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Kautilya's Arthashastra Dr. Medha Bisht

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Lotus, WakaGangga, Bali.

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Om Shanti Shanti Shanti Om

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Kautilya's Arthashastra

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Abolish the Sedition Law, Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code

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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*, which was relaunched as *Live Encounters Poetry & Writing* in March 2017. In February 2019 the third publication was launched, *LE Children Poetry & Writing* (now renamed *Live Encounters Young Poets & Writers*).



Encountering the Kurds

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.



Islamic State Returnees: India's Counter-Radicalization vs Deradicalization Approach

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.



Teach peace now. Later may be too late.

Dr Peter Gonsalves

Peter Gonsalves, PhD, teaches the Sciences of Social Communication at Salesian University, Rome. He is author of the Gandhian trilogy – *Clothing for Liberation* (Sage 2010), *Khadi: Gandhi's Mega Symbol of Subversion* (Sage 2012) and *Gandhi and the Popes* (Peter Lang, 2015). He may be visited at www.petergonsalves.in This is an excerpt of a longer article Peter had written on the importance of Peace Education in India.



The Queen and her daughters

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.



Mentawai islands

Joo Peter

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



Санкт-Петербург - White Nights

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.



The Carnivorous Sundew

Tina Claffey

Tina Claffey is an award winning nature photographer and author of 'Tapestry of Light-Ireland's bogs & wetlands as never seen before' released in October 2017. For almost 10 years, she lived and worked in pristine wilderness areas in Botswana, and this experience awakened in her an appreciation of the natural world of Ireland. Her observations and unique perspective of the flora and fauna of the unspoiled raised bogs and wet woodlands of the Irish midlands are celebrated in her work.



Vietnam in Black & White

Vũ Tuấn Hưng

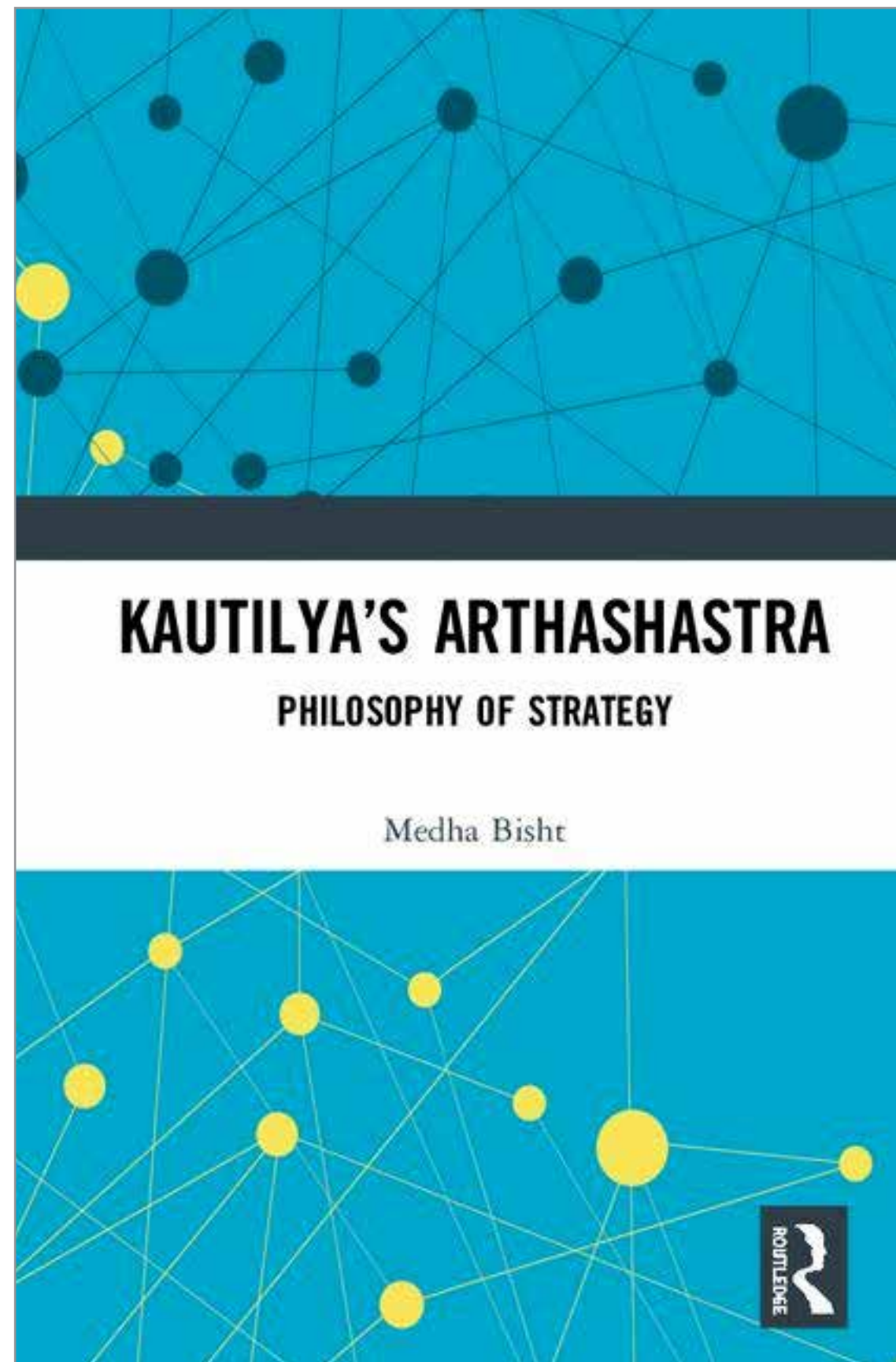
Vũ Tuấn Hưng is a professional photographer and tour guide based in Hồ Chí Minh city. He is a tour guide for mainly German speaking tourists. His photographs feature in numerous publications across the world. If you are visiting Vietnam and need his assistance please email - vietnaminfos@gmail.com



Cokelek Salatasi

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 Seferi" TV program aired at TRT, National Turkish TV channel and in 37 countries.



'Kautilya's Arthashastra: Philosophy of Strategy' is under publication with Routledge (London and New York).

[South Asian University](#) [Routledge India](#) [Amazon.com](#) [Amazon.in](#)



Dr Medha Bisht is a Senior Assistant Professor at the Department of International Relations, South Asian University. Her research interests include Transnational Networks, Water Governance and Diplomacy, Bhutan and Non-Western Sources of Diplomatic Practice. She has an edited book and monograph and published book chapters and several articles in peer-reviewed journals such as *Strategic Analyses* (Routledge), *South Asian Survey* (Routledge), *Social Change* (Sage), *International Studies* (Sage) *Contemporary South Asia* (Routledge) and *The University Press Limited* (Dhaka). She has led two international projects on trans-boundary rivers with Pakistan and Bangladesh respectively.

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DR MEDHA BISHT

READING KAUTILYA'S ARTHASHASTRA - IN BETWEEN PHILOSOPHY AND STRATEGY

Classics are subliminal in character enthralling minds across generations. While composed in a specific historico-cultural moment, the questions they seek to address often have a universal appeal. In the case of *Arthashastra*, the text emphasises on understanding the 'political'.

Thus, non-western classics not only invite us to understand multiple thoughtways, but also familiarize us with a genre of epistemic practices which stemmed from specific geo-cultural spaces. Significantly, reading classics helps emancipate ideas which are non-western and helps decolonising disciplines such as International Relations, which were primarily built on the experience and the intellectual thought of the Anglo-American world. A classic reflection of such unconscious cognitive bias is indicated through interpretations of Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, a text, which was composed around the fourth century BCE. The treatment of the text is thereby driven by a paradigmatic approach, and little effort has been given to understand the philosophical/ideational underpinnings of Hindu philosophy which inspired the grand strategic design offered in Kautilya's *Arthashastra*.

The inspiration behind my forthcoming book (*Kautilya's Arthashastra: Philosophy of Strategy* published by Routledge: London and New York), were some of these haunting intellectual curiosities. A striking pattern, which emerged from my reading of *Arthashastra*, was its emphasis on dharma interpreted as order, and how maintaining and regulating this order, became the teleological purpose behind the idea of state and statecraft. Dharma, in Hindu philosophy was not equated with a theocratic framework, but understood more as a way of life, which became the normative guide for the king and subjects in political and social affairs. In the idyllic state of Kautilya, dharma thus became the reflective basis for "knowing, understanding and judging" the political phenomenon.

An important insight from my reading of *Arthashastra* relates to the nature of conversation between western IR and non-western IR and I caution one to refrain from a binary understanding of the two. Though *Arthashastra* was a strategic text, it does offer epistemic value to concepts as employed and theorised in the discipline of International Relations. The book therefore facilitates a dialogue between *meanings* associated with the Hindu concept dharma, and how these meanings move when one invokes concepts such as power, morality and order.

Dharma was thus indirectly related to the sustenance of social order, and was equally applicable to the king as it was to a common man. Thus, concept of dharma here can be interpreted as order, and maintaining and regulating this order, became the political objective of state and statecraft. The purpose of political was, therefore hinged towards maintaining order both at the internal and external level. Hence, Kautilya's *Arthashastra* took both the macro and micro challenges into account, where policies were crafted based on the notion of interrelatedness, which I would say shaped the architecture for governance and strategy broadly identified with the idea of state and statecraft in classical Indian thought.

While the **book** offers an engagement with concepts used in international relations as they give meaning to strategy in *Arthashastra*, it also extrapolates insights from disciplines such as grand strategy, international relations theory and political theory. An important insight from my reading of *Arthashastra* relates to the nature of conversation between western IR and non-western IR and I caution one to refrain from a binary understanding of the two. Though *Arthashastra* was a strategic text, it does offer epistemic value to concepts as employed and theorised in the discipline of International Relations. The book therefore facilitates a dialogue between *meanings* associated with the Hindu concept of dharma, and how these meanings move when one invokes concepts such as power, morality and order.

There are two factors significant for reading *Arthashastra*.

First, the idea of political and the way it was envisioned in *Arthashastra*. This helps us understand the strategic wisdom that comes out from this pre-westphalian text. In this context terminologies such as upadhas (tests of deception), upayas (stratagems), sadgunya (six measures of foreign policy) and saptanga (seven elements of state power) start getting their meaning. While defining the term political can be a daunting task to begin with, the questions of what, how and why can offer useful pointers. First (what), it draws our attention to central objects which determine the nature of political, second (how), it inspires us to ask ways through which the question of political was approached and third (why), it puts us in a more reflexive mode, where we question the very purpose of emphasising the political. For a more revisionist understanding of *Arthashastra*, which I emphasise upon, the third question is important because it spells out the reason for which the idea of state and statecraft became important. I say this because power served the specific purpose of maintaining order and stability.

This relativist meaning of power makes the understanding of ideational underpinnings a categorical imperative, which in turn directs us to understand the interdependent relationship between Hindu authoritative texts such as *dharmashastras* and *arthashastras*. The relevance of dharmashastras to arthashastras stem from the important place and legitimacy that the former occupied in Hindu thought - not only in emphasising the role of the king but also in terms of the varna-ashramas and the theory of karma. Where the varna ashramas laid down the duties and rules of the social system, the theory of karma psychologically sanctioned the observance of the caste duties, where one had personal

responsibility of following ones duty in a virtuous manner. Varna dharma and karma dharma thus become instructive frameworks for underlining the relevance of maintaining social order.

Dharma was thus indirectly related to the sustenance of social order, and was equally applicable to the king as it was to a common man. Thus, concept of dharma here can be interpreted as order, and maintaining and regulating this order, became the political objective of state and statecraft. The purpose of political was, therefore hinged towards maintaining order both at the internal and external level. Hence, Kautilya's *Arthashastra* took both the macro and micro challenges into account, where policies were crafted based on the notion of interrelatedness, which I would say shaped the architecture for governance and strategy broadly identified with the idea of state and statecraft in classical Indian thought. Thus Kautilya's reference to authoritative texts (dharmashastras and nitishastras) can be perceived as serving strategic, instrumental purpose for underlining the need of maintaining societal order (saptanga theory) in secular terms and introducing the vocabulary of mandala - the circle of states in spatial terms. The spatial dimension of the theory of mandala is instructive of a balancing/interactionist act in a fluid-changing uncertain external environment. To regulate this balance in the mandala, Kautilya suggested a six-fold measure on foreign policy (sadgunya theory), which is indicative of an adaptive strategy, obviating any logic for rigidity in foreign policy.

Thus, given the value that *Arthashastra* holds for the discipline of strategy and diplomacy, the notion of balance foregrounded in the logic of order reinforces the normative inclination of this text as a non-western contribution to traditions of political thought and diplomatic practice. The use of upadhas (secret tests) are extremely important as they perpetuate the notion of doing ones duty which was akin to following ones dharma. This understanding offers insights on the meanings through which political was conceptualized and even intertwined with the social in *Arthashastra*.

Second, I would discuss the philosophical roots for defining the political. This is important for familiarizing oneself with Hindu epistemic insights which stem from *Arthashastra*. The concept of *Anvikshiki*, defined as logical reasoning, which gave a distinct meaning to science of politics becomes important in this context and therefore is also the methodological hook for anchoring ideas pertaining to political.

Where at a macro level, the idea of a state became a moral agency facilitating order (understood) as dharma, at the micro level, the idea of state also inspired the four ends of life (purusharthas) – expressed as ethical goodness (dharma), wealth and power (artha), pleasure (kama) and spiritual transcendence (moksha). *Arthashastra* further elaborates on the outstanding qualities of the state, which is indicative of the capacity of state (saptanga theory) and how should stratagems and techniques when employed through statecraft can help state achieve the outstanding features.

