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**Recollecting Pasts and Looking at the Future;
How Ethnic Identities Get Shaped**
DR NAMRATA GOSWAMI



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How Ethnic Identities Get Shaped

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Dr. Namrata Goswami is one of the foremost Indian thinkers on long-term global trends, emerging security challenges, and scenario building. She is currently an Independent Senior Analyst. Dr Goswami was formerly Research Fellow at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), New Delhi where she specialized on ethnic conflicts, insurgency, counter-insurgency and conflict resolution. She was a Jennings Randolph Senior Fellow at the United States Institute of Peace, Washington, D.C., a Visiting Fellow at the Peace Research Institute, Oslo, Norway, La Trobe University Melbourne, Australia as well as Heidelberg University, Germany. She is a recipient of the Fulbright-Nehru Senior Fellowship.



Message from the great grand son of Tatanka Iyotake (Sitting Bull) of the non-Treaty Lakota

Ernie La Pointe

Earnest (Ernie) Wayne LaPointe, a disabled Vietnam veteran, was born on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation of South Dakota in 1948. He has authored the book *"Sitting Bull – His Life and Legacy"* and helped produce two documentaries with Bill Matson – *Sitting Bull: Authorised Biography*, and, *Sitting Bull's Voice*.

www.sittingbullfamilyfoundation.org



Darwin for Educational Psychologists

Dr Greta Sykes

The poet, writer and artist Greta Sykes has published her work in many anthologies. She is a member of the London Voices Poetry Group and also produces art work for them. One of her own volumes entitled *The Intimacy of the Universe* focuses on the environment. She is a member of the Exiled Writers Ink group. She is a leading member of the Socialist History Society and organises joint poetry events for them at the Poetry Café. Greta is a trained child psychologist and has taught at University College London, where she is now an associate researcher. The present focus of her research is women's emancipation and antiquity.



Unscrambling the Dhaka terror strike

Dr Bibhu Prasad Routray

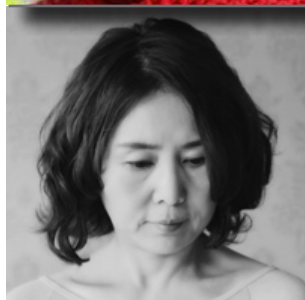
Dr. Routray served as a Deputy Director in the National Security Council Secretariat, Govt of India, Director of the Institute for Conflict Management (ICM)'s Database & Documentation Centre, Guwahati, Assam. He was a Visiting Research Fellow at the South Asia programme of the S. Rajaratnam School of 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.



After Conflict: Memory Frictions in Timor-Leste and Aceh - Part II

Dr Lia Kent

Dr Lia Kent is a Fellow in the School of Regulation and Global Governance (RegNet) and a member of the Centre for International Governance and Justice (CIGJ). Prior to joining RegNet she was a Research Fellow at ANU's State, Society and Governance in Melanesia (SSGM) program for four and a half years. Dr Kent's book, *The Dynamics of Transitional Justice: International Models and Local Realities in East Timor* (Routledge 2012), is based on her PhD thesis, and interrogates the gap between the official claims made for transitional justice and local expectations.



España

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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. For a number of years she assisted her husband in landscape designing and recently took up photography – the camera becoming her paint brush. This photo feature is a first in a series.



A Culture of Rights: Law, Literature, and Canada

Dr Benjamin Authers

My research focuses on critical approaches to human rights and law and literature. Much of my work has focused on the intersection between constitutional rights and literature in contemporary Canada. I also maintain an interest in Canadian cultural-legal studies more broadly, and have written on the racialisation of criminal and political responsibility in nineteenth-century Canada and the place of suspicion and representation in Canada's appearance under the UN Human Rights Council's Universal Periodic Review. More recently, my research has focused on the language and place of texts in international human rights.



Does Religion Have a Political Role?

Dr Ivo Coelho

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Asure - Noah's Dessert

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 Seferleri" TV program aired at TRT, National Turkish TV channel and in 37 countries. www.ozlemsturkishtable.com



Abide With Me

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ETHNIC IDENTITIES



Hastobíga, Navaho Medicine man, photographed in 1904 by Edward S. Curtis. [LINK](#)

Dr. Namrata Goswami is one of the foremost Indian thinkers on long-term global trends, emerging security challenges, and scenario building. Dr. Goswami is currently an Independent Senior Analyst. She was formerly Research Fellow at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), New Delhi where she specialized on ethnic conflicts, insurgency, counter-insurgency and conflict resolution. She has been a Jennings Randolph Senior Fellow at the Congressionally Funded United States Institute of Peace (USIP) in Washington DC, where she explored long-term India-China-US scenarios in order to craft sustainable security frameworks to enable unimpeded human development and security. She was co-lead and editor of two IDSA sponsored works on long-term trends, *Imagining Asia in 2030*, and *Asia 2030 The Unfolding Future*. Her latest book published by Pentagon Press, New Delhi is on *India's Approach to Asia, Strategy, Geopolitics and Responsibility, 2016*.



Recollecting Pasts and Looking at the Future; How Ethnic Identities Get Shaped

Dr Namrata Goswami

Independent Senior Analyst, Author and one of the foremost Indian thinkers on long-term global trends, emerging security challenges, and scenario building.

The other day, I came across a beautiful piece of advice from the Navajo in a small village in Florida, “give constant thanks to the great spirit for each new day...” Significantly, similar advice was offered to me when I met a Sami in Norway in 2007; an aborigine in Australia in 2009; a Cherokee elder in North Carolina in 2013; a Maori in New Zealand in 2015 as well as from elders of Naga, Kuki, Mizo, Hmar, Dimasa, Assamese, Meitei and other ethnic communities in Northeast India. The connecting weave between these ethnic minorities can be located within three important threads: preservation of their language and culture; connection to nature; and adapting to the modern world. For instance, casinos are a common feature in indigenous community (called Native American) reservations in the United States and arguably the largest source of income. Amongst indigenous communities in Australia, New Zealand, Norway or in North-east India, possession of modern amenities have become an essential part of life; yet the thrill of conveying their own cultures, cuisine, music, traditional clothes and jewelry, art, crafts, etc, remains paramount. The same is true about the Creeks, Su, Navajo, Cherokee, etc, in the U.S.

ETHNIC IDENTITIES



<https://pixabay.com/en/indian-art-petroglyph-467709/>

Traditional lore of these ethnic communities are retold in folktales that are passed on orally from generation to generation. Families and clans will have several different tales of their ancestry; a community will have some common folktales amongst them, as well as several overlapping tales between different clans/families within them. For instance, a Cherokee elder of one family told me a tale of a community dance where a group of young Cherokee men were demonstrating a war dance in the 1600s. In between the dance, a few of the youths went in the wrong direction. The elder said that this lack of coordination provides insight as to why they lost out to white settlers in the United States; a lack of common direction and purpose. Another elder retold the tale in a slightly different form; a group of young Cherokee men were demonstrating a war dance, when they started bickering amongst themselves with regard to which are the right dance steps; this in-fighting provides clues, he believed, to their lack of unity in their fight against an external enemy.

Interestingly, the past is always recollected with nostalgia and melancholy conveying a regret for its loss. Amongst ethnic minority communities, this recollection of the past is an expression of concern that modern life is slowly eroding away their traditional way of life, thwarting their ability to live close to nature, as they did, in ancient times. The entry of outsiders bringing in their customs and way of life, the intermingling of communities, inter-marriages, modern influences, etc, erodes past traditions that existed in its purest forms. Even stories of ancestors, retold orally, are being slowly forgotten or lost in translation.

This desire to ensure the past continues has led to protests for rights, sometimes in violent forms, and these conflicts have drawn in very young takers. I can recollect this aspect by narrating a touching episode that occurred during my visit to a village in Assam on a wet rainy day. The clouds that hung overhead that day were dark and the thunder broke the silence of this quiet mountain village. Soon, the mountains were engulfed with heavy rain and my path to the village turned into a difficult trek. As I walked towards the village barely able to keep my umbrella from being blown away by the wind and the torrential rain, a voice ran out. "Sister, over here". I looked up from the path to where the voice had rang out. There was Pip (name changed), a bright kid from the village and whom I had befriended during my brief two year tenure as a school teacher in one of the local schools, beckoning me to walk up to him and take shelter under the trees. His very presence lit my heart and I trekked up quickly, his smile of sheer warmth bringing joy to my soul. As we both took shelter under the trees on that misty, rainy day with rain drops splashing across our faces, my thoughts drifted to the village's annual festival, that I was about to attend. I always looked forward to these colourful festivals, enjoyed the spectacular dances, the rice beer, the smoked pork and the

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Angami Naga tribesman, 1875. Robert Gosset Woodthorpe (1844-1898)
The North-East Frontier 1837-1901 (1999) [LINK](#)

boiled spinach served with laughter; oh that contagious laughter. My mind full of such thoughts, I looked at Pip and asked him whether he was excited about the upcoming village festival. He looked at me and said nothing. The only sound in response was the rain against the trees sounding surprisingly calm. There were a few more seconds of silence before he turned to me and said with emotion "I am going to miss my elder brother this time. You must not have heard but he went away to join the Naga rebel army". His elder brother was 16 years old (Pip was 12).

