions

1. Preheat oven to 400 F / 200 C
2. Cream the yeast with sugar in half of the lukewarm water, leave to froth.
3. Sift the flour with the salt. Make a well in the middle and pour in the yeast, olive oil, yoghurt and the rest of the water. With using your hands, draw in the flour from the sides and work the mixture into a sticky dough. Add a little more water if necessary. Knead until the dough is smooth and leaves the sides of the bowl (drizzle a little oil in your hands to help shape the dough, if needed too).



Above: Firin, bakery in Long Market, Uzun Carsi; fond memories of getting our daily bread from there. © Ozlem Warren

4. Continue to knead on a lightly floured surface until the dough is elastic and smooth. Roll it in the few drops of olive oil in the bowl, cover with a damp towel and leave to prove in a warm place for 1- 1 ½ hours or until doubled in size.
5. Preheat 2 baking sheets.
6. Once doubled, punch the dough down, knead again and divide it into two pieces. Knead each piece well. Flatten them out with the heel of your hand and stretch them into large, uneven rounds or ovals, creating thick lip around the edges. Indent the dough with your fingertips.
7. Lightly oil two hot baking sheets and place them in the oven for 2 minutes. Place the pide on them and brush the pides with the beaten egg. Then sprinkle the nigella (or poppy) seeds and sesame seeds over the top.
8. Bake the pides for 18 – 20 minutes, until lightly golden with a crisp crust around the edges. Transfer them to a wire rack. If you want them to retain their softness, wrap them in aluminium foil or in a dry towel while still warm.

Notes

To keep the pides soft and warm, place a dry towel over them when fresh out of the oven. You can also reheat them before eating; just sprinkle them with water and place in a hot oven (180 C/ 350 F) for a few minutes.

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Live encounters

FREE ONLINE MAGAZINE FROM VILLAGE EARTH
APRIL 2019



Photograph by Mark Ulyseas