Methodologically, *Arthashastra* emphasises the importance of *Anvikshiki* (logic of reasoning) for the generation of knowledge, which it considers to be a lamp for directing the meaning of political. Meaning of political, therefore was not parochial, and was constituted through a dialogical engagement between the science of dharma, the science of economics and the science of politics. It is most interesting that *Anvikshiki* is symbolically signified in *Arthashastra* through a dialectics between three seemingly contradictory modes of thought in Indian philosophy- *Samkhya*, *Yoga* and *Lokayata*. *Samkhya* by emphasising dualism elevated the importance of discerning distinct qualities formed through the fusion of *purusa* (soul) and *prakriti* (matter), *Yoga* emphasised on discipline/meditation, recognizing the need to discipline human nature and *Lokayata* emphasised on a materialist pursuits of the state. In many ways through *Anvikshiki*, Kautilya's understanding of the state emphasised a balance between the material and spiritual elements. A discussion on these philosophical strands becomes important because of a significant verse in *Arthashastra*, which states – “*Samkhya, Yoga and Lokayata* these constitute philosophy” (The Kautilya *Arthashastra* 1.2.10:6).

This methodological anchor in *Arthashastra* becomes an effective departure point for understanding the concept of state, where the notion of political had a sense of holism attached to it, ranging from the macrocosm to the microcosm. Where at a macro level, the idea of a state became a moral agency facilitating order (understood) as dharma, at the micro level, the idea of state also inspired the four ends of life (purusharthas) – expressed as ethical goodness (dharma), wealth and power (artha), pleasure (kama) and spiritual transcendence (moksha). *Arthashastra* further elaborates on the outstanding qualities of the state, which is indicative of the capacity of state (saptanga theory) and how should stratagems and techniques when employed through statecraft can help state achieve the outstanding features. It is in this respect that qualities of the feasible and desirable vis-à-vis political in *Arthashastra* have been reconciled with each other. This methodology in *Arthashastra* is indicative of a distinct epistemic practice, which goes beyond the framework of positivism, as an empiricist methodology and directs us to a distinct intellectual trajectory where Hindu values and philosophy have been synthesised to address questions related to state and statecraft, not in a compartmentalised but in a composite /holistic manner. The relevance of methodology adopted in *Arthashastra* is therefore both cognitive and evaluative.

Dharma, emerges as a major concept in *Arthashastra*, but has also been central to larger Indian tradition, as articulated in philosophical and political thought of Rabindranath Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi. The challenge therefore is to draw out the political wisdom from canons like *Arthashastra* and simultaneously also be reflective of broad patterns which guided the strategic mind of Kautilya two thousand years ago.

What is the relationship between strategy, state and statecraft and what role do morality, power and order play in this regard are questions that the Book seeks to address. However, while revisiting canons are important, one also needs to be a guarded, cautious and a reflective reader. In order to minimise an essentialist reading of canons and apply its utility to contemporary India it is important that we remain open to interpretations of ancient concepts when we transpose them to modern times. Dharma, emerges as a major concept in *Arthashastra*, but has also been central to larger Indian tradition, as articulated in philosophical and political thought of Rabindranath Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi. The challenge therefore is to draw out the political wisdom from canons like *Arthashastra* and simultaneously also be reflective of broad patterns which guided the strategic mind of Kautilya.



Mark 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. In February 2019 the third publication was launched, *LE Children Poetry & Writing* (now renamed *Live Encounters Young Poets & Writers*). He has edited, designed and produced all of *Live Encounters'* 163 publications till date (August 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

In 1922, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was brought to court for his articles in *Young India* magazine. Gandhi famously denounced the law against sedition in the court: *"Section 124A under which I am happily charged is perhaps the prince among the political sections of the IPC designed to suppress the liberty of the citizen."* **Britain abolished sedition as a criminal offence in 2009. But in India it is still part of the Indian Penal Code for the last 150 years.**



Mahatma Gandhi during his trial for sedition in March 1922.

Abolish the Sedition Law, Section 124A (1870) of the Indian Penal Code

Mark Ulyseas

When will India finally rid itself of archaic laws inherited from its former colonial masters?

"Citizens in India are free to criticise their governments at the Centre or in the states — which they do quite frequently, and boldly and fearlessly as well; as they must, because that is what a participatory democracy is all about. It behoves the men and women of the law who advise government to impress upon their client that freedom of speech and expression is a fundamental right guaranteed under Article 19(1)(a) of the Constitution — and to remind all governments (present and future) that "sedition" had been deliberately and designedly excluded by the framers of the Constitution from Article 19(2), the exception clause to free speech, only because, as the founding fathers had said, "Sedition is not made an offence in order to minister to the wounded vanity of governments!" - Fali Nariman, constitutional jurist and Supreme Court advocate, wrote in The Indian Express. [LINK](#)

In August this year India will be celebrating its 73rd Independence Day. But what does this mean? Has the country emerged as truly independent of its colonial masters? I am referring to the Indian Penal Code that was created by the British in 1860, proceeding the 1857 mutiny, in particular the Sedition Law - Section 124-A, which was added in 1870 to counter the perceived threat from Muslim preachers. There was apprehension that they would wage war against the government.

The first Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, spoke about abolishing the law and yet nothing came of it.

Sedition, the Supreme Court has said, are the acts which have a tendency and intention to disturb law and order or incite violence. After all, it is a section which gives you life imprisonment, has very serious consequences. So the Supreme Court has construed it in that fashion and said it very clearly that even if you use words that vigorously criticise the government or comment on the actions of the government, that is not sedition. That is our law, that is how Section 124A was interpreted and upheld as constitutional by a Constitution Bench. - *Soli Sorabjee, Former Attorney General of India* [LINK](#)

The law of sedition makes it easy to club anti-government utterances with anti-national intentions. Intention is all that can be seen in expressions of dissent, however violently phrased. Verbal violence can be construed as criminal only if it is proven to lead to acts of actual physical violence, not because someone in the government thinks it might do so at some future date. A government that is ready to wreak havoc upon autonomous institutions of higher learning through police action can itself be held guilty of inciting violence. In as much as violation of the autonomy of such institutions is violation of democracy, can it not be fairly said that it is anti-national? - *Mridula Garg, Writer*. [LINK](#)

In 1922, Mahatma Gandhi, leader of the Indian independence movement, was tried and prosecuted for “bringing or attempting to excite disaffection towards the British Government established by law in British India”, under Section 124-A.

“Affection cannot be manufactured or regulated by law,” Gandhi said while on trial. “If one has no affection for a person or system, one should be free to give the fullest expression to his disaffection, so long as he does not contemplate, promote, or incite to violence.”

“Sedition was made an offence under the Indian Penal Code of 1860 which was drafted by [British Whig politician] Thomas Macaulay,” Suhrith Parthasarathy, a lawyer and writer based in Chennai, India, tells Index on Censorship. “It was unquestionably a weapon at the hands of the colonial government.”

- *India’s sedition law is a dangerous hangover from British colonialism by Arpitha Desai.*
<https://www.indexoncensorship.org/2019/03/india-sedition-hangover-british-colonialism/>

Jawaharlal Nehru, said, ““Now so far as I am concerned that particular Section (124A IPC) is highly objectionable and obnoxious and it should have no place both for practical and historical reasons, if you like, in any body of laws that we might pass. The sooner we get rid of it the better...We might deal with that matter in other ways, in more limited ways, as every other country does but that particular thing, as it is, should have no place, because all of us have had enough experience of it in variety of ways and apart from the logic of the situation, our urges are against it.”

But his sentiments did not match what his government did – the First Amendment strengthened Article 19(2) of the Constitution by adding two expressions – “friendly relations with foreign state” and “public order” – as grounds for imposing “reasonable restrictions” on free speech. [LINK](#)

Successive governments thereafter have misused it.

Since India’s independence on 15th August 1947, students, journalists and even intellectuals have faced the wrath of the state for speaking out against the government. Fortunately not all those charged were convicted.

Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code defines the offence of sedition as follows: “Sedition. Whoever by words, either spoken or written, or by signs, or by visible representation, or otherwise, brings or attempts to bring into hatred or contempt, or excites or attempts to excite disaffection towards, the Government established by law in India, shall be punished with imprisonment for life, to which fine may be added, or with imprisonment which may extend to three years, to which fine may be added, or with fine”. But Explanation 3 says “Comments expressing disapprobation of the administrative or other action of the Government without exciting or attempting to excite hatred, contempt or disaffection, do not constitute an offence under this section”. In Kedar Nath v. State of Bihar (AIR 1962 SC 955), the court upheld the constitutional validity of the Section 124A of I.P.C and also upheld the view taken in Niharendu’s case.

- https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Freedom_of_expression_in_India

The Supreme Court has said that all authorities across the country would be bound by the Kedar Nath judgment of the apex court, which limits the scope of filing sedition cases under the provisions of Indian Penal Code.

- <https://thewire.in/law/criticism-of-government-does-not-constitute-sedition-says-supreme-court>

The Supreme Court of India has clarified its stand on Section 124A. So the constitutional validity is confirmed but the manner in which it is enforced is *limited*.

It is shameful that the Indian National Congress mentioned the repealing of this Act in its 2019 election manifesto considering that they had been ruling India for decades since independence and could have done this a long time ago.

There appears to be a serious lack of political will since independence to rectify this anomaly. Do all political parties see this as a legitimate weapon to smother criticism of the State, to legally silence dissenting voices with the full force of the State’s security apparatus?

What is the reason for this?

In just one incident, 9,000 such cases were slapped on people in 2012 when the Congress-led UPA government was in power at the Centre. Ironically, none other than then Home Minister P. Chidambaram and Law Minister Kapil Sibal are now most vociferous against the anti-sedition penal provision. [LINK](#)

Justice Chandru said that sedition law was a ‘political law.’ It was always mis-used by the political class. “The Supreme Court has clearly said that mere speech doesn’t qualify as sedition. Sedition law is always misused in India. In Tamil Nadu, singer Kovan was booked under sedition for singing against TASMAL shops and the government,” he said, adding, “If a law is likely to be misused, then it is an arbitrary law.” [LINK](#)

India has never been as vulnerable to hostile outside forces as it is today. It has two nuclear powers on its borders – one promoting terrorism under the garb of Islam and the other financing and promoting disaffection in the north-east States, as well as supporting the deadly Maoist movement (red corridor) that seems to be growing in power. The news of the slaughter of Indian security personnel on a regular basis is evidence of its success as an armed movement whose objective is to overthrow the state. And up north we have the festering Kashmir problem, which should have been sorted in Nehru’s time. Now it has become an inheritance of hate and bloodletting.

These are dangerous times for India.

None of these problems can be wished away or controlled by merely enforcing an archaic sedition law. It has to be confronted and solved at the ‘people level’ by empowering the common folk to work with one another to bring about a peace that prevails, and not just a lull in hostilities.

Those charged under the sedition law include students, journalists, film actors and intellectuals. No one has been spared. Is there a pattern to this as some people claim? Perhaps those in government are concerned about the threat levels to the state and therefore have attempted to stifle all free speech.

But are these accusations against the government entirely true?

Is verbal support for the bloody Maoist cadres, anti-state?
Is applauding the Pakistan Cricket team by Muslims in India, anti-national?
Is speaking out about state improprieties undermining the legal authority of the state, seditious?
Is there a pathological fear that free speech may digress into armed rebellion and hence the suppressing of free thinkers? Does this arise because of the activities of *The Students’ Islamic Movement of India* that seeks to overthrow the Indian Government and make India an Islamic country? Does this arise from *The Naxalite–Maoist* insurgency? And what about *The United Liberation Front of Assam* and other armed insurgents in the north east of the country that are watered and fed by the *People’s Liberation Army of China*? And what about the Islamic State returnees and those gentlemen in Kashmir supported by that Islamic country to the west?

Much has changed since the time of Mahatma Gandhi, the apostle of peace. During his time there was

one enemy – the cursed colonial. Now there are many within the country and at the borders waiting to enter. This enemy does not have a face but an ideology of hate and violence. And by continuing to alienate freedom loving Indians with the imposition of a 150-year-old colonial law the government is creating a dangerous situation for all. Perhaps it is time to abolish this law.

The *people* make a country, not a political party or religion. It is the *people* that vote a government into power because they seek redressal of their daily problems like jobs, clean drinking water, affordable transport, education, medical facilities and above all, social justice. Often when these are not redressed, they resort to the only weapon they have, *their voices*. And it is here that they are in danger of being incarcerated for breaking a law which was created by a colonial for just this very purpose, a colonial that Mahatma Gandhi kicked out of India over seven decades ago. Perhaps the present government will have the wisdom to abolish the Sedition Law Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code and replace it with a more effective one to deal with the burgeoning armed groups across India that are supported by its neighbours, and those elements in the country that seek to divide communities based solely on religious or regional affiliations. Success in this will rest solely on the involvement of the *people*. Inclusiveness is the way to peace.

‘In my humble opinion,’ wrote Gandhi, ‘every man has a right to hold any opinion he chooses, and to give effect to it also, so long as, in doing so, he does not use physical violence against anybody.’