The year was 2007. The Naga conflict for a separate ethnic homeland had reached its 89th year, starting way back in 1918, and now spearheaded by the National Socialist Council of *Nagalim* led by Isak Chisi Swu and Thuingaleng Muivah (NSCN-IM). Whether Pip's brother succeeded in joining the armed group, we do not know. We do not even know that it was really to join the rebel army that Pip's brother left home. But what we do know that for Pip and his family, it was a version of reality starting them in the face; losing a brother/son to insurgency. It made me wonder what Pip, a young boy of 12, thought about the armed movement. That he would know so much about it, tried to understand what his brother had gone for, and talked about it in such an adult manner made my heart ache.

Social narratives, across minority communities, where children are brought up is fueled with fears of persecution, and the need for self-preservation and cultural preservation vis-à-vis a majority community or state that is perceived as biased towards the majority community which is different. So, for instance, the Naga movement for separate homeland has been based on the premise that Naga culture and tradition is threatened by what the Indian state stands for; a Hindu India, and hence requires independence to preserve it. Interestingly, Naga indigenous traditions as they existed, have themselves undergone massive change with the advent of Christianity propagated by the American Baptist Mission during British colonial rule.

It brought home to me the realization that the story of armed Naga nationalism, the fight for dignity, and self-preservation along with its darker sides, not limited to internecine violence but also daily extortions, was an everyday reality in these rain kissed lands of Northeast India.

So, the fight for preservation of culture when conducted violently, can take lives, affect social narratives, create certain restrictive cultural frames, as well as limit cross cultural interconnectedness. It can draw in young boys and girls, hardly old enough to understand the entire contour of their culture, to fight for its preservation as Pip's brother is believed to have done, leaving his family distraught and melancholy. In this, several factors are at work in the local environment that can motivate such behavior:-the social narratives in existence that frames discourses; peer pressure; ethnic loyalty factor; and ethnic worthiness.

Social Narratives

Social narratives, across minority communities, where children are brought up is fueled with fears of persecution, and the need for self-preservation and cultural preservation vis-à-vis a majority community or state that is perceived as biased towards the majority community which is different. So, for instance, the Naga movement for separate homeland has been based on the premise that Naga culture and tradition is threatened by what the Indian state stands for; a Hindu India, and hence requires independence to preserve it. Interestingly, Naga indigenous traditions as they existed, have themselves undergone massive change with the advent of Christianity propagated by the American Baptist Mission during British colonial rule.

Fascinating details of how the British and the American Baptist Mission termed Naga animist culture as dark and evil to influence them to convert to Christianity has been documented in an impressive manner in the book by Tezenlo Thong.¹

So, what Pip's brother is fighting for, believing these are ancient ways of life, is not the animism of Naga culture but 18th century culture and religion that now predominates. Despite that, the fear that what Nagas believe as their ancient way of life being threatened within India, has resulted in a violent ethnic movement that has lasted over 98 years since it first saw an organized establishment in 1918.



Tribal - Bodo dance Bagurumba - https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bodo_dance.jpg

Peer Pressure

Then, there is peer pressure. When you belong to the same ethnic lineage, there is an intense social pressure to demonstrate loyalty. For instance, when I joined courses in higher education in Assam's capital, Guwahati, I was forced by some, if not all, seniors in college during the first month to only wear the traditional Assamese dress, the Mekhela Chador to college, as well as converse only in Assamese, including to those of my friends from my hometown Haflong, who belonged to other ethnic communities, in order to demonstrate my 'Assameseness'.

Significantly, I am an Assamese by birth and upbringing, but having grown up in Haflong, a town in Assam, which represented a microcosm of several ethnic communities, my environment was rather cosmopolitan. Hence, the strict rules imposed upon me as part of a ritualistic 'ragging' in College to demonstrate my Assamese origins stifled me. To my young mind, it was an act of coercion. But, I played along for fear of being seen as disloyal. Such pressures are common and especially in teenage years, it could impact your decision making and personality structures. For instance, in the state of Manipur, it is compulsory for girls, not boys, to wear the phanek sarong (traditional skirt) to colleges. This dress code was imposed by the Meitei armed group, Kanglei Yawol Kanna Lup (KYKL). Added to this dress code was a warning from the KYKL that "the school authorities, student unions and parents would be held responsible for any untoward incident arising out of dishonouring the "appeal".² This could amount to physical harm.

Interestingly, the KYKL argued that women have a special role in preserving local traditions, and apparently, forcing them to wear traditional clothes was one way of preserving it. One can only imagine the impact that it had on young girls, by taking away their freedom to choose their own clothes. Such conditions, inarguably, leads to coercion and obsessive control of how women should behave in traditional societies, not dissimilar to the Taliban in Afghanistan who turned women into hidden obedient members of society.

In 2007, President of United Manipur Muslim Women's Development Organisation, Anwari Nurjahan Begum, stated that, such dress codes bode well for women safety, and that provocative dresses worn by girls lead to crime.³



<https://pixabay.com/en/person-maori-indigenous-culture-1421105/>

Ethnic Loyalty Factor

The third factor that motivates people to rally around a cause is ethnic loyalty. This kind of loyalty is not coerced but is based on a sense of belonging, genuine community feeling, and a deep emotional attachment to that way of life. For instance, when Samis in Norway protested for their rights vis-à-vis the Norwegian government, there was a deep sense of attachment to their way of living, including reindeer herding. In 1989, the Samis established their own Parliament and worked hard to preserve their culture and language, under severe threat from Norwegian state policies attempted at suppressing their rights.⁴ The Maoris in New Zealand rallied around as a community to ensure that their rights were won as an indigenous community.⁵ The tales of indigenous communities in the Americas is more or less similar. This sense of ethnic loyalty comes from the next factor that motivates, that of ethnic worthiness.

Ethnic Worthiness

As humans, we all have an innate need to enjoy a sense of self-worth that is respected and recognized by others in the social milieu. Many times, this sense of 'self worth' is based on the prestige of our ancestors, their way of life, as well as traditions that are passed on down the ages. A sense of pride in the past, a continuance of the worth of our ancestors in the present, and carrying it with us into the future have a deep meaningful impact on who we become, what we achieve, and what we value and pass on to future generations. In ethnic minority communities, this attachment to identity, by one's own choosing, or by the context in which one finds oneself, matters deeply for creating a sense of self-worth and respect. Hence, communities stake a lot in ensuring that the sacred environment in which this sense of ethnic/self-worth is fostered is secure from outside external cultural influences or majority community domination. Hence, the politics of ethnic cultural preservation and identity takes center stage, motivating many to take arms.

Identities get shaped by past history, existing social narratives and traditions, peer pressure as well as ethnic loyalty. Loyalty plays a major role in creating incentive structures for ethnic groups to demonstrate a desire to preserve cultures. For the near future, we will continue to see conflicts over preservation of ethnic identities, ancestral land, cultures and tradition. For some like the Maoris, there may be some wins; for others like the aborigines of Australia or the native indigenous communities of America, it will be a harder task as most of them are relegated to reservations.



<https://pixabay.com/en/family-rag-sami-lapland-norway-67652/>

For ethnic minorities in India, the constitution and local state structures offer democratic representation. But the weakness and corruption rampant in institutions, can play havoc with ethnic land preservation and culture maintenance. Ultimately, it will be left to future generations to work out better means to ensure culture preservation, while at the same time, adapting to the growing influences of an interconnected technological world. There is perhaps no other way.

Notes

1. Tezenlo Thong, *Progress and its Impact on the Nagas A Clash of Worldviews* (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2014).
2. Kelen Thokcom, "Manipur Girls Bow to Rebel Dress Code", *The Telegraph*, October 15, 2002 at http://www.telegraphindia.com/1021015/asp/northeast/story_1291838.asp (Accessed on July 14, 2016).
3. "Rebel Diktat Find Takers", *The Telegraph*, December 09, 2007 at http://www.telegraphindia.com/1071209/asp/northeast/story_8645262.asp
4. Werner Winter, ed., *Language Conflict and Language Planning* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1993), pp.115-132. Also see Paul Brown, "Room for the Reindeer to Roam", *The Guardian*, October 24, 2000 at <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2000/oct/25/paulbrown> (Accessed on July 16, 2016).
5. Bryant Rousseau, "In New Zealand, Lands and Rivers Can be People (Legally Speaking)", *The New York Times*, July 13, 2016 at <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/14/world/what-in-the-world/in-new-zealand-lands-and-rivers-can-be-people-legally-speaking.html> (Accessed on July 16, 2016).

ERNIE LAPOINTE



Photograph courtesy Ernie LaPointe

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What is approaching from the future will create panic to the majority of the World, but there will be a chosen few that will welcome the purification. The chosen few will be the ones that are looking to the future with compassion and living a Spiritual way of life.