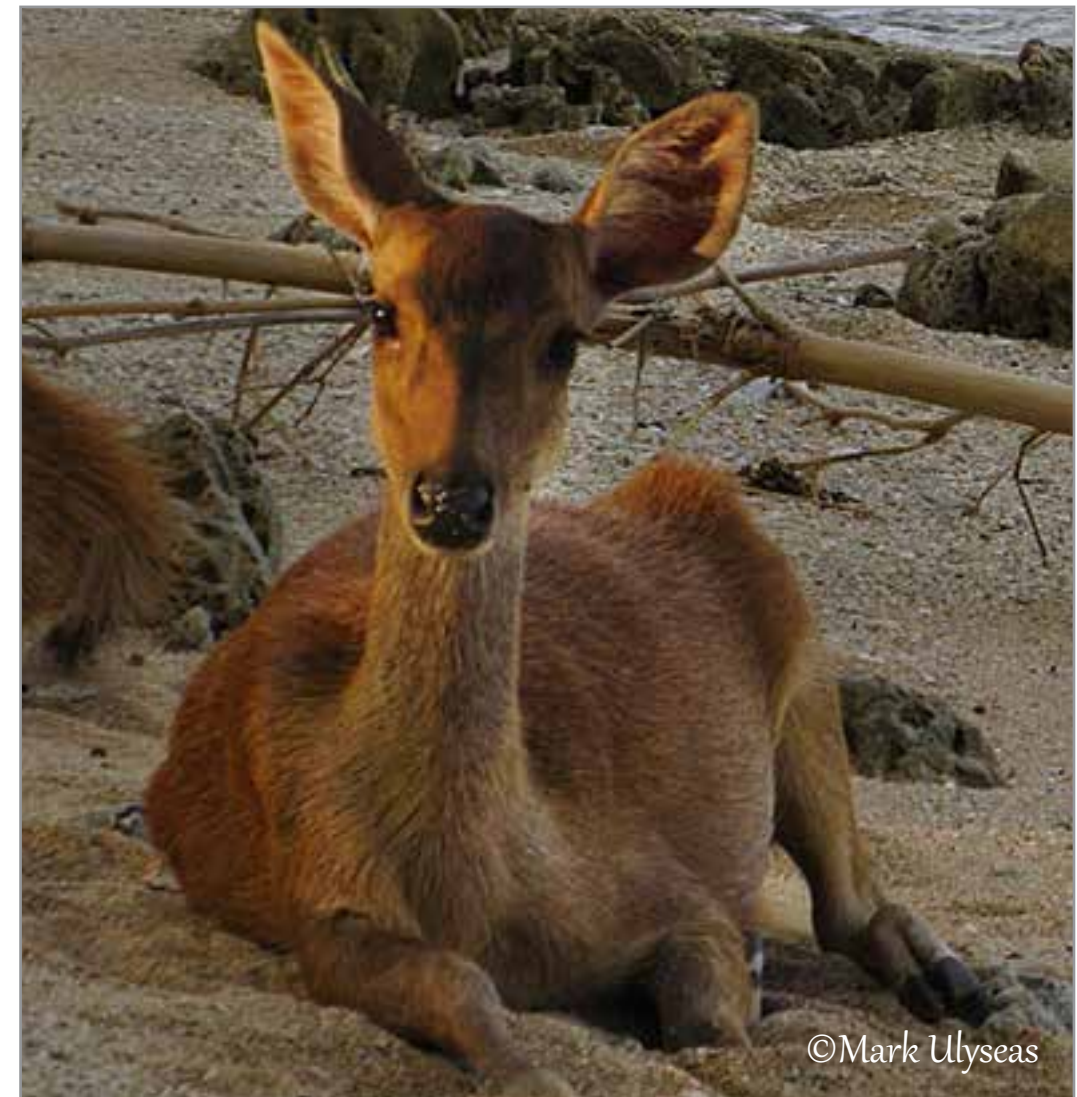
The Mahatma didn’t have to contend with the beast of social media where a word out of place to deliberately distort or to present a toxic version of the truth has resulted in bloodshed. India is at political cross roads and in the cross hairs of dissent, both legitimate and illegitimate, where free speech is mired in subjective interpretation, both by government and the people. The foolproof security for the state is the citizen who seeks social justice in all its forms to live a peaceful productive life. Attending to the common person’s needs guarantees security for the state because divisive forces cannot infiltrate and/or cause harm to the social integrity of the country. Regrettably divisive forces are among us, feeding off the insecurities of the people who are stuck between free speech and incarceration. Hence, it is vital that the intelligentsia and government work together to abolish the sedition law so as to prevent the criminalisation of the common person’s right to free speech; but at the same time must provide adequate safe guards for the state against hostile forces within and outside the country who are using *the right to free speech in India* to their advantage.

Sedition a potent weapon for India's rulers:
179 arrests, 112 cases filed, 2 convictions. While the figures of sedition cases for 2017 onwards are not available, the National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB) shows a spike in arrests for sedition between 2014 and 2016. [LINK](#)

In 2012 and 2013, an astonishing number of 23,000 men and women who protested against a nuclear power plant in Tamil Nadu were held for "waging war against the state" and sedition (when the Congress-led UPA government was in power at the Centre). [LINK](#)

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David Morgan describes a personal encounter with the history, culture and struggle of the Kurds.



Photographs bottom left to right: David (left) on a visit to Hasankeyf twenty years ago. (Middle) University card 1981. (Right) At a demonstration in Istanbul.

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.



DAVID MORGAN ENCOUNTERING THE KURDS

The story begins back in the mid-1980s, when, having just left university, I moved from Manchester to London. Long before the Internet, the terrorism acts, the bans and the listings of proscribed organisations and all the restrictions on our civil rights and freedoms that we have been compelled to endure in recent years.

In Britain, the nation had experienced the stirrings of an ugly patriotic fervour around the Falklands War, Margaret Thatcher seemed triumphant; the year-long miners' strike was to be defeated just like those 'Argies' had been. Thatcher was inflicting a deliberate deindustrialisation on large swathes of the country, deemed *the enemy within*. People in the North felt especially victimised. There was more than three million unemployed and young and old were being made to suffer unnecessarily.

The conflict in Ireland, meanwhile, was roaring on, increasingly spilling over onto the mainland, particularly the blood...

Internationally, some could look for inspiration to the peace movement around Greenham Common, while others sought a cause to join in solidarity with the struggles against apartheid, "Free Nelson Mandela" was a rallying cry; the Sandinistas in Nicaragua were facing down a belligerent Ronnie Reagan in the White House aided by his Contras; a little island paradise called Grenada was invaded. This was long before the neo-cons had ever been heard of. The Soviet Union still very much existed and nobody anticipated what fate was to come to that, though there were rumblings in Poland and a protracted war in Afghanistan was seriously depleting resources; then Chernobyl happened.

Abdullah Ocalan, the imprisoned leader of the Kurds, is a Renaissance man of Kurdistan in so many of his attributes; he is an intellectual, a historian, a powerful orator and writer; an inspiring figure for his people with a message of peace to the wider world. He has promoted women's liberation like no other leader in the Middle East. What's more, he is a person who appreciates poetry, culture and the place of human creativity in people's lives.

I knew very little or nothing about Turkey, only that lots of people went on holidays there despite the government in Ankara being a kind of dictatorship; historically it was a bastion against Soviet expansionism, a member of NATO; I had not heard much about the Kurds, still less of Abdullah Ocalan and the PKK. Until, that is, I started working as a journalist on the Morning Star, *the people's daily owned by its readers*, as it still likes to describe itself; this was my first job and it was here that I was to encounter discussions with colleagues in the newsroom and the 'PKK' kept coming up in conversation. What was this 'PKK'? We would pick up reports on the constantly tickering Reuters and TASS news tape - as I said no Internet in those days; I was told it was the Kurdistan Workers' Party which was fighting against an oppressive Turkish regime to achieve the liberation of the Kurdish people, who were savagely treated by the Turks, who denied them even the basic right to speak their own language.

So, it seemed that there was a national liberation movement, with a socialist orientation, right on Europe's doorstep with its distinct echoes of Che and Mao embroiled in a peasant guerrilla warfare. And I had never heard about it. The Kurdish struggle made up of dedicated men and women with distinct echoes also of the Spanish Civil War. They looked like inspired youngsters with a cause well worth fighting for. So, all that attracted my attention. I had still not met any actual Kurds though.

Slightly later on, I discovered copies of a glossy magazine named *Kurdistan Report*, edited by Estella Schmid, while browsing in Housman's Bookshop in London's King's Cross; I realised it was a serious publication, well produced and it made a lot of sense. What's more the likes of Harold Pinter, Arthur Miller and Edward Albee were mentioned as supporters – as was Tony Benn, Bruce Kent and Julie Christie; as a teenager interested in literature I was a great fan of her films, especially *Far From the Madding Crowd*, *Dr Zhivago* and *The Go-Between*. So I immediately bought a copy of *Kurdistan Report*. Little did I realise that soon I would be helping to edit its next edition. By this very circuitous route I came to support the rights of the Kurds, although I had still not met any. That encounter came later when I met Estella and began to visit the shops and restaurants of Green Lanes in North London, which is where many of the Kurds from Turkey have made their home.

I'm very proud to have been for many years associated with the campaigns initiated by Peace in Kurdistan to achieve a just resolution of the Kurdish conflict by lobbying to change public opinion and British government policy on Turkey and the Kurds. It has been an uphill struggle, but also worthy cause and a vitally important expression of human solidarity and internationalism.

Abdullah Ocalan, the imprisoned leader of the Kurds, is a Renaissance man of Kurdistan in so many of his attributes; he is an intellectual, a historian, a powerful orator and writer; an inspiring figure for his people with a message of peace to the wider world. He has promoted women's liberation like no other leader in the Middle East. What's more, he is a person who appreciates poetry, culture and the place of human creativity in people's lives.

In producing the book, *Freedom Poems for Ocalan*, all the contributors, who include a leading actress, a bestselling Scottish novelist, a Labour MEP, academics, anthropologists and journalists, hope that one fine day Ocalan will be able to read it at leisure enjoying his own freedom; just as, one day, the Kurds will be able to enjoy their own freedom in a free land.

This article is based on a talk delivered at an event held at the Teatro Technis in London on 16 July to mark the launch of the book, Freedom Poems for Ocalan, of which I am the joint editor with Estella Schmid. The book brings together an eclectic mix of contributors from various fields united in their belief that the struggle for Kurdish freedom is not only a just cause but one that deserves an urgent resolution.



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DR BIBHU PRASAD ROUTRAY

ISLAMIC STATE RETURNEES: INDIA'S COUNTER-RADICALIZATION VS DERADICALIZATION APPROACH



In 2014, a group of men was seen wearing T-shirts carrying the Islamic State emblem in Ramanathapuram, Tamil Nadu. Photo Courtesy: India Today

Abstract

Punitive measures have been integral to the Indian approach towards people who have joined the Islamic State. The security establishment, however, adopts a much softer approach towards potential sympathizers and even towards those who have been prevented from leaving for Iraq and Syria. Counter-radicalization dominates government action. In view of the recent developments including the Easter Sunday bombings in Sri Lanka, should this policy be broadened in scope to embrace the benefits of de-radicalization? Should there be a scope for the de-radicalized individuals to be successfully reintegrated into the society? More importantly, can the de-radicalized individuals be a part of official counter-messaging strategy? This analysis makes a case for an innovative and comprehensive approach.

Not many Indians have joined the Islamic State. The official count is a little over 100. Mantraya's own assessment, informed by a variety of sources including a careful monitoring of reported incidents is over 200. Nevertheless, instead of being a country-wide phenomenon, people from few states, mostly concentrated in pockets in southern India, have travelled or attempted to travel to Iraq and Syria to join the Islamic State. A large group of men and women from Kerala, of which Firoz was a part, had even travelled to Afghanistan to be a part of the Wilayat Khorasan that the Islamic State set up in 2015. Reports indicate that some have died either fighting on behalf of the outfit. Few others have perished in bombings carried out by the coalition forces.

Home Coming?

Sometime in May 2019, a 25-year-old man from Kerala, Firoz Khan, who had left his home in Kerala state in June 2016 to join the Islamic State, called up his mother to express his desire to return. He reportedly spoke about his miserable condition in Syria where the Caliphate is now in ruins and also, his every day struggle for food and other basic necessities.[1] He also inquired whether he will be charged with crime upon return. Firoz's desperation to return, however, has met with a lukewarm response from the police. It is almost certain that he will be arrested upon return and put behind bars. This remains a part of the policy India has adopted to send a strong message to the rather small number of men and women who embraced the Islamic State after it established its caliphate in 2015. Is such a policy adequate to prevent the vulnerable from joining violent radical Islamist groups remains a key question.

Influence of Islamic State

Not many Indians have joined the Islamic State. The official count is a little over 100. Mantraya's own assessment, informed by a variety of sources including a careful monitoring of reported incidents is over 200. Nevertheless, instead of being a country-wide phenomenon, people from few states, mostly concentrated in pockets in southern India, have travelled or attempted to travel to Iraq and Syria to join the Islamic State. A large group of men and women from Kerala, of which Firoz was a part, had even travelled to Afghanistan to be a part of the Wilayat Khorasan that the Islamic State set up in 2015. Reports indicate that some have died either fighting on behalf of the outfit. Few others have perished in bombings carried out by the coalition forces.

Countries like Indonesia, Singapore, and Saudi Arabia have experimented with deradicalizing the Islamic State returnees or the outfit's sympathizers with varying degrees of success. India's response has been rather straight forward. The Islamic State is a proscribed organization in the country since 2015 and anybody who have joined it are liable for punitive action.

The following instances are instructive in this regard.

While the above four persons had been forcefully deported, the case of Areeb Majeed, the 23-year-old is different. Majeed was among the four youths from Kalyan in Maharashtra's Thane district who joined the Islamic State in May 2014. He, along with Aman Tandel, Fahad Shaikh, and Faheem Tanki boarded an Etihad Airways flight for Abu Dhabi and travelled to Baghdad for a pilgrimage and thereafter separated from the travel group to join the Islamic State. While three of his compatriots are believed to have died while fighting on behalf of the Islamic State, Majeed got in touch with the Indian authorities expressing his willingness to return. According to him, he was provided with travel documents, with assurances that he would not be arrested. However, as soon as he landed in India on 28 November 2014, he was picked up by the National Investigation Agency (NIA).

Dealing with Returnees

In July 2018, a 32-year-old man Shajahan Valluvakandy of Koodali in Kerala's Kannur district was deported from Turkey while trying to enter Syria. Shajahan was an activist of the Kerala-based radical Muslim outfit Popular Front of India (PFI)[2]. He used a fake passport under a false name to travel to Turkey along with his wife. The Turkish authorities were alerted by their Indian counterparts. Shajahan was arrested upon return and continues to be in prison.[3] Similar has been case of three other persons- KC Mithilaj, Abdul Razzak and AV Rashid- all from Kerala, who were reportedly trained by Islamic State in Istanbul. They were stopped by Turkish police while trying to enter Syria. In March 2018, they were deported to India[4] and have been imprisoned since then.

While the above four persons had been forcefully deported, the case of Areeb Majeed, the 23-year-old is different. Majeed was among the four youths from Kalyan in Maharashtra's Thane district who joined the Islamic State in May 2014. He, along with Aman Tandel, Fahad Shaikh, and Faheem Tanki boarded an Etihad Airways flight for Abu Dhabi and travelled to Baghdad for a pilgrimage and thereafter separated from the travel group to join the Islamic State. While three of his compatriots are believed to have died while fighting on behalf of the Islamic State, Majeed got in touch with the Indian authorities expressing his willingness to return. According to him, he was provided with travel documents, with assurances that he would not be arrested. However, as soon as he landed in India on 28 November 2014, he was picked up by the National Investigation Agency (NIA).

At that time, an official of the Home Ministry told the media that the ministry wishes to take a 'lenient view' and 'make sure that he is booked for slightly softer charges'. "We don't want to put sections that attract only life imprisonment and death sentence" he said. He added that "A soft approach needs to be taken in this case to ensure that others don't hesitate to come back. On their return, they should be rehabilitated." [5] However, things took a different turn as the NIA charged him with being a member of a terrorist outfit and returning with a purpose of 'spreading jihad in India' [6]. In February 2017, a trial court dropped the charge against Areeb of being a member of a terrorist organization [7], while directing that he should face trial under Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act and Section 125 of the Indian Penal Code for 'waging war against any Asiatic power in alliance with the government of India'. [8] Majeed continues to fight the legal battle as the NIA has produced evidence quoting the Iraqi authorities that he was indeed a member of the Islamic State and had fought in the war waged by the outfit. [9]

In other states, police officials visit educational institutions to lecture students about the negative aspects of terrorism. In some cases, religious leaders, family members, and community elders have been involved to keep a tab on people on the police' watch list. Police departments in some states have also made short movies and showed them in theatres to create awareness.

Hard vs Soft approach

The government's preference for locking up the Islamic State returnees has its rationale and is based upon the premise that there is little evidence of remorse or repentance behind the decision of these individuals to return. For instance, Firoz Khan would not have expressed his desire to return had the Caliphate not disintegrated. Police records show that even after leaving India, he continued to exhort his relatives and friends to join the Islamic State. Similarly, KC Mithilaj, Abdul Razzak and AV Rashid would not have voluntarily returned to India. And Areeb Majeed's aversion to violence, the NIA believes, came after a stint as a fighter of the Islamic State. The fact that these men have neither renounced terrorism nor have repented their decision of attempting to join the Islamic State, makes them active terrorists with a proclivity to indulge in violence in future. Moreover, punishment to them would deter others who may make a similar decision to be a part of global jihad.

The government, however, adopts a softer approach towards those who have merely aspired to join and have been 'brainwashed' to become a part of the terror outfit, especially those who were prevented from leaving the country to go to Syria. It is unclear, however, how such distinctions between someone who has been 'radicalized' and another who has been 'misled' is arrived at. Few states of the country such as Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Kerala, and Uttar Pradesh are reported to have experimented with de-radicalization as well as counter-radicalization programmes. In Kerala, senior police officials claimed in June 2019, 3000 people have been deradicalized in 21 government centres and are being monitored.[10] According to a report in 2017, "about 15-20 youths are being deradicalized by the UP anti-terror squad (ATS)"[11]. In September 2017, the Maharashtra police too claimed to have deradicalized 70 people "who were trapped in extremist literature online and were on the verge on being recruited"[12]. Some of these deradicalized men were provided with vocational training[13] in order to give them a secure future and wean them away from the path of radicalization. This is based on the conventional belief that poverty and unemployment are among the reasons for radicalization.

In other states, police officials visit educational institutions to lecture students about the negative aspects of terrorism. In some cases, religious leaders, family members, and community elders have been involved to keep a tab on people on the police' watch list. Police departments in some states have also made short movies and showed them in theatres to create awareness.

So far, Indian state claims success in warding off the threat posed by the Islamic State. Odd terror plots have been busted and a number of sympathizers of the Islamic State have been arrested. In spite of attempts by both the Islamic State and al Qaeda, their little-known franchises in Kashmir have remained far from potent. However, this could potentially change, in view of some of the recent developments. These include announcement of a new India-specific province by the Islamic State; installation of a new chief of the Ansar Ghazwat-ul-Hind (AGH), al Qaeda's affiliate; and the Easter Sunday bombings in Sri Lanka. While the first two can be downplayed as rhetoric and of little operational value, the continued discovery of complex networks of Islamic State activists and sympathisers across India, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Pakistan, need to be taken seriously.

However, amid prevailing perceptions that Indian Muslims have largely remained immune to the attractions to of global jihadists, these efforts, which are mostly focused on counter-radicalization, have remained uncoordinated and dissipated.

Revisiting the Policy?

So far, Indian state claims success in warding off the threat posed by the Islamic State. Odd terror plots have been busted and a number of sympathizers of the Islamic State have been arrested. In spite of attempts by both the Islamic State and al Qaeda, their little-known franchises in Kashmir have remained far from potent. However, this could potentially change, in view of some of the recent developments. These include announcement of a new India-specific province by the Islamic State; installation of a new chief of the Ansar Ghazwat-ul-Hind (AGH), al Qaeda's affiliate; and the Easter Sunday bombings in Sri Lanka. While the first two can be downplayed as rhetoric and of little operational value, the continued discovery of complex networks of Islamic State activists and sympathisers across India, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Pakistan, need to be taken seriously.

While threat posed by the Islamic State returnees to India's national security can be dismissed, the gravest of threat, as Sri Lanka discovered, could emerge from people who did not travel to Iraq and Syria to be a part of the Islamic State. It is such silent and subtle mobilisation spanning across the region which could constitute the next source of security challenge for the country. Busting of terror cells and arrests, while being useful, may not be sufficient to keep the danger at bay. Similarly, the process and reasons behind radicalization is too complex to be solved by alleviating poverty and providing employment. In most cases, educated men from well-to-do families with jobs rather than unemployed and uneducated men from poor families have become foot soldiers of global jihadism. The fact that radicalization is some sort of a calling that fulfils the inner desires of a person shaped by an array of factors needs to be factored into official policy. It is not a disease to be cured by punishment, but a malaise that requires a professional and sympathetic handling. The difference in state's approach after terror attacks in New Zealand where the Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern was comforting the victims and their relatives and that of the Sri Lankan President Maithripala Sirisena who indulged in alarmist predictions about Muslims and their supposed proclivity to violence is instructive in this regard.

Can the country use the services of someone like Areeb Majeed or even Firoz Khan (if he could be brought back) as part of its counter-messaging to the potential fence sitters? Can their experience narrated in their own words be used to deter people who have false notion of Islam and romantic ideas about global jihad? Can that supplement the efforts of the religious leaders who preach against violence? These are some of the important questions which need to be probed and envisioned in the making of new counter-radicalization and de radicalization strategies. The emphasis needs to be on prevention rather than dealing with the threat. This would require not only a whole-of-government approach but also a whole-of-society approach.

The gap in India’s preparedness can possibly be filled by a robust national counter-radicalization policy that may factor in the need to use the services of those who once were part of terror move-ments and have renounced the same for a variety of reasons including a successful de-radicalization process. Can the country use the services of someone like Areeb Majeed or even Firoz Khan (if he could be brought back) as part of its counter-messaging to the potential fence sitters? Can their experience narrated in their own words be used to deter people who have false notion of Islam and romantic ideas about global jihad? Can that supplement the efforts of the religious leaders who preach against violence? These are some of the important questions which need to be probed and envisioned in the making of new counter-radicalization and de radicalization strategies. The emphasis needs to be on prevention rather than dealing with the threat. This would require not only a whole-of-government approach but also a whole-of-society approach.

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Photograph: Pixabay.com

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DR PETER GONSALVES TEACH PEACE NOW. LATER MAY BE TOO LATE.¹

It is said that violence begets violence; that children imbibe violent behaviours from personal encounters with adults in homes and schools.

To check the veracity of this assumption, a unique² study on violence in schools of India was undertaken by the National Commission for Protection of Child Rights (NCPCR) in the academic year 2009-2010. The study was published as, *Guidelines for Eliminating Corporal Punishment in Schools*.³ Out of a total of 6,632 children who were interviewed across seven states,⁴ only 9 denied having received any kind of punishment – that is, 99.8% had experienced punishment of one kind or other. Of the types of punishments received, verbal punishments or abuses were the highest at 81.2%. These consisted of animal name-calling (41.7%), gender-based abuse (14.5%) and caste or community-based abuse (10.1%). Out of the total of physical-contact punishments, some of the most frequent kinds were beating with a cane (75%), slapping on the cheeks (60.9%), hitting on the back (57.5%), boxing the ears (57.4%), pinching (26.9%), hair pulling, especially of girls (21.6%). The postural punishments included standing outside the classroom (53%), standing with hands raised (42.7%), *murga banana*⁵ (41.4%) and kneeling (38.8%).⁶

The age-wise and gender-wise comparative study of corporal punishments are shown in Table 1 below. The popular belief that younger children are less exposed to punishments is not tenable. The data reveals that punishments begin at the pre-primary stage and the idea of the 'joy of schooling' is still a dream for many.

If we are to reach real peace in this world and if we are to carry on a real war against war, we shall have to begin with children and if they will grow up in their natural innocence, we won't have the struggle, we won't have to pass fruitless idle resolutions, but we shall go from love to love and peace to peace, until at last all the corners of the world are covered with that peace and love for which, consciously or unconsciously, the whole world is hungering. - Mahatma Gandhi



Shannoo Khan, a minor student of class 2 at Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD) primary school in Narela in north Delhi, India, died after allegedly punished by the class teacher for failing to recite English alphabet correctly. The class teacher, Manju, reportedly bashed her head on the table and made her stand in the sun — a barbaric incident believed to be responsible for her death after two days. [LINK](#)

AGE-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF TOP SIX PHYSICAL PUNISHMENTS ⁷						
Age Group	Beaten by cane	Slapped on cheek	Beaten on back	Ears getting boxed	Beaten on hand	Pinched
3-5 yrs	65.4%	60.7%	50.5%	59.8%	37.4%	29.9%
10-14 yrs	76.0%	70.0%	58.3%	57.3%	51.8%	27.0%

GENDER-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF TOP SIX PHYSICAL PUNISHMENTS (%)						
Sex	Beaten by cane	Slapped on cheek	Beaten on back	Ears getting boxed	Beaten on hand	Pinched
Boys	78.0%	71.9%	59.8%	60.7%	53.0%	78.0%
Girls	71.1%	67.1%	53.9%	53.5%	48.5%	71.1%

Table 1: Six physical punishments according to age and gender (NCPCR Survey 2010)

In 2010, the Ministry of Women and Child Development had issued a new set of guidelines that banned physical punishment of students. Since then, heads of schools are held responsible, and teachers found guilty could be denied increments and promotions, and could even be sent to jail. However, enforcement of the law is lax.⁸ Yet, to be fair to teachers, the reason of violence in schools can be linked to poor infrastructure, a disproportionate pupil-teacher ratio, and a lack of teacher-training in alternative nonviolent education.⁹

On bringing together the situation of violence in Indian society and the data on violence experienced by children in educational institutions, we are confronted with an uncomfortable question: *Could it be that India's educational system today is inadvertently spawning the very criminals it will struggle to contain tomorrow?*

The science of child psychology has amply demonstrated that violence on children causes grave damage to their self-perception and social relationships, promoting thereby a culture of *dishonesty* and *aggression*.¹⁰ We present below some of the conclusions of various studies undertaken:

A punitive environment may foster children's tendencies to lie and to conceal their transgressions.¹¹ "Deception is a covert adaptive strategy particularly suited for the young and the weak because other strategies such as physical violence are often not an option for them."¹² "Since punishments give pain, they tend to teach children that at least under some conditions, it is all right to give pain to others. Thus, aggression is an externalized behavior which punishments can cause."¹³ "Everyone understands that corporal punishment is carried out to correct or control misbehavior. What is not understood is that almost all assaults by adults are also carried out to correct what the offender perceives as misbehavior."¹⁴ When aggressive adults find an ideology they can cling to for psychological, social and economic subterfuge, the fanatic is born; and, in the long run, corporal punishment renders juveniles easy fodder for extremists and terrorists who use violence to serve their ends.¹⁵ The effects of violence influence the way children relate to each other. The phenomenon of bullying, which has reached 'epic proportions'¹⁶ in India, is a case in point. Furthermore, when physically punished children become adults, they are more likely to practice corporal punishment on their own children. "Parents, after all, learn most of their lessons about how to be a parent from their own parents".¹⁷ Thus the maelstrom of violence entraps and enforces generations in a culture of discord and conflict. How do we put a halt to the madness? Is there a way out of the vortex?