A VISION OF THE FUTURE

ERNIE LAPOINTE

GREAT GRANDSON OF TATANKA IYOTAKE (SITTING BULL)
WHO WAS A SUN DANCER, MEDICINE MAN
AND CHIEF OF THE NON-TREATY LAKOTA

I lived for 6 decades plus and approximately 4 decades I lived in the fast World of the Americans. In 1993, I started my journey back into the Ancient Sacred Life of the Lakota People. I started with participating in *Purification Ceremonies* (Commonly Known as Sweat Lodges) then I was called by the Ancient Spirits to participate in the Sacred Sun Dance. The protocol for the ceremonies began with a Purification Ceremony then a *Hanblechiya* (Crying through the Night for a Vision). I was troubled with how the American people lived. They lived for material, monetary gains and were egotistical, racist and were taking everything our true Mother, the Earth offered. They created a bubble and to fit into this bubble, a person has to give up their identity and natural gifts or talents. Their education systems are geared toward the past. They try to teach their children how to correct the mistakes of the past to create a better future, which is not the *Ancient Lakota* way. They are actually destroying the future for their children. The majority of the Americans are for Pro Life, but how are these future generations going to survive when they are destroying the air, water and food sources.

Our Mother Earth is crying out to those of us to try and save her very existence, but she is also a Mother and she does not want to harm her children, so her other children (The Elements) are showing the two legged ones that are hurting her with signs. The signs are extreme droughts in certain areas and extreme flooding in other areas and fires are burning the forests and also climate change. I was told through a ceremony that the Earth is going to shift from her axis. I sometimes feel as I am the only Human Being to recognize this. I do not have a religious person to tell me about who "god" is or what will happen to me if I don't fear him. I have a Sacred Pipe and with this pipe I can communicate with the Ancient Spirits and with Wakan Tanka (*The Great Mystery*). I was informed many times to not fear the Ancient Spirits or Wakan Tanka, because they are the future. I try to live my life as the Lakota people during the times of my Great-Grandfather Tatanka Iyotake (Sitting Bull).



These values are generosity, compassion, courage and visions for the future. I felt I had to explain who I am and my walk through this life, before I tell about my vision. Our Lakota way is shared orally and is not a written language, but through ceremonies, I was told the people cannot understand points in a story, because the American language is a backward language and one word or sentence can create misdirection and misunderstanding in storytelling, so I have to take the painstaking task of trying to translate my Native Lakota words into this backwards language.

My only hope is that the people reading my words will understand my points. The vision I was given was at Bear Butte in the Black Hills of South Dakota. My vision started right after the helpers set me in my *hochoka* (Alter). I started hearing people crying all around me and the crying was so mournful; I had tears flowing down my face. I started praying to *Wakan Tanka* why I am hearing this, but it just went on until dawn, then the helpers came for me. The helpers and I went into the Purification lodge and the Medicine Man asked me about my vision, so I told him about the men and women crying. The Spirit answered my vision, the Spirit said this is what is coming from the future, because the people are ignorant and haven't turned to face the future, but live for monetary and material wealth. I was told majority of the people think when what is approaching is imminent, they will just mention a man's name from their "good" book and they will be saved, but they will be in for a rude awakening, it will not happen.

These are the people who are crying I heard, the Spirit also said many of these will be from within my own immediate family. They will offer their money and material wealth for help, but these things do not have any value in the Spirit World. They have the chance to change their ways now, if they so desire, because the fate of the future is not set in stone, we can change the course, if the people of the World can act together. I was told to spread this vision to those that will give an ear, so at speaking events all over this country and many European countries, I share this, but it seems the people don't either understand or maybe they just don't care.

Ernie LaPointe
Black Hills, South Dakota



My Great Grand Father, Tatanka Iyotake (Sitting Bull)





The poet, writer and artist Greta Sykes has published her work in many anthologies. She is a member of the London Voices Poetry group and also produces art work for them. One of her own volumes entitled *The Intimacy of the Universe* focuses on the environment. She is a member of the Exiled Writers Ink group. She is a leading member of the Socialist History Society and organises 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 writing includes academic work, such as essays and consultations. Her particular focus is now on women's emancipation and antiquity.
<https://www.facebook.com/greta.sykes.3?fref=ts>

This article is based on a lecture **Dr Greta Sykes** gave on social, emotional and behavioural development for the Doctorate Trainee Educational Psychologists at the Institute of Education, London.

DARWIN FOR EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGISTS: WHAT WE CAN LEARN FROM THE DISCUSSIONS OF EVOLUTION BIOLOGISTS

Some history

The journey that Darwin made to the Galapagos Islands has now become a tourist trip. "Tailor-made Holidays" are offering family adventures. Back in 1879 Darwin's discovery of mutation and adaptation as tools of evolution shocked the world deeply. His work was immediately condemned by the church and many other bodies. Issues around evolution are still in the eye of current political and intellectual storms. In the US the story of the bible and God's creation of the earth in seven days is still vehemently defended in some communities. Last year a film on television illustrated that a group of young people who were invited on a trip exploring various ancient aspects of nature were unimpressed by the displays they had seen. They decided the trip would not influence their fundamentalist beliefs even though they were shown a range of mammalian skulls a hundred thousand years old and the links to present day humans, ancient foot prints of long extinct animals as well as their carbon dating.

Darwin's findings dethroned humans. The thought that we are supposed to be mere animals similar to other animals was unbearable to many, not just the church. After explicitly declaring that 'Selfish genes' rule the universe Richard Dawkins pointed out in 'The Blind Watchmaker' (1986):

"there is no watchmaker in nature just blind forces of physics... natural selection, the unconscious, automatic...process... has no purpose in mind." Mutations and adaptations take place without the organism having any control over either, it is alleged. (p14)

The continued solidity of the belief in genes and intelligence is well suited to an economic context that refuses to let go of inequality, and instead forces through a deepening of class structures and deprivation. Genes and intelligence, not unlike inheritance, are viewed as immutable entities in a deterministic universe. Only a few months ago our former Prime Minister David Cameron uttered in a radio broadcast that 'intelligence was after all genetic'. Such views are easily maintained while the focus is on individual attributes rather than the environment. The result is unequal access to education and the lottery of postcode choices of school places for children.

Genes in the economic context of the time

Darwin recognised that one of the determining features of life for all species would be whether adaptation is based on self-interest or group interest. Context, a Bronfenbrenner (1983) axiom, is naturally also a determinant in this. At the time Social Darwinist theorists such as Herbert Spencer (1860) enthusiastically appropriated the theory of the survival of the fittest. It became a powerful and suitable motto in the context of a rising bourgeoisie with an emphasis on individual enterprise. Biologists and sociologists refined the theory of self-interest based on genes. The notion of individual endowment, genius and intelligence became trump cards in research endeavours. Sir Cyril Burt, who we rightly celebrate as the first educational psychologist, nevertheless needs to be mentioned also in terms of his late work which Tommy Mackay labels as having 'an obligatory question mark' in relation to his work on intelligence (Educational & Child Psychology, 2013).

The continued solidity of the belief in genes and intelligence is well suited to an economic context that refuses to let go of inequality, and instead forces through a deepening of class structures and deprivation. Genes and intelligence, not unlike inheritance, are viewed as immutable entities in a deterministic universe. Only a few months ago our former Prime Minister David Cameron uttered in a radio broadcast that 'intelligence was after all genetic'. Such views are easily maintained while the focus is on individual attributes rather than the environment. The result is unequal access to education and the lottery of postcode choices of school places for children. One look at current data on children's achievement and well-being proves that the government's education reforms are designed to be palliative rather than effective measures for change. That is not to say that teachers, parents and supportive agencies, such as the educational psychology services, are not doing their best to ameliorate the situation brought about by lack of staff, resources and spaces.

The Human Genome Project

The static view of a fixed Newtonian billiard ball universe of genes and intelligence was challenged when the Human Genome Project results came out. Phillip Cohen, Andy Coghlan and Michael Le Page wrote in 'Genes that count' (New Scientist, 2001).

"The finding of our small number of genes "deals a heavy blow to genetic determinism, the idea that many aspects of a person's life are controlled by their genes... humans have just twice the number of genes of a fruit fly..." (p32).

Recent research has shown that today's individuals are tomorrow's group – we evolved from single cells which gradually formed multi-cell organisms.

“The harmony and coordination associated with the word ‘organism can exist at any level, and individuals can lose these properties when selection takes place within them, such as when cancers evolve (p42).

Since then much laboratory money has been spent to search for genes that express a particular behaviour, such as Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder, intelligence or race, but the number of genes is just too small to be able to account for such complex phenomena. Behind such projects lies the desire to find a simple answer to the complexity of living beings, and, in particular one that can be turned into financial rewards. Bob Holmes (2013) refers to the largest epidemiological study ever done He cites T. Colin Campbell from Cornell University in Ithaca, New York and colleagues in Oxford and China. They found that genetic disposition is insignificant compared with what you eat and what you don't eat.

Selfish genes or group selection

Although it might seem a little distant from EP work to talk about the details of how we have evolved, it is nevertheless vital to pursue an interest into the different arguments so that we can further refine our case for preventative action - our key interest. Group selection was considered by Darwin and developed in the 1960s by William D. Hamilton who developed the theory of inclusive fitness, only to be quickly rejected when George C. Williams published his book ‘Adaptation and natural selection’ (1996) saying “group-related adaptations do not exist.”