Student loses eyesight after he was brutally thrashed by vice-principal in UP's Allahabad. [LINK](#)



<https://www.slideshare.net/bbpstc/corporal-punishment-an-unfortunate-reality>

In 1931, at a conference delivered to teachers at the Italian school of the world-renowned educator Maria Montessori, Mahatma Gandhi provided an answer:

If we are to reach real peace in this world and if we are to carry on a real war against war, we shall have to begin with children and if they will grow up in their natural innocence, we won't have the struggle, we won't have to pass fruitless idle resolutions, but we shall go from love to love and peace to peace, until at last all the corners of the world are covered with that peace and love for which, consciously or unconsciously, the whole world is hungering.¹⁸

It is never too late to take Gandhi's intuition seriously. A concerted effort is urgently needed to make non-violent strategies for living in a multicultural society an integral part of the education system. It is for this reason that a specific resource for teachers and an accompanying workbook for students have been written. They are respectively, *Exercises in Peace Education* and *We Choose Peace*. Their 2018 editions can be freely downloaded from the author's personal website: www.petergonsalves.in

Foot Notes:

1. This is an excerpt and adaptation from the longer article by the same author: *Peace Education for India - an idea whose time has come back*, Jesu Pudumai Doss and Sahayadas Fernando (Eds), *Prophets with Wings, Accompanying the young in today's India* (New Delhi: AIDBES, 2018), pp. 161-183. See also, Vidyajyoti Journal, 82 (2018) 808-831.

2. The study was conceptualized to research the scale and magnitude of corporal punishment in the everyday school experiences of India's children. Its objective was to interview children directly, bypassing adults, in order to know exactly children's perspectives on what they experienced. *Guidelines for Eliminating Corporal Punishment in Schools*, in National Commission for Protection of Child Rights, Government of India, released on 5 March 2012: <http://www.ncpcr.gov.in/showfile.php?lang=1&level=2&&sublinkid=143&lid=153> (accessed: 5-10-2017).

3. *Guidelines for Eliminating Corporal Punishment in Schools*, p. 11.

4. The states were Andhra Pradesh, Delhi, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa. Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, and WestBengal.

5. *Murga banana* literally means 'become a chicken'. The punished person has to bend double in order to hold the ears from behind the legs and to remain in this painful and humiliating posture until ordered to stop.

6. *Guidelines for Eliminating Corporal Punishment in Schools*, p. 16.

7. *Guidelines for Eliminating Corporal Punishment in Schools*, pp.19-20.

8. A study carried out by Child Line India Foundation between 2009 and 2011 revealed that students experienced corporal punishment in almost 95% of the 198 schools in 11 states studied, despite it being prohibited. Only 6% of the government schools studied and 4% of the private schools studied were free of corporal punishment. Shukla Jyoti - Singh Neetu, "Implications of corporal punishment on primary school children" in *IOSR, Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 15/6 (2013) pp. 57.

9. Pallavi Polanki, "Corporal Punishment: Time to jail the teacher?" in, *First Post*, 28-06-2012, <http://www.firstpost.com/india/corporal-punishment-time-to-jail-the-teacher-360797.html> (02-07-2017).

10. Some examples are Elizabeth T. Gershoff, "More harm than good: A summary of scientific research on the intended and unintended effects of corporal punishment on children" in *Law & Contemporary Problems*, 73/2 (2010) pp. 31-56; K. Maguire-Jack - A. N. Gromoske - L. M. Berger, "Spanking and child development during the first 5 years of life", in *Child Development*, 83/6 (2012) pp. 1960-1977; and B. B. Boutwell - C. A. Franklin, et al., "Physical punishment and childhood aggression: the role of gender and gene-environment interplay", in *Aggressive Behavior*, 37 (2011) pp. 559-568.

11. Cf. Victoria Talwar - Kang Lee, "A Punitive Environment Fosters Children's Dishonesty: A Natural Experiment" in *Child Development*, November, 82/6 (2011) pp.1751-1758.

12. Talwar - Lee, "A Punitive Environment Fosters Children's Dishonesty", p.1751.

13. Joan McCord, "Unintended Consequences of Punishment" in *Pediatrics*, October 98/4 (1996), abstract: <http://pediatrics.aappublications.org/content/98/4/832> (accessed: 12-03-2018).

14. Murray A. Straus, "Spanking and the Making of a Violent Society" in *Pediatrics*, October,98/4 (1996) abstract: <http://pediatrics.aappublications.org/content/98/4/837> (accessed: 12-03-2018).

15. Cf. Muhammad Shahbaz Arif - Muhammad Shaban Rafi, "Effects of Corporal Punishment and psychological treatment on students' learning and behavior" in *Journal of Theory and Practice in Education*, 3/2 (2007) pp. 171-180.

16. "Bullying in India Reaches Epic Proportions", in *NOBullying.com*, 26-03-2017 <https://nobullying.com/bullying-in-india-2/> (accessed: 02-03-2018). See also: Kaushambi, "India Has 3rd Highest Online Bullying Rate [Survey]", in *Trak.in*, 29-09-2017, <http://trak.in/tags/business/2012/06/27/india-3rd-highest-cyber-online-bullying-survey/> (accessed: 02-03-2018).

17. Elizabeth Gershoff, *More harm than good: A summary of scientific research on the intended and unintended effects of corporal punishment on children*, *Law & Contemporary Problems*, 73/2 (2010), p. 32.

18. This excerpt is taken from Gandhi's speech which was delivered at the Montessori Training College, London, on October 28, 1931, and published in *Young India*, 19-11-1931.

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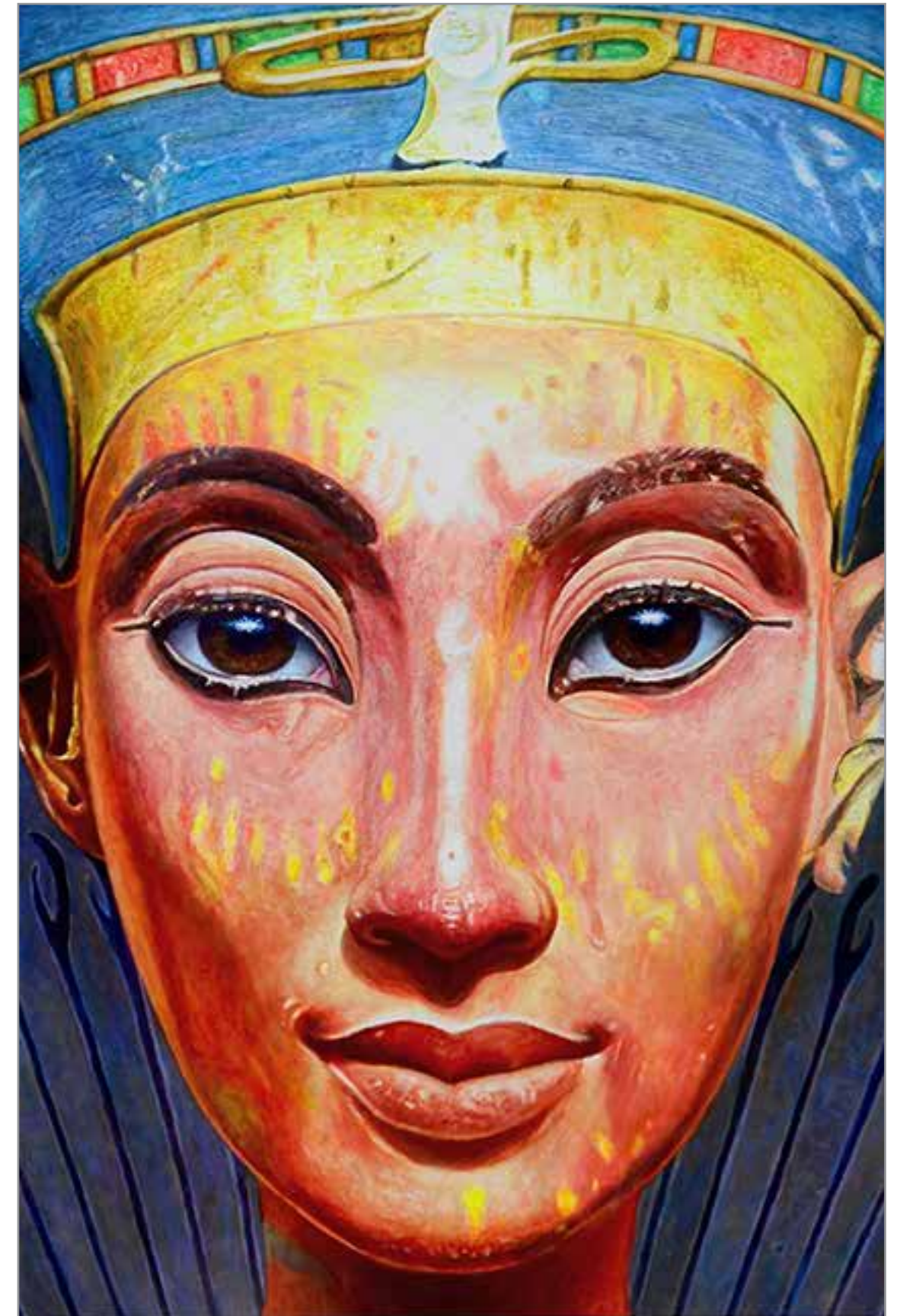
THE QUEEN AND HER DAUGHTERS

ARTWORK BY
WOLFGANG WIDMOSER

The womb of the universe is here among us
in the form of the woman.

These artworks are a homage to the woman
in her many avatars. Avatars that can be
viewed through the millennia from the
Wandjinas — cloud and rain spirits of the
Australian Aboriginal peoples of over 60,000
years ago, to the fabulous queens of Egypt
and beyond.

The following portraits are windows to a
world that exists beyond our perception of
reality, a world where colour, form and
texture mingle deliciously to project an
ethereal sense of sensuality to lure us into
a kaleidoscope of emotions.

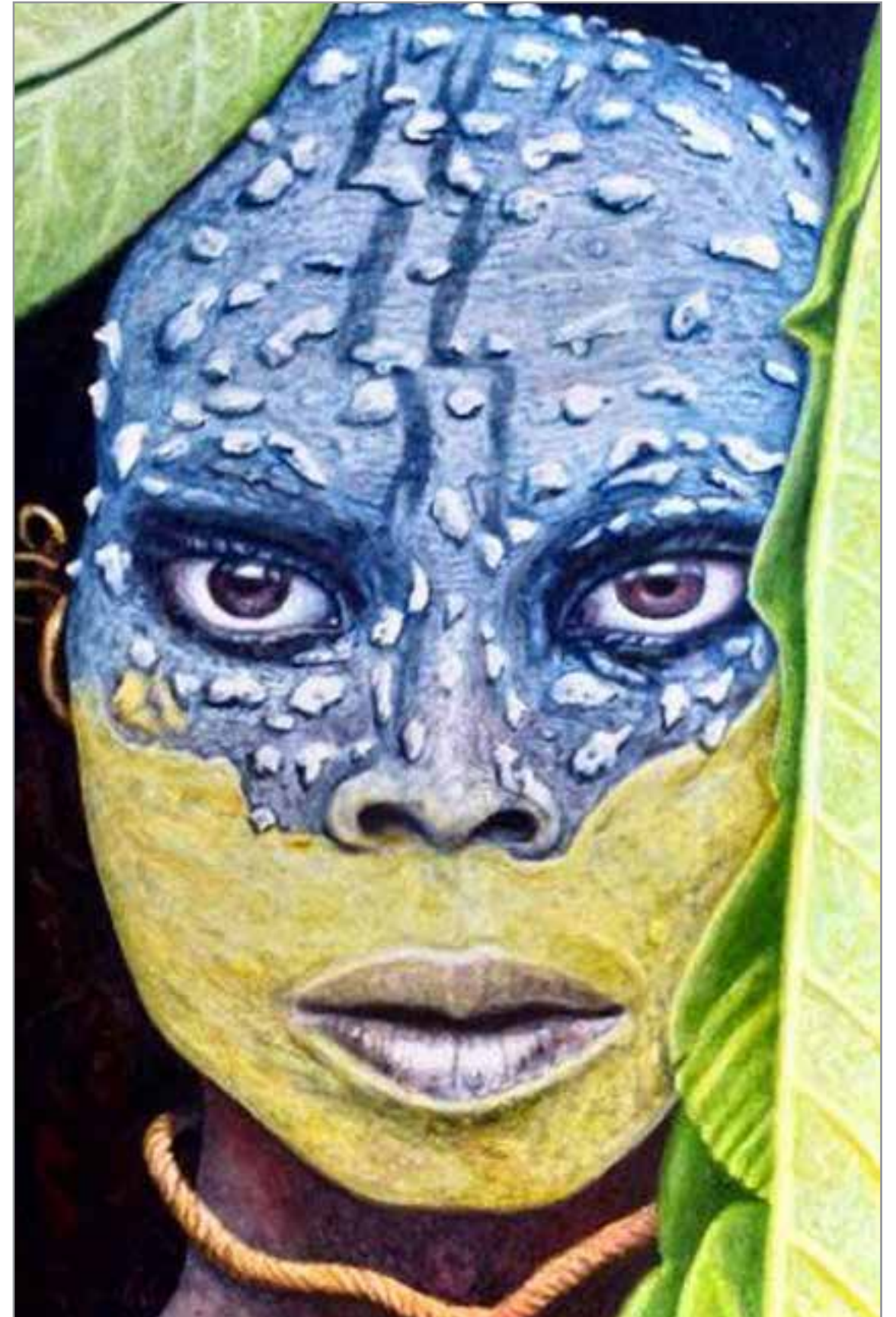


Nefertiti - the Queen - oil on canvas 100 x 160cm



Wandjina - oil on canvas -160 x 100cm

Amanita - oil on canvas - 50 x 80cm



Enor - oil on canvas - 50 x 80cm



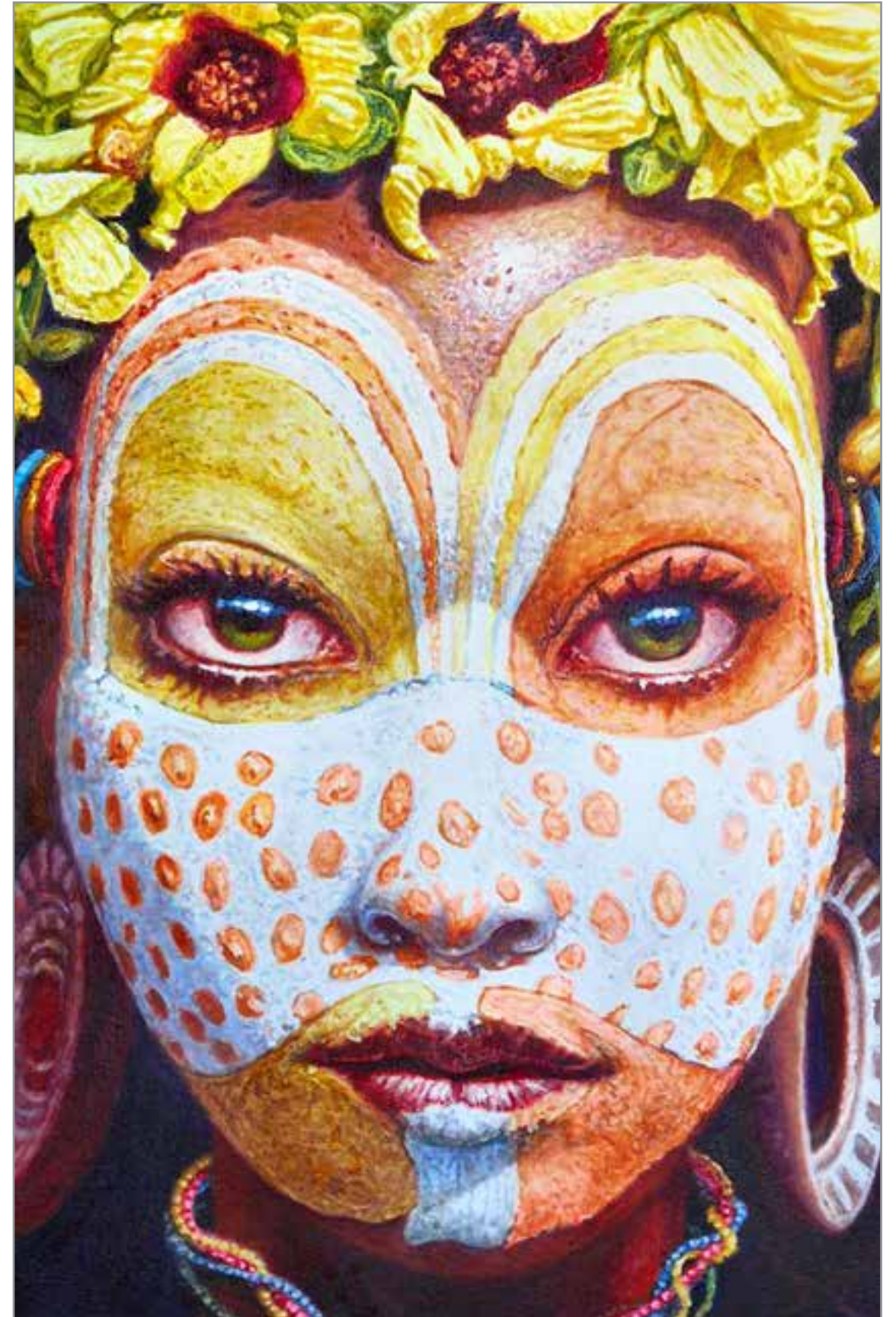
Fado - oil on canvas - 50 x 80cm



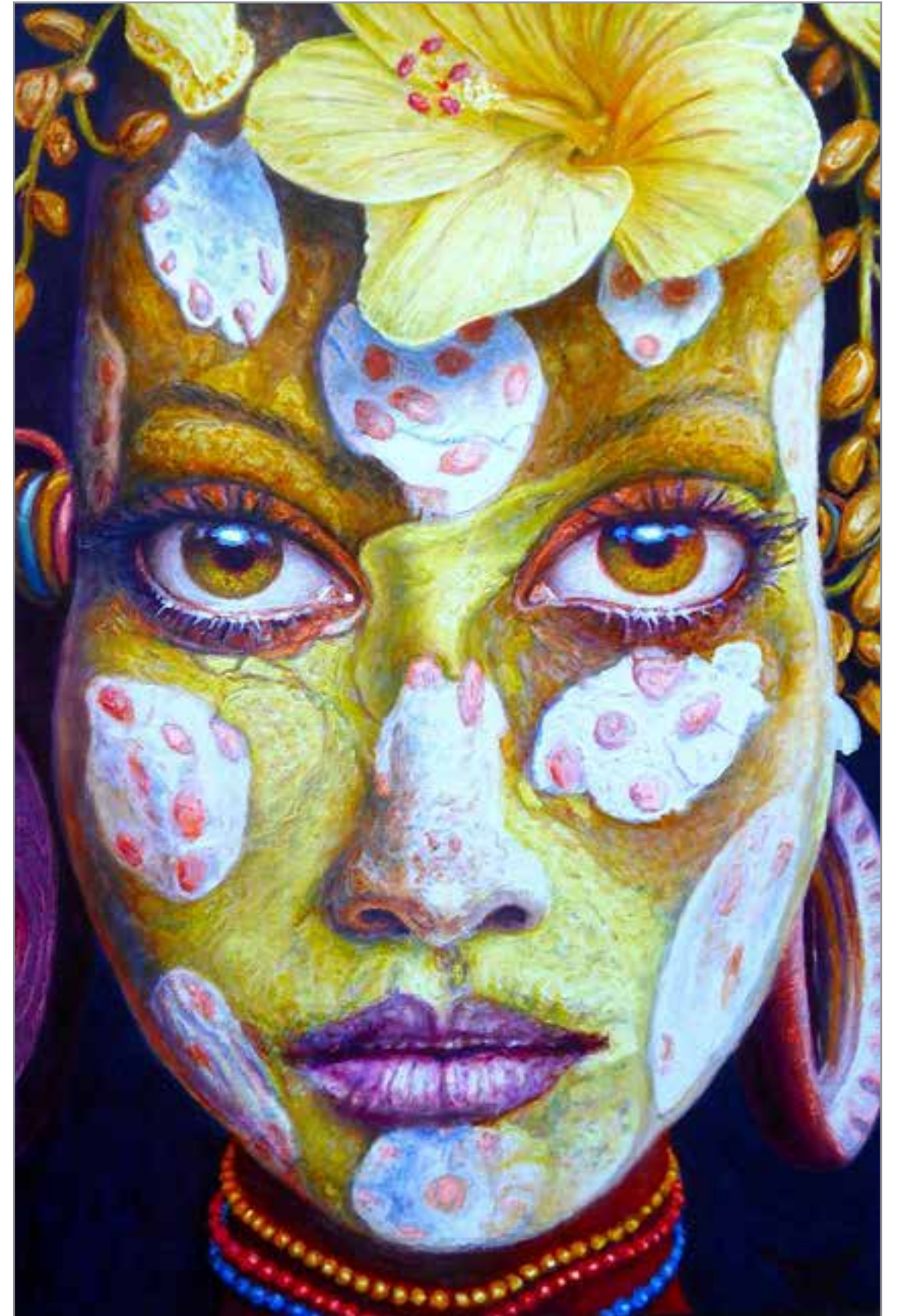
Karo - oil on canvas - 50 x 80cm



Surma - oil on canvas - 50 x 80cm



Yoni - oil on canvas - 50 x 80cm





Desert girl - oil on canvas -160 x 100cm

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



MENTAWAI ISLANDS

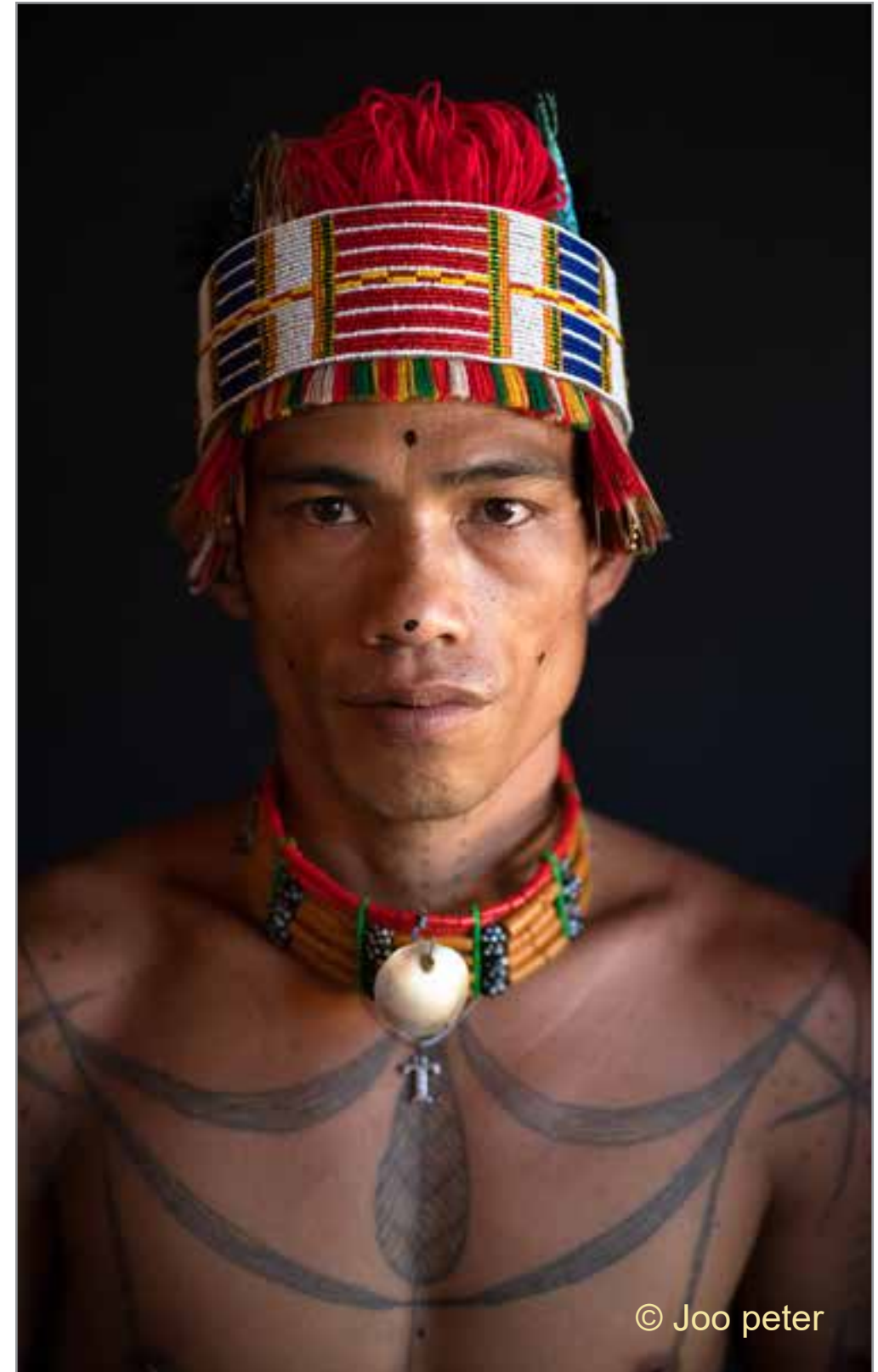
TEXT & PHOTOGRAPHS BY

JOO PETER

Mentawai is a chain of about seventy islands and islets approximately 150 kilometres off the western coast of Sumatra in Indonesia. 70,000 people live on the sparsely populated islands, many on the coast in villages. Muslim settlers have founded fishing villages, surfers have discovered the islands for tourism, only a small part still lives traditionally in the forest. The coexistence of different worlds is already dealt with in an old myth of the indigenous people, which the anthropologist Reimar Schefold reports on:

“In the past, people did not have to die, they multiplied and worried that the earth would soon become too full to feed all people. After joint consultation, they fell into the following trap: they split into two parties and summoned each other with a black chicken. As a result, each party made the other invisible. This solved the problem - since they no longer saw each other, there was no competition between them; they lived in different dimensions, so to speak. That’s how the forest spirits came into being”

Australian Rob Henry has been living with the natives for almost 10 years and has established a foundation to support their culture (www.iefprograms.org). Henry cooperates with the indigenous organization *Suku Mentawai*. All who like to travel to Mentawai, will find best assistance in the office of the foundation, which also organizes eco-tourism tours into the jungle. The foundation develops a dictionary of the local language, writes down old shaman knowledge of plants and more. It’s worth supporting their cause and donating to sukumentawai.org.