David Sloan Wilson (2011) says:

“Today...there is near universal agreement among those familiar with the subject that the wholesale rejection of group selection was mistaken and that the so-called alternatives are nothing of the sort.” (p41)

However, Wilson adds:

“Many people who do not directly study the subject, including many biologists, have got the impression that group selection was conclusively disproved...As a result there is widespread confusion.” (p42).

Recent research has shown that today's individuals are tomorrow's group – we evolved from single cells which gradually formed multi-cell organisms.

“The harmony and coordination associated with the word ‘organism can exist at any level, and individuals can lose these properties when selection takes place within them, such as when cancers evolve (p42).

Over their lifetime living things make all sorts of adjustments to their pheno-typical existence in order to cope with their living conditions. They grow differently based on how they use their bodies. They turn certain genes on and others off, they learn new behaviours. None of these changes count as evolution, but they can shape the way natural selection acts on genes and thereby influence the course of evolution. Richard Palmer from the University of Alberta in Edmonton, Canada asks "do genes follow where phenotypes wander". Palmer quoted by Holmes (2013) states:

"Mutation is random, but development is not. Changes that happen to the phenotype that emerge from developmental processes are very often beneficial to the organism" (p35)

Ecological niches

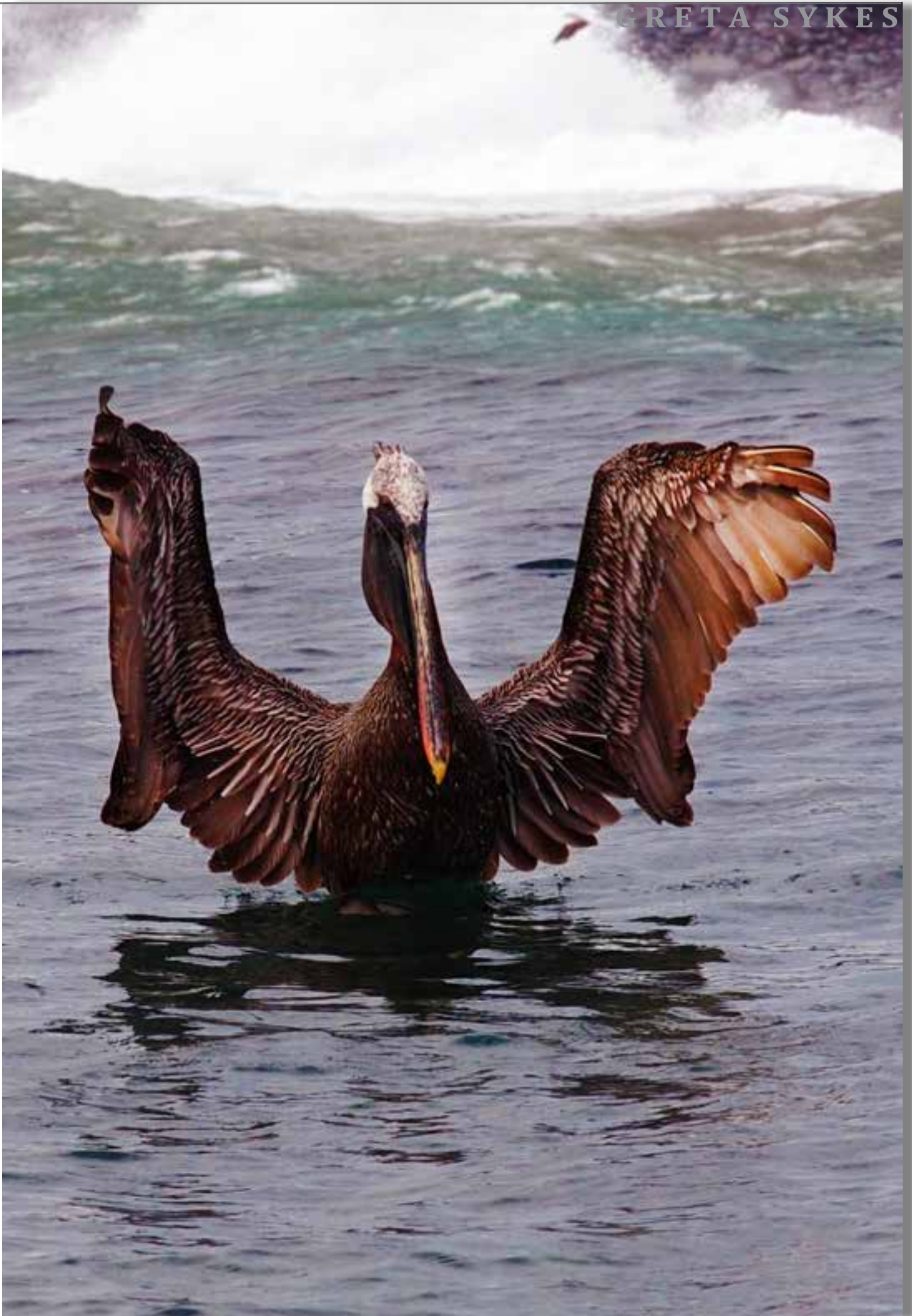
"Nature, red in tooth and claw" goes the saying, but this perspective of life on earth misses the bigger picture. Altieri, (quoted by Coughlan et al, 2007) a marine biologist, found in his experiments at the sea shore in Rhode Island that chord grass, mussels, barnacles and algae all thrived better when they were all present. They form a kind of loose organism in which each member creature cooperates with the other.

Genes and education

It was in 2007 that the human genome was finally unravelled with its disappointing result of a small number of genes. Researchers who were keen to find the genes expected to make up human intelligence did find six that could be shown to have an association with intelligence. Together they account for only 1% of the variation in intelligence between individuals (Andy Coughlan, 2007). Yet the government hold on to their claim of the power of genes, implicitly arguing that each child's attainment is genetically pre-determined. Mary Midgley (2011) finds that our clinging to the competitive, selfish and hawkish (survival of the fittest) notions is not just a matter of imagery and metaphor, but goes to the heart of today's thinking. She refers to a number of biologists, such as Steven Rose, Brian Goodwin and Simon C. Morris who talk about the evolution of living creatures as indicated by their ability to self-organise. It is a way of being able to view evolution as intelligent and constructive, rather than a gamble driven by random forces. If a non-competitive image is required, she cites Denis Nobel, systems biologist, who suggests that natural development, not being a car, needs no single driver to direct it. Midgley refers to Peter Corning, director of the Institute for the Study of Complex Systems in Friday Harbor, Washington. He suggests that organisms can guide their own evolution and that this ability has a crucial role in the evolution of life on earth.

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All these points confirm the vital role Bronfenbrenner's (1983) eco-systemic perspective has which EPs already base much of our work on and which forms the basis of the Doctorate in Professional Education, Child and Adolescent Psychology at the Institute of Education. The key role of social learning has been shown by Peter Blatchford's 2013 research into classroom assistant's support for children with special educational needs (SEN). He illustrated that the removal from the collective of the class environment hindered a majority of children with SEN from making progress.

David Sloan Wilson (2011) speaks of multi-level selection and points out that "the suppression of within-group selection is the hallmark of a major transition". He says:

Accepting multi-level selection has profound implications. It means we can no longer regard the individual as a privileged level of the biological hierarchy" (p44).

Laland, cited by Bob Holmes (2013) comments that there are two processes, natural selection,

"but also this process of niche construction whereby organisms can modify environmental states, often in ways that are beneficial to the organism.... the most sophisticated niche construction being human culture." (p36)

Implications for Educational Psychologists (EPs)

What are the implication for us as EPs of these theoretical deliberations? Humans offer an excellent example of multi-level selection and niche construction. The invention of farming 10,000 years ago is a good example of how humans shaped themselves through their own cultural development, thus acting on their genome and thereby self-regulating and influencing their own development. Individuality also appears to play a minor role in recent research into big data from cell phones, social media and credit cards. Alex Pentland (NS,2014) calls himself a social physicist. He searched big data and found that "the largest single factor driving adoption of new behaviour was the behaviour of peers."

All these points confirm the vital role Bronfenbrenner's (1983) eco-systemic perspective has which EPs already base much of our work on and which forms the basis of the Doctorate in Professional Education, Child and Adolescent Psychology at the Institute of Education. The key role of social learning has been shown by Peter Blatchford's 2013 research into classroom assistant's support for children with special educational needs (SEN). He illustrated that the removal from the collective of the class environment hindered a majority of children with SEN from making progress. The research further emphasises the important role interviewing children and young people has. Finding out what their views are of their learning development and learner identity can help them understand how they can become self-efficacious, be able to envisage and make choices and take charge of their own learning. Using personal construct psychology and cognitive behaviour therapy are further strategies that EPs can employ to assist young people towards greater independence.

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Implications for Educational Psychologists (EPs)

Learning and copying the behaviour of peers helps them find their way in a complex society. However, if the main attributes of the social world are experienced as mean and spiteful this can have devastating effects. With all the specialist knowledge Trainee EPs learn in their three years studies they are in a good position to be mindful and alert to the needs of children and young people.