© Joo peter

Young shaman of the Mentawai Islands.



© Joo peter

Shaman Aman Boroigok (literally father light flower).



Mother Tiru fishes in the river for crabs, shrimps, fishes.



© Joo peter

Mother Tiru Mother Tiru fishing at the river.



© Joo peter

Shaman Takgougouk in the jungle.



Shaman Tagkogouk with bow and poisoned arrows.



© Joo peter

Takgougouk seeks larvae in the felled tree of a sago palm.



© Joo peter

Sagopalm larvae before cooking.



© Joo peter

Festive meal on long wooden bowls



Shaman Takgougouk visits his brother Jano.



© Joo peter

The old shaman Pangkek lives with his wife still deep in the jungle.



© Joo peter

Young man in traditional clothes.



© Joo peter

Sikerei eats sago bread.

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*.



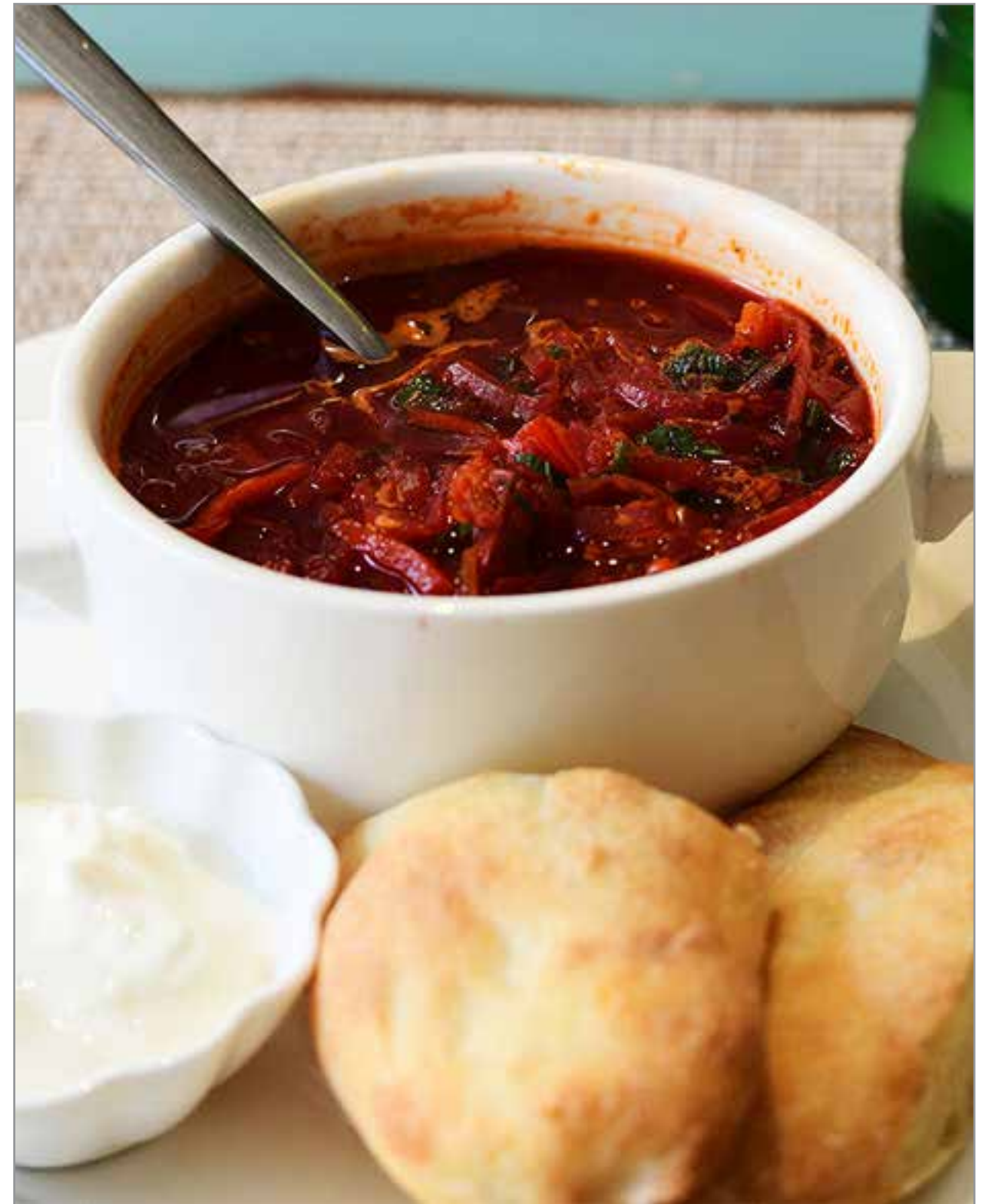
САНКТ-ПЕТЕРБУРГ BELIYE NOCHI NO TIME FOR SLEEP IN ST. PETERSBURG, RUSSIA

TEXT & PHOTOGRAPHS BY
MIKYOUNG CHA

PART - I

The White Nights (*Beliye Nochi*) is the period between end May to early July when natural light is prevalent throughout the 24 hours of the day. It becomes the land of the midnight sun, for a while. It is brightest between mid-June to the first few days of July. The street lights are not switched on as beautiful natural light bathes the city, continuously. Night and day become one.

Every year The fabulous White Nights Festival is celebrated in St. Petersburg.



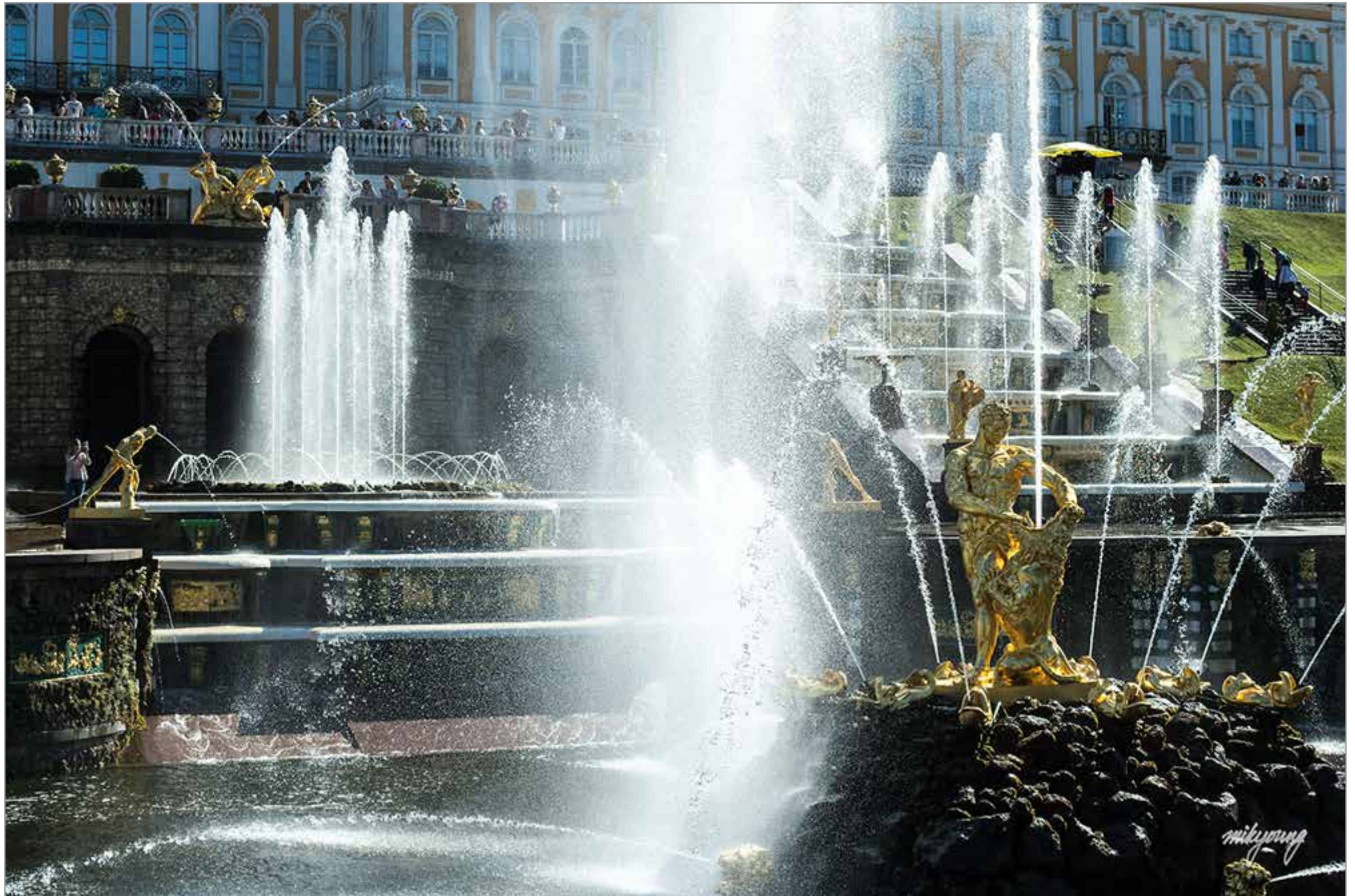
7am - savour BORSCHT.



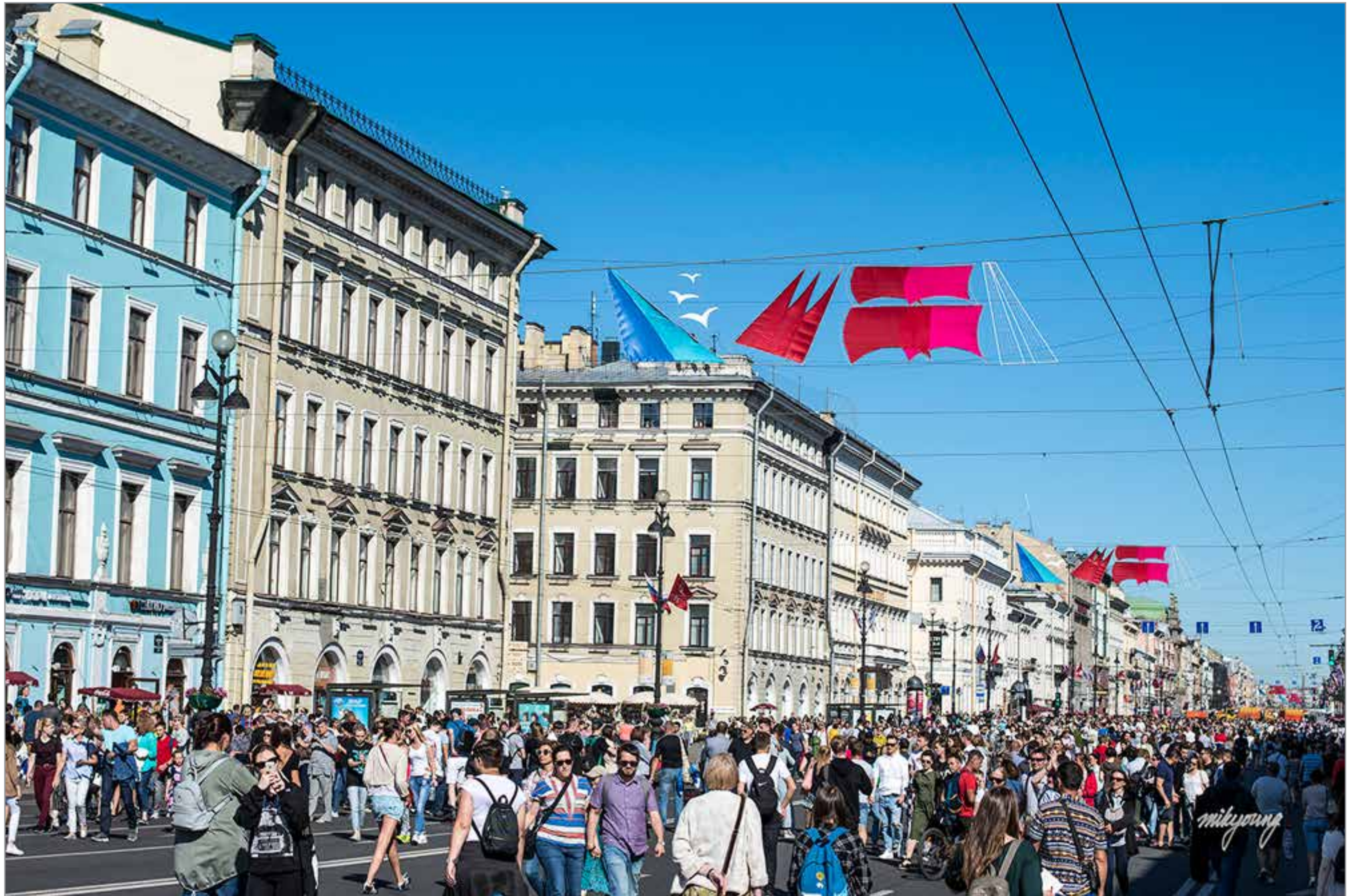
9am - take a walk on an ISLAND.