Learning to become and stay flexible in behaviour and development can help an individual adapt successfully to a variety of environments. As EPs we are familiar with a concept that is similar to self-regulation, namely self-efficacy. Self-efficacy could become an even more powerful tool among the strategies EPs use when working with families, once it is underpinned with the knowledge that it is related to the purposeful endeavours of individuals and groups to live harmoniously in their given environment.

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WHAT'S IN A NAME? UNSCRAMBLING THE DHAKA TERROR STRIKE

Dr. Bibhu Prasad Routray

Abstract

Whether global or local jihad consumed the lives of the Bangladeshis and foreigners on 1 July 2016 is irrelevant. An effective counter-terrorism response is about the state's demonstrated inclination to provide a honest assessment of the challenge and capacity to initiate steps to mitigate the threat. Bangladesh's "Insurance Agent's approach to terrorism" underlines that it is not even willing to address the threat.

The Awami League government has responded to the 1 July 2016 terrorist attack on the Holey Artisan Bakery along expected lines. The statement released on 4 July provides profiles of the terrorists and reiterates that they belonged to the home grown Jama'atul Mujahideen Bangladesh (JMB) and not to the Islamic State (IS) as claimed by the outfit immediately after the attack. The statement underlines Dhaka's refusal to stray from its well known "Insurance Agent's approach to countering terror" and a misconceived notion that good counter-terrorism begins by playing down the threat. In the months prior to the attack on the western-style cafe in Dhaka's diplomatic zone, terrorist attacks claimed the lives of about 50 persons across the country. On most occasions machete-wielding attackers on motorbikes slaughtered Hindu priests, Buddhists, atheists, secular bloggers, and also foreigners. More than half of the attacks were owned up by the Islamic State. But the government not only issued repeated denials, but appeared to rationalise the killings. 'The victims should not have aroused the religious passions of the majority community', was the underlying sermon in official press releases. Soft-peddling the organised killings in the previous 18 months could have created the base for the attack on the Holey Artisan Bakery.



BIG STORY **B'DESH ATTACK: LATEST**
Red alert, heavy Army deployment across Dhaka

BANGLADESH MIN BLAMES PAK

B'DESH BLAMES PAK **DHAKA ATTACK**

'PAK SUPPLYING ARMS TO CRIMINALS'

BREAKING NEWS

LIVE UPDATES

On most occasions machete-wielding attackers on motorbikes slaughtered Hindu priests, Buddhists, atheists, secular bloggers, and also foreigners. More than half of the attacks were owned up by the Islamic State. But the government not only issued repeated denials, but appeared to rationalise the killings. 'The victims should not have aroused the religious passions of the majority community', was the underlying sermon in official press releases. Soft-peddling the organised killings in the previous 18 months could have created the base for the attack on the Holey Artisan Bakery.

Politics, however, explains the logic of the government. Prime Minister Shaikh Hasina wishes to prevent Bangladesh's slide into chaos and inching proximity to attaining a failed state status. Accepting the presence of the Islamic State would weaken its own position and strengthen the opposition's hands. In a politically polarised country, where more number political opponents rather than extremists are behind bars, nothing can be more suicidal than the acceptance that the regime has abysmally failed to maintain law and order. As recently as on 8 June 2016 the Information Minister Hasanul Haq Inu had claimed, "Their (terrorists') strength has waned. at least in one respect, they government is successful as they could not attack big government establishments or highways."

But from the victims' and their families' point of view being killed by the local Bangladeshi JMB cadres is no less painful and unacceptable than by the killers affiliated to the Islamic State. Whether global or local jihad consumed 20 lives on 1 July 2016 is irrelevant. Whether the JMB or the Islamic State prevailed as the authorities dithered over launching a commando operation or engaging in peace talks with the terrorists is meaningless. The fact remains that victims of the Holey Artisan Bakery attack had much in common with the dead bodies in previous attacks in Orlando, Brussels, Istanbul, and Paris. All of them were killed in the name of religion. Ability to recite Quran apparently decided whether one emerged alive or dead from the attack site in Gulshan.

The April 2016 threat issued by Shaykh Abu Ibrahim al-Hanif, Amir of the Khalifah's Soldiers in Bengal may or may not have led to the attack on the Holey Artisan Bakery. Widely believed to be a Canadian national of Bangladeshi origin Tamim Chowdhury, al-Hanif had claimed, "We let our actions do the talking. And our soldiers are presently sharpening their knives to slaughter the atheists, the mockers of the Prophet and every other apostate in the region." Slitting of throats of the victims was the reported modus operandi adopted by the young terrorists in the restaurant on 1 July.

Even if one accepts the government claim that the terrorists belonged to the JMB and not to the Islamic State, several questions remain unanswered. How did a battered militancy that had lost all its top leaders and safe houses in the country manage to raise its ugly head? How does one explain the radicalisation of young men belonging to well-to-do families who went to universities and posh schools and not to madrassas? Why did son of a secular Awami League politician wish to become a blood spilling terrorist?

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How did these young men access sophisticated weapons and train themselves for months before converging on the Bakery? Followers of the Afghanistan inspired Islamist militancy in Bangladesh would recall that the JMB in its entire history never managed to organise a single attack similar to the 1 July attack. How did then the outfit manage to achieve a shocking technology and skill up-gradation without the state's agencies noticing it? Is it achievable without external influence of an outfit like the Islamic State which has been urging Muslims to carry out lone-wolf attacks? Assumed affiliation and not organisational command has played a key role in most Islamic State-inspired attacks outside Iraq and Syria

“What’s in a name? A rose by any other name would smell as sweet”, wrote Shakespeare in Romeo and Juliet. Deaths of civilians and security force personnel in terrorist attacks produce the same foul smell whether orchestrated by the Islamic State or a local ragtag group. An appropriate counter-terrorism response is neither about heightening or down playing the threat. It is about the state’s demonstrated inclination to provide a honest assessment of the challenge and capacity to initiate steps to mitigate the threat. Countries with resources far larger than that of Bangladesh have struggled to prevent the wave of terrorist attacks in recent times. Bangladesh may succeed or may completely fail in its endeavour. However, its ostrich like response to the attack that seeks to produce a self defeating narrative will only end up playing into the hands of the extremist forces.

REGARDING RIGHTS

In this post, RegNet and CIGJ Fellow Lia Kent discusses themes emerging from her preliminary fieldwork in Timor-Leste and Aceh. In a [previous post](#), Lia introduced the research project she is currently working on and its theoretical framework. Both posts are based on a seminar that Lia gave at RegNet on 24 May 2016.^[i]

DR LIA KENT, CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL GOVERNANCE AFTER CONFLICT: MEMORY FRICTIONS IN T



Nicolau Lobato statue, Dili airport



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TIMOR-LESTE AND ACEH - PART II

Turning now to the themes that are emerging from my preliminary fieldwork.