11am - art appreciation in HERMITAGE MUSEUM



1pm - get wet at PETERHOF GRAND PLALCE.



3pm - go shopping in NEVSKY PROSPEKT.



5pm - eat SHASHLYK.



7pm - enjoy the ballet at MARINSKY THEATRE.



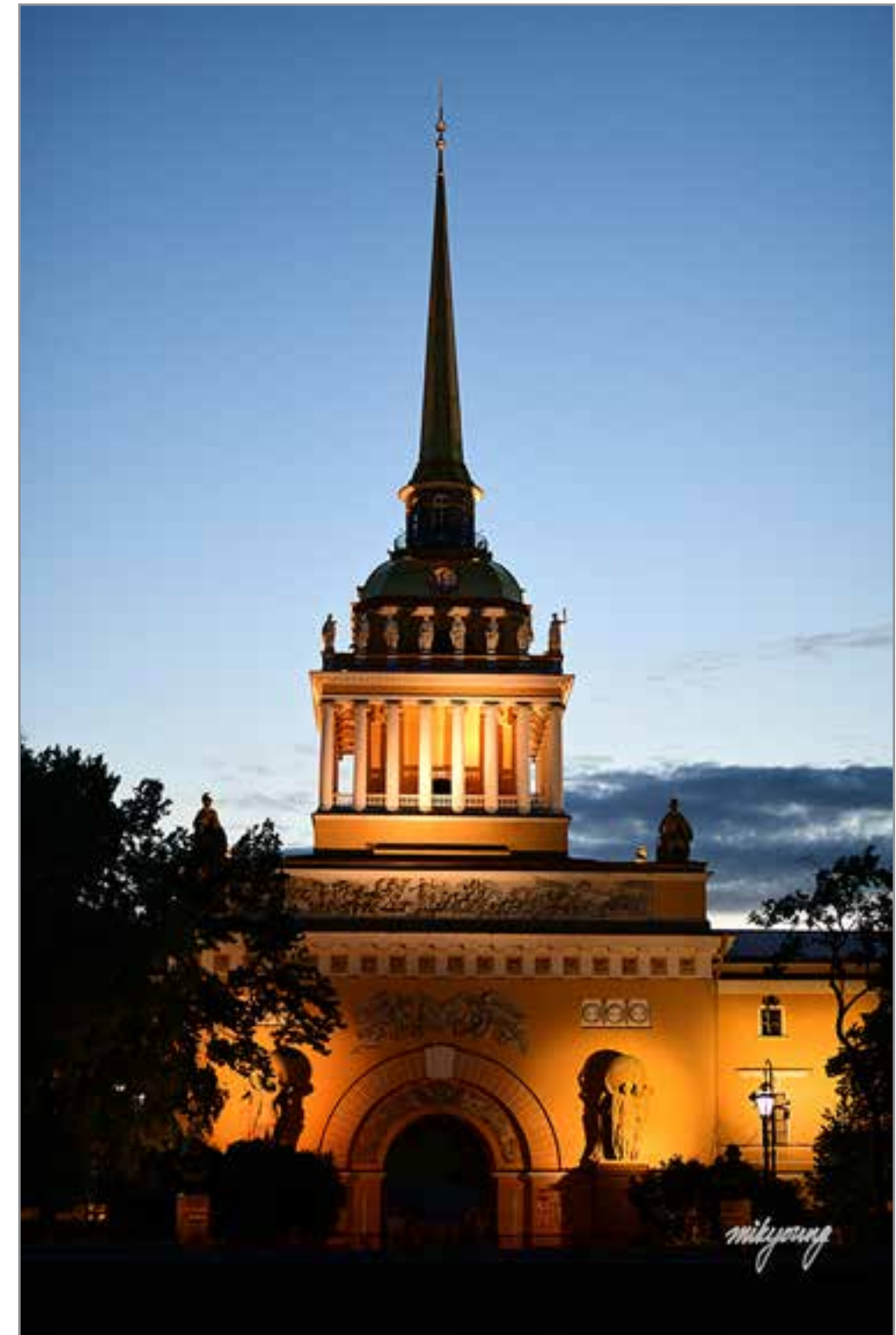
9pm - whisper love view from SAINT ISAAC'S CATHEDRAL.



9pm - promise eternal love by the MOYKA RIVER.



11pm - look at the INDIGO SKY.



11pm - pass by ADMIRALTY.



1am - shout with joy for SCARLET SAILS.



3am - boat tour in NEVA RIVER

Tina Claffey is an award winning nature photographer and author of 'Tapestry of Light-Ireland's bogs & wetlands as never seen before' released in October 2017. For almost 10 years, she lived and worked in pristine wilderness areas in Botswana, and this experience awakened in her an appreciation of the natural world of Ireland. Her observations and unique perspective of the flora and fauna of the unspoilt raised bogs and wet woodlands of the Irish midlands are celebrated in her work. <http://www.tinaclaffey.com/>



THE CARNIVOROUS SUNDEW

TEXT & PHOTOGRAPHS BY
TINA CLAFFEY

The flora and fauna of our bogs and wetlands are truly remarkable, as plants and their residents adapt to their waterlogged and mineral deficient conditions.

The sundew family, the Great sundew & the Round leaved sundew are truly beautiful, and a stunning example of ingenious evolved adaptation to its acidic conditions in the bog. This small carnivorous plant is among one of my favourites.

It very cleverly attracts its prey-midges and other insects-by revealing its long and irresistible tentacles, topped with their sweet, and sticky 'dew'. Once the victim has landed on this menacing gluey trap, its fate is sealed. Within as little as three minutes, the tentacles begin to bend over and close up, this may take a day to complete. Once enclosed, the sundew produces enzymes to dissolve the insect, and extract ammonia from the proteins and absorb other nutrients from their bodies. The ammonia replaces the much needed nitrogen that the sundew needs in its waterlogged home. It traps up to five insects a month.

This evolved adaptation by the sundew is truly wondrous.



Great Sundew and Sundew Flower.



© Tina Claffey

Great Sundew Tip.



© Tina Claffey

Great Sundew - Headdress.



© Tina Claffey

Round Leaved Sundew - Emerging Sundew



Round Leaved Sundew - Fireworks.



Round Leaved Sundew - Menacing Crown.



Round Leaved Sundew - Moth Capture



© Tina Claffey

Round Leaved Sundew - Ruby Lure.



Round Leaved Sundew - Sundew Capture.



Round Leaved Sundew - Sundew Samba.

Vũ Tuấn Hưng is a professional photographer and tour guide based in Hồ Chí Minh city. He is a tour guide for mainly German speaking tourists. His photographs feature in numerous publications across the world. If you are visiting Vietnam and need his assistance please email - vietnaminfos@gmail.com



VIETNAM IN BLACK & WHITE

TEXT & PHOTOGRAPHS BY
VŨ TUẤN HƯNG

Vietnam is an Asian Tiger with its burgeoning economy. The massive development taking place is sweeping across the country. Much is changing. However, the very spirit of the country rests in its agrarian society, a society that has withstood the horrors of war and survived, and thrived.



Jarai of Vietnam's Central Highlands.



Boy with cows.



Fishing, Hội An.



Planting rice.



On the way back from the market after purchasing a pig.



On the way to the market.



Cà Ná salt fields.



Fishing village in Binh Dinh province.

<https://ozlemsturkishtable.com/>



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



COKELEK SALATASI CRUMBLER WHITE CHEESE, LOR PEYNIR OR FETA WITH SPICES, TOMATO, CUCUMBER AND ONIONS.

This is such a satisfying, delicious and healthy salad. The cumin and red pepper flakes amazingly transform the humble Turkish white cheese (or if it's not available, Greek feta cheese). In my hometown, Antakya (Antioch), this special crumbled dried white cheese mixed with cumin, red pepper flakes and oregano is called Kuru Cokelek (also known as Surk) and readily available. Well, I can't get Kuru Cokelek at the moment, though pleased to say that the crumbled feta with these spices work just as good, highly recommended. If you are in Turkey, you can also make this salad with the creamy lor peynir; its mild taste goes well with this salad.

This easy salad is a wonderful treat for lunch or weekend brunch with some pita bread. My heartfelt thanks goes to my mother, who made this salad to us almost daily and injected us the love of food.

Afiyet Olsun,

Ozlem



Cokelek Salatasi- crumbled white cheese, lor peynir or feta with spices, tomato, cucumber and onions.
© Ozlem Warren

Serves: 2

Preparation time: 10 to 15 minutes

Ingredients:

- ½ small yellow or red onion, finely diced
- 2 medium tomatoes, finely diced
- ¼ of long cucumber or ½ small cucumber, finely diced
- Handful of flat leaf parsley, roughly chopped
- 110gr/40z Cokelek or lor peynir, as available in Turkey (or Greek feta cheese as an alternative),
- 5 ml/1 teaspoon ground cumin
- 5 ml/1 teaspoon red pepper (or paprika) flakes
- 5 ml/1 teaspoon dried oregano
- 30 ml/2 tablespoon extra virgin olive oil
- 5 ml/1 teaspoon lemon juice
- Salt and ground pepper to taste

Instructions

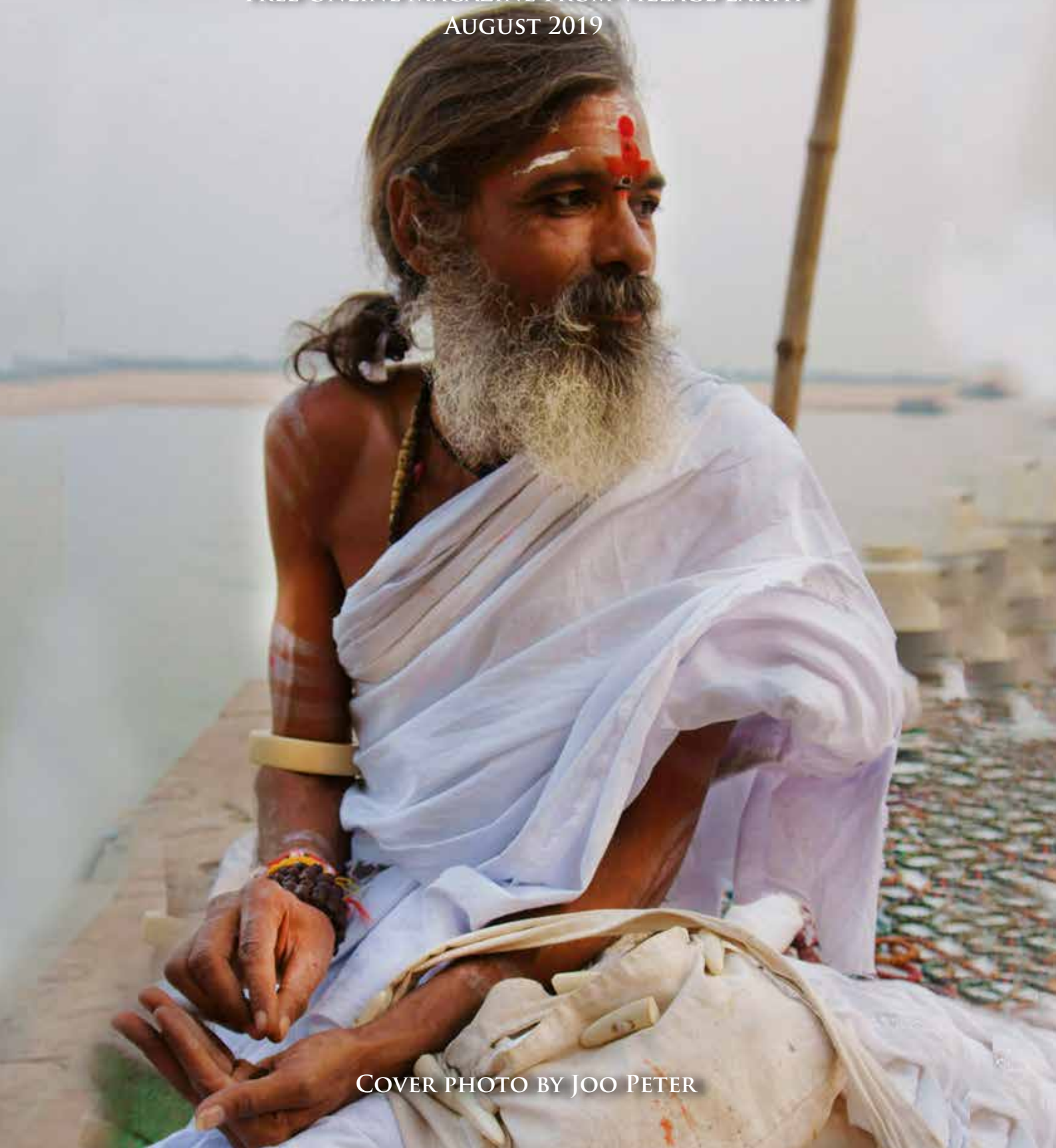
In a bowl, mix the Turkish white cheese, lor peynir (or Greek feta cheese), onion, cumin, oregano and red pepper flakes with your hands. This will soften the onion and infuse the spices to the feta and onion. Add the tomatoes, cucumber, parsley, olive oil and lemon juice, and mix well. Check the seasoning and add salt and black pepper to your taste.

Serve with pita bread wedges.

FOUNDED 2010

Live encounters

FREE ONLINE MAGAZINE FROM VILLAGE EARTH
AUGUST 2019



COVER PHOTO BY JOO PETER