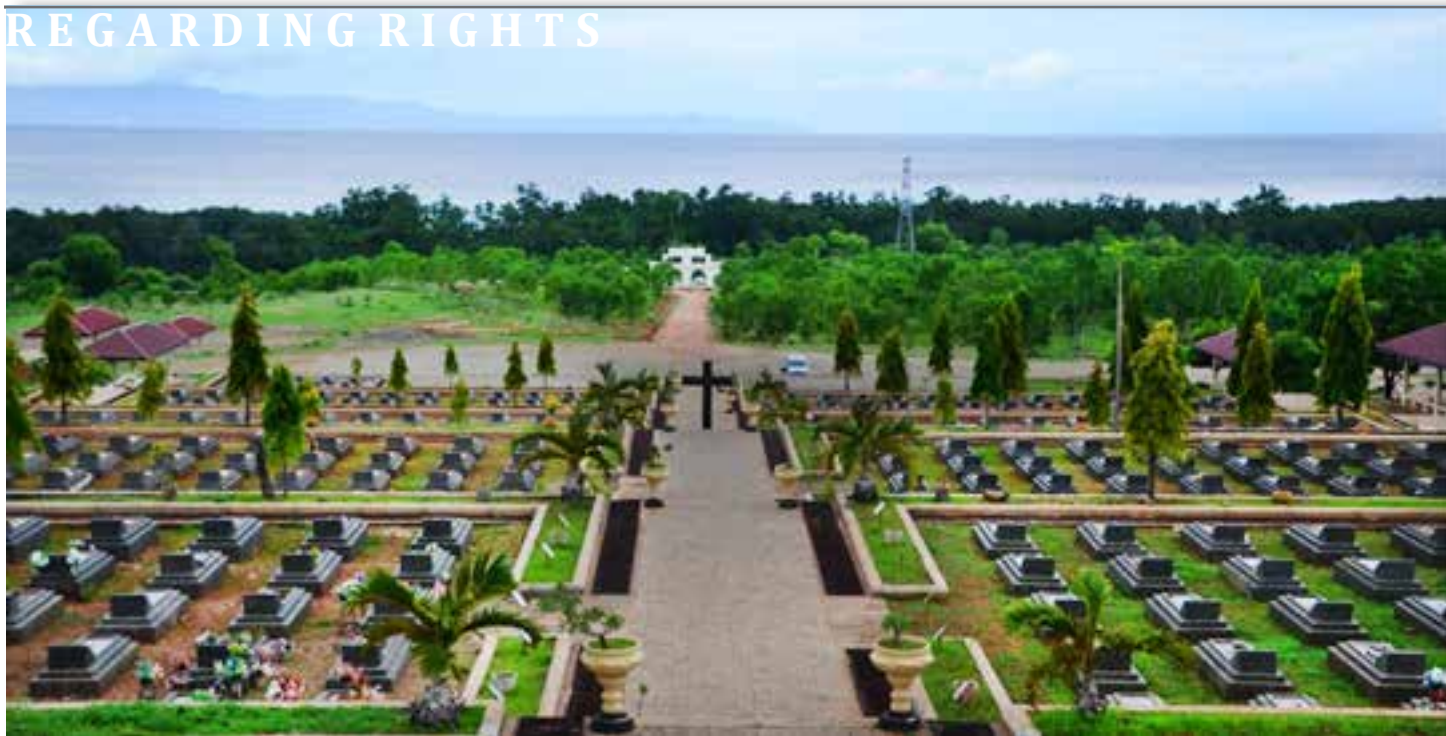
Timor-Leste

Since independence, state-sponsored memorialisation and commemoration of the conflict in Timor-Leste has become increasingly visible. Since early 2014, visitors to Dili are greeted with a glimpse of an imposing statue of Nicolau Lobato, one of the nation's founding fathers and military resistance leader, who was killed by the elite Indonesian commando force Kopassus in the early years of the occupation. The Lobato statue stands at the intersection to the international airport. Labato is represented in military fatigues, holding Timor-Leste's national flag in one hand, and an automatic weapon in the other.

Another prominent initiative is the Garden of Heroes Cemetery in Metinaro, where the remains of the FALINTIL fighters are buried. As you can see, the gravestones are generic and uniform in character. The cemetery constructs a narrative of the 'common soldier' that brings the dead into connection with one another through their deaths for the nation's liberation.

Smaller scale versions of this cemetery are being established in each of Timor-Leste's districts, alongside rather garishly painted ossuaries that provide places to hold human remains temporarily, and generic monuments constructed by the state to honour the different components of the resistance. These monuments and ossuaries are identical in each district, allowing very little local cultural content to be included.

All these efforts serve to highlight how the state is self-consciously seeking to draw personal experiences of death and grief into a national collective memory. The principal narrative that seems to come through here is a story of heroism – of endurance, unity, sacrifice and liberation. As I've written about elsewhere, this narrative differs quite markedly from the form of remembering promoted by the UN-sponsored truth commission.[ii]



Garden of Heroes.

While the truth commission foregrounded victims' experiences of suffering, the figure of the hero promoted by the political elite stands in stark contrast, embodying active resistance rather than passive suffering and willingness to sacrifice the self for the greater goal of independence. Yet the heroic narrative is underpinned by its own silences. The focus on celebrating heroes deflects debate from questions about prosecution of war crimes, and reparations, and allows for the maintenance of delicate diplomatic relations with Indonesia. There is also very little space, in this narrative, for debate about or recognition of crimes committed by the resistance movement itself. What is also apparent is that official forms of remembering have pivoted around an emphasis on the roles and contributions of the armed FALINTIL forces to Timor's resistance struggle. This is marginalising other sections of society, including those who participated in the resistance in unarmed and often informal ways – for instance women and young people.

A point I want to emphasise here is that official memories not only have a symbolic effect in terms of elevating the social status of certain kinds of groups and individuals over others: they also have political and economic dimensions. In Timor-Leste there are very tangible material benefits available – in the form of generous pensions and preferential access to government contracts – for those who can establish themselves as former veterans of the resistance.

Unofficial memory

Nonetheless, in Timor-Leste, as elsewhere, the state does not have a monopoly over collective memory and a range of unofficial forms of remembering are also evident. At the forefront of these efforts are a small number of largely middle class, Dili-based intellectuals and activists who are mostly younger than the core elites who now constitute government. I want to highlight two initiatives that promote alternative forms of remembering the conflict.

The first organisation is [ACBIT](#) (*Asosiasaun Chega! ba Ita*/Chega! for Us Association) – a name that references the title of the truth commission report, suggesting the importance of making this report meaningful for everyone. Established in 2012, a number of ACBIT's staff formerly worked for the office of the [ICTJ](#) (International Centre for Transitional Justice), a New York based NGO at the forefront of efforts to promote truth commissions around the globe. ACBIT's work embraces globalised discourses of human rights as part of its efforts to shape collective memory of the conflict. For instance, it assists Timor-Leste's small national victims' association to organise local commemorations of massacres that took place during the occupation. It raises awareness of the truth commission report by organising a travelling, visual exhibition to remote areas of the country.



Ossuary in Timor-Leste.

Its work also has a particular focus on civilian women, who have been largely marginalised within the heroic narrative. One of its recent publications is entitled '[Hanaruk Luta \(Prolonged Struggle\): Voices of Women Survivors of Violence](#)'. The book is based on women's personal stories of sexual violence during the Indonesian occupation, accompanied by a series of photos that highlight these women's ongoing economic hardships and marginalisation. These initiatives suggest that the truth commission report continues to have some resonance in Timor-Leste, and that groups such as ACBIT maintain hope that the promotion of human rights discourses and victim subjectivities may assist those who have been marginalised within the heroic narrative to address their claims to the state.

The second organisation I want to highlight, the Dili-based 12 November committee, evinces a more ambivalent stance in relation to framing memories through a human rights lens. The 12 November committee is the organisation that advocates on behalf of survivors of a massacre that occurred on the 12 November 1991 – sometimes known as the [Santa Cruz massacre](#) because it occurred at Timor-Leste's Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili. The massacre is now widely regarded as a hinge point in the struggle for independence – a moment when the outside world finally became aware of Timor's plight. This is because footage of Indonesian troops firing on unarmed Timorese protesters against the Indonesian occupation, many of them school children, was captured on film by a foreign journalist and circulated around the globe. Annual commemorations are now organised by the 12 November committee, during which thousands of people walk the same route across Dili that the demonstrators took on the original 12 November. The march culminates in a large ceremony at the Santa Cruz cemetery. Arguably, the commemorations began partly as a response to the marginalization of youth activists within the narrow, militarized version of the heroic narrative. Yet, over time, there has been increasing political support – 12 November is now a designated public holiday and politicians of all stripes attend the commemorations, suggesting that it might be an example of unofficial remembrance that has, over time, become increasingly official.

Frictions have sometimes emerged between groups such as the 12 November committee and other organisations – such as ACBIT, that promote more of a human and victims' rights agenda. For instance, the scholar Amy Rothchild has written about the 'awkward standoff' that occurred at the 2011 commemorations between members of the committee and advocates for victims' rights, when advocates held up empty coffins and yelled out demands for justice, and were publicly chastened for doing so.[iii] Another form of friction, of an inter-generational kind, emerged in 2014, when a group of university student activists sought to use the Santa Cruz commemorations to conduct their own demonstration highlighting the corruption of Timor-Leste's political elite. They were also chastened for doing so on social media by an older generation of activists who claimed they were not acting in the spirit of 12 November.



Cut Nyak Dien's house and inset Cut Nyak Dien.

Unofficial memory *contd...*

At the ceremony I attended last year, things were more sedate. At one point a group of university students came out of the cemetery with black tape over their mouths. I thought they were making a statement about free speech but actually, when I talked to them, they explained they were doing a re-enactment of the experiences of the 12 November generation and trying to keep the spirit of activism and nationalism alive. The desire of the current generation of young people to write themselves into this narrative speaks to some extent, I think, to their ongoing marginalization in political and social life. As Catherine Arthur writes, their 'positive identification with the parent culture' helps to 'counter questions about the legitimacy of that younger generation's membership in the nation.' [iv]

Aceh

As I mentioned earlier, I am new to the Aceh context. Having said this, a number of things stood out on my initial visit in February this year.

First, what immediately struck me was the absence of any kind of official monuments to the recent conflict. By contrast, it is possible to visit a number of sites that mark resistance to Dutch colonialism – which can obviously be drawn into a broader Indonesian national memory. Among these sites is this house, where Cut Nyak Dien, a 19th Century woman heroine, is said to have lived. She is remembered for having led a series of guerrilla actions against the Dutch following her husband's death, and is also said to be a role model for many of the women who joined GAM. There are also numerous memorials to the tsunami, which are now advertised as part of the province's promotion of tourism.

For instance, here is a poster displayed at the Banda Aceh Airport outlining a number of tourist sites including the Tsunami Museum – a large multimillion dollar construction that was funded by the donor community; a Ship that was washed five kilometres inland and has now been turned into a museum; and the Kapal Lampulo – a boat that was wedged on top of a house. And indeed, I did my share of tsunami tourism while in Aceh, visiting these sites, which are striking visual features of the Banda Aceh landscape and have a powerful emotional impact. I found some to be quite moving. For instance, inside the Ship you can read stories and watch video interviews of those who survived the tsunami by climbing on top of it. I found the Tsunami Museum to be moving too: here you can visit a cone-shaped room and read the names of those who died during the tsunami while listening to the recorded sound of the Koran being chanted.



Aceh tourist poster.

What annoyed me about this museum, however, was how it seemed geared towards celebrating the roles of the international community in reconstructing the province. The final room, for instance, highlights the efforts of international donors to eradicate malaria and build better housing for people, telling a progress narrative featuring the international community as actors and the Acehnese as passive victims.

For me, the most moving memorial to the tsunami is the mass grave set in a garden. This is a very beautiful and peaceful reminder of those who died. My driver, who lost his entire family in the tsunami, visited this site regularly but told me he had never been to the Tsunami Museum.

The absence of monuments to the recent conflict by comparison with the tsunami memorialisation is itself very interesting. At an obvious level, it reveals something about the devastating impact of the tsunami in the lives of so many Acehnese, and the extent to which the tsunami is now tied up with the peace process. Indeed, it is said that many Acehnese see the Tsunami as an act of god that was sent by Allah to end the conflict.

The absence of formal memorials to the conflict in Banda Aceh also says something about how rural and urban-dwelling Acehnese have very different experiences. The tsunami disproportionately affected the capital, while the worst fighting during the conflict took place in rural areas. This means that memories of the past are likely to diverge markedly. Perhaps most importantly, the absence of monuments to the conflict points to the precarious relationship between the provincial and national governments. The relationship between Aceh and Jakarta is more interdependent and sensitive than that between Timor and Jakarta, and the military remains a real presence. This makes it hard to publicly promote collective remembrance of either GAM heroism or of civilian victims. Nonetheless, what became evident during my interviews with political and civil society actors was that narratives of resistance, bravery, rebellion and shared suffering are very much alive, although emphasised during private conversations and interactions with friends and colleagues rather than in the public sphere.

These stories seem to reference an Acehnese narrative of proud ethnic identity that is linked to the Islamic faith, and as Aspinall suggests, is 'founded in traditions of remorseless struggle against outside invaders'.^[v] For example, several women activists whom I interviewed spoke, with much shared laughter, about the dangerous and elaborate negotiations they had been engaged in with the Indonesian military to conduct humanitarian aid work during the conflict, and the various forms of trickery they had used.

A final point is that, in both Timor-Leste and Aceh, there are a relatively small number of unofficial memory initiatives visible in the public sphere. Those that are visible tend to be led by a small group of activists with international links and are dependent on donor support. In Timor-Leste at least, it is common to hear human rights activists speak about the difficulty of encouraging local memory initiatives due to the constraints of poverty, lack of literacy, and transport. All of this points to a range of practical barriers that circumscribe the expression and circulation of memory.

Aceh *contd...*

Several interviewees also laughed about the ongoing debate between Aceh and Jakarta about the Acehese flag. Indonesia has not allowed Aceh to have the GAM flag for its provincial flag because it is viewed as a celebration of the independence struggle. But on the GAM anniversary day, this flag is sometimes raised. One informant told me about how on one occasion, a group of former women combatants attached the flag to a balloon so that no one could be accused of 'raising' it. At other times, it is quickly raised and then lowered, suggesting there is an elaborate dance going on with Jakarta, testing how much the relationship can be pushed.

Unofficial Memory

In terms of unofficial memory projects, compared to Timor-Leste there seem to be relatively small few efforts to highlight the experiences of violence against civilians. One small NGO, Tikar Pandan, has set up a Human Rights Museum that exhibits details of a number of incidents where human rights abuses were perpetrated against civilians. The organisation received a small amount of funding from the ICTJ (mentioned earlier for its role in Timor-Leste), but it is a modest initiative and so far receives only a small number of visitors. Beyond the capital, a small number of commemorations are conducted at the sites where massacres took place, supported by local NGOs. Amongst civil society organisations, a lot of energy is now directed into establishing a provincial level truth commission.

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The lack of visible, unofficial memory projects does not mean, however, that memories are not being expressed in other spheres, such as within the familial realm, rather than in the public sphere, and through embodied practices and rituals rather than solid memorial markers. One of the questions I have is to what degree civil society memory projects resonate with these less formalised, embodied and emplaced forms of remembering.

Attending to the politics of collective memory can reveal something about the nature of the peace that is being imagined and negotiated. The kind of peace that I am talking about is very different from the version of peace that tends to be conceived within liberal peacebuilding discourse, where peace is often seen as an absence of violent conflict, an ideal state of social harmony, or as social cohesion.

Conclusion

While it is too early to draw even preliminary conclusions from this project, my contention is that an examination of the friction that is generated in the process of collective remembrance can reveal a lot about emerging forms of political and social identity, in this case emerging forms of Timorese-ness and Acehnese-ness. It can help us understand how communities see themselves and their position not only in the past but in the present, and how these conceptions are changing over time as new generations engage in their own forms of remembering.

It can also shed light on how widely these forms of identity and conceptions of political community resonate, and whether certain groups feel marginalised within official narratives and able to challenge or renegotiate these identities. It can reveal whether there is political space for open and pluralistic discussion about the past, and for the circulation of divergent narratives.

Attending to the politics of collective memory can reveal something about the nature of the peace that is being imagined and negotiated. The kind of peace that I am talking about is very different from the version of peace that tends to be conceived within liberal peacebuilding discourse, where peace is often seen as an absence of violent conflict, an ideal state of social harmony, or as social cohesion.

Rather, peace is understood as a much more messy, fluid and negotiated process that engages multiple actors and involves the ongoing interplay of relations of power. This conception of peace moves beyond the liberal peace-building focus on technical and institutional forms of peacebuilding towards areas of life that have traditionally been thought to be outside its scope. It brings the realms of the social and the relational, the political and the affective, into the centre of analysis.

[i] Lia's research is funded by an Australian Research Council Discovery Early Career Research Award DE150100857.

[ii] Kent, Lia (2016) 'After the Truth Commission: Gender and Citizenship in Timor-Leste', 17 (1) *Human Rights Review*: 51-70

[iii] Rothschild, Amy (2015) 'Democratization of Perpetration: Human Rights, Transitional Justice and Memories of Resistance in Post-Conflict Timor-Leste', *Conflict and Society, Advances in Research* 1: 92-108, 99

[iv] Arthur, Catherine (2016) 'Painting Their Past: *The Geracao Foun*, Street Art and Representing Notions of "East Timorese-ness"' *Soujourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia* 31 (1): 173-206, 199

[v] Aspinall, Ed (2013) 'Aceh: Democratization and the politics of co-option' in Aspinall, Ed, Robin Jeffery and Anthony J. Regan (eds) *Diminishing Conflicts in Asia and the Pacific: Why some subside and others don't*, Routledge, 2013, 56



ESPAÑA

PHOTOGRAPHS BY MIKYOUNG CHA

This is a mere glimpse of an enchanted country that never ceases to surprise the visitor.

My photographs pay homage to España, where religion plays an important role in highlighting the richness of its fabulous cultural heritage and its vibrant people.



Nun at Santa Maria de Montserrat, Benedictine abbey located on the mountain of Montserrat, Catalonia, España.



El Palacio Andaluz is located in a renovated warehouse in Seville offering over 500 square meters of space including a large stage area, a typical Andalusian Bodega and plenty of tables with full bar and restaurant service. This is perhaps one of the most spacious venues to see a flamenco show in Seville.



Two women in traditional flamenco dresses during the Seville Fair, *Feria de abril de Sevilla*, also known as the Seville April Fair, which is held in the Andalusian capital of Seville, España. The Fair generally begins two weeks after the *Semana Santa*, or Easter Holy Week.



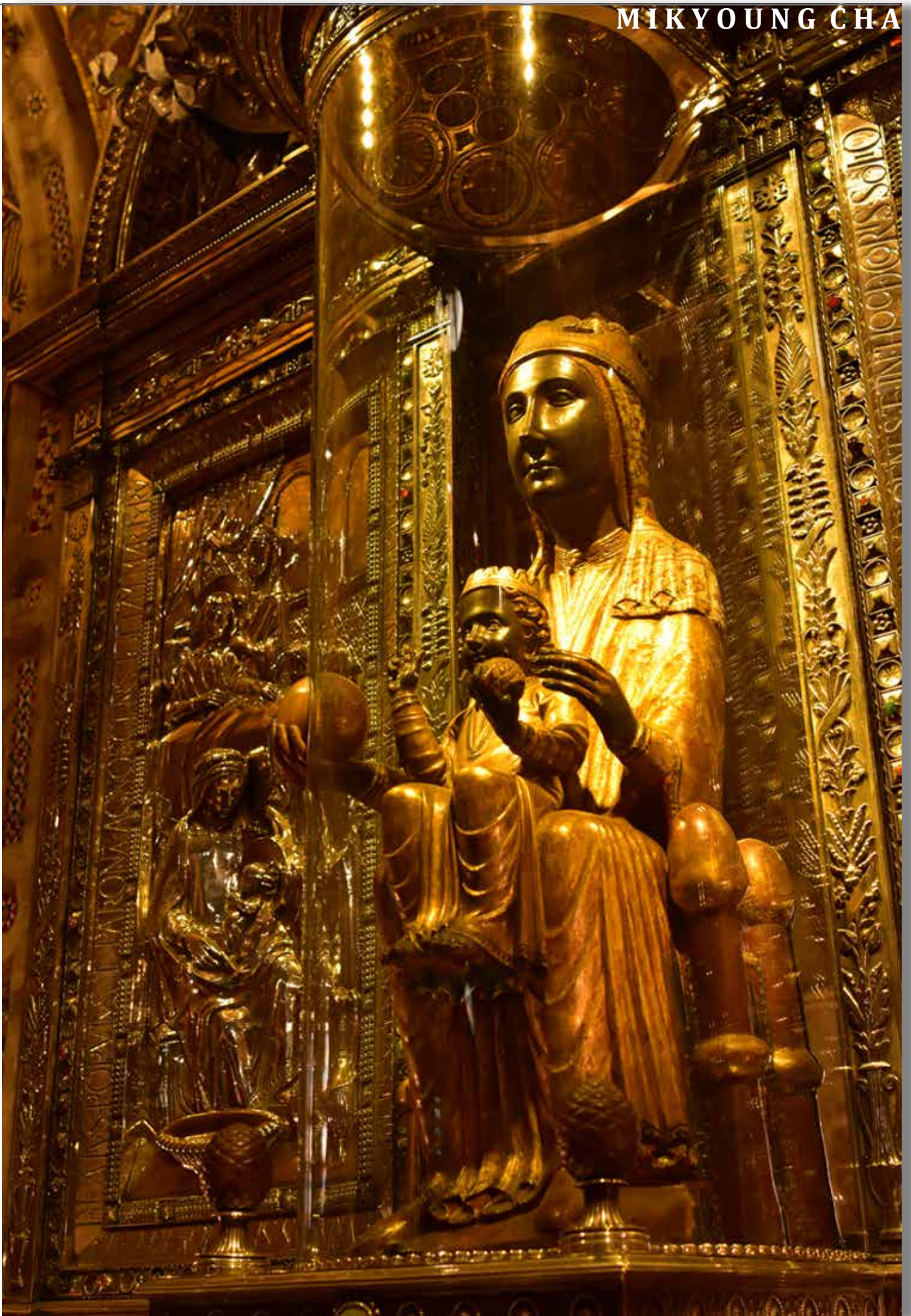
Overlooking the Court of the Lions - an example of Islamic Moorish architecture with Arabic calligraphy. The Alhambra, a palace and fortress complex located in Granada, Andalusia, España.



Gothic style statues of Lord Jesus Christ and his disciples at the entrance of the Basilica at Montserrat Monastery, Catalonia, España.



The Plaza de España in the Parque de María Luisa, Seville, España.



Black Madonna *aka* The Virgin of Montserrat *aka* La Moreneta, Basilica at Montserrat Monastery, Catalonia, España.
2016 august © www.liveencounters.net



Inside the Alhambra, a palace and fortress complex located in Granada, España.



St. Joseph De Calansaz, founder of the Scolopians, Basilica at Montserrat Monastery, Catalonia, España.



Street scene, Granada, España.



Windmills in Consuegra, Toledo, Castile-La Mancha, España. They became famous in the 16th century, when Don Quixote was first published. The introduction of the windmills was made by Caballeros Sanjuanistas, who brought these machines that helped millers. These machines used the wind to grind wheat grain.

HUMAN RIGHTS

Democratic Rights

Mobility Rights



CHARTER AND FREEDOMS

Guarantee of Rights and Freedoms

Fundamental Freedoms

LAW, LITERATURE AND CANADA

Minority Educational Rights

BENJAMIN A. AUTHOR

My research focuses on critical approaches to human rights and law and literature. In my work I study texts that include novels, constitutions, policy, and case law, and ask how these documents create and promulgate ideas about human rights. Much of my work has focused on the intersection between constitutional rights and literature in contemporary Canada. I also maintain an interest in Canadian cultural-legal studies more broadly, and have written on the racialisation of criminal and political responsibility in nineteenth-century Canada and the place of suspicion and representation in Canada's appearance under the UN Human Rights Council's Universal Periodic Review. More recently, my research has focused on the language and place of texts in international human rights. [LINK](#)



Dr Benjamin Authers

Assistant Professor of Law, School of Law and Justice
Faculty of Business, Government and Law
University of Canberra
author of

A CULTURE OF RIGHTS LAW, LITERATURE, AND CANADA

Published by [University of Toronto Press](#)

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

Ben : “This book came out of my work as a lawyer and my interest in Canadian literature—and my feeling that Canadian literature seemed to be incredibly interested in not only the work of law, but specifically the meaning of rights. It got me thinking: how do we understand rights not just as legal concepts but as part of our culture? What can non-legal texts like novels teach us about rights, and how might literature inform legal understandings, as well as vice versa? And so my aim is to show how our thinking about rights is shaped by cultural ideas that include law and literature, as well as how this works specifically in Canada, with its entrenched rights culture that privileges certain forms of rights, while giving limited attention to others.”



Dr. Ivo Coelho

Philosopher, Priest and Author, Rome, Italy

DOES RELIGION HAVE A POLITICAL

Does religion have a political role in a country? This is a thorny but very actual question, especially in those countries where religions have large and significant presences. We might think most spontaneously of Christianity in its different forms in the West, but we ought to keep in mind also Islam in many countries around the world, Hinduism in India, and Buddhism in several countries of Asia.

The question has a history that is long and *pesante*, heavy, as the Italians would say. After the post-Reformation wars of religion in Europe, for example, there has been a tendency to relegate religion to the private sphere. On the other hand, it is not uncommon for preachers in certain countries around the world to give unambiguous exhortations to direct political action. In a certain sense, the overlap between religion and politics is inevitable, given that religion is so all-encompassing. In my opinion, it would be a poor form of religion that concerned itself only with the hereafter to the exclusion of any concern for the here and now.

I cannot help remembering the question asked to Jesus about paying taxes to Caesar. Jesus is being asked to take a position on the issue of the Roman occupation, and it would seem that, whichever way he answers, he will get into trouble, either with the Romans or else with his own compatriots. His response is wonderful: "Give to Caesar what belongs to Caesar, and to God what belongs to God." I find this astounding. Jesus' questioners are the ones carrying coins with Caesar's image on them. They are, in other words, consenting to the Roman occupation at least in some way. And then, what is it that belongs to Caesar and what to God? Is it not true that, in the final analysis, everything belongs to God, including Caesar and all that belongs to him?

The point is that there is an inevitable overlap between religion and politics, religion and the state. Jesus' answer is profound, but it leaves plenty of room for interpretation, negotiation, learning. And I think we have to learn from history. So I want to say that, despite the fact that everything belongs to God, including Caesar, there is place for the legitimate autonomy of the political sphere. Religion, therefore, cannot become a force that dictates terms to the state. Just as faith does not do away with reason, so religion does not attempt to replace or take over the functions of the state. But it is also true that, just as faith somehow transcends, goes beyond and sublates reason, religion cannot simply withdraw completely from the sphere of the political. So the question before us is not whether religion has anything to do with the state, but simply what its role might be.



ROLE?

One way of putting the matter might be to hold that religion has the role of *Socratic gadfly* – and the more powerless the better. If politics is not merely a mechanism for regulating public life, if its lofty aim is to provide and achieve justice in the here and now for all, then the question inevitably arises, what is justice? And here is where religion is one of several forces that can contribute, by casting light on and by challenging or perhaps inviting to constant and ongoing purification.

Politics tends to be linked to national, special, and even often simply personal interests. Especially when a religion is able to rise above such interests, it can play the role of gadfly, asking questions that no one else seems to be asking, provoking reflection. It will keep in mind, of course, also the fact that Socrates paid for his questioning with his life. So did Jesus, I can't help thinking. He makes shrewd distinctions between Caesar and God, but everything he does has inevitable political implications. He invites himself to spend the night at the house of a Roman collaborator, the tax collector of Jericho, Zacchaeus. He heals the servant of the Roman centurion and even praises the centurion's faith. On the other hand among his disciples there is not only a tax collector but also a zealot, someone who might be termed a terrorist or a patriot, depending on which side we are on. Faced with the ultimate test, however, Jesus does not shirk. To Pilate he says: You say that I am a king, and it is true. But my kingdom is not of this world. I have come to *bear witness to the truth*.

Jesus is a witness to the truth who does not hate anyone, who is willing to meet and eat with Romans and Samaritans as well as Jews, tax collectors, sex workers, people who like to live it up, but also the more orthodox. He is a witness to the truth who keeps crossing boundaries.

So when John Paul II became instant friends with the young Communist mayor of Rome in the early 1990s, he was not really doing anything new.

And when Jyoti Basu, the Communist chief minister of West Bengal, spent half a silent hour at the body of Mother Teresa, it was not really anything astounding. That is how it should be. We speak, we bear witness to the truth as we see it, but we do not hate, we keep crossing boundaries, we are friends. So when I hear about certain extreme Catholic attitudes towards President Obama, I find myself disturbed. I may not agree with certain of his stances, but I would not be blindly against him. We can work together even if we disagree on certain fundamentals.

I believe that religions have a right to speak out and say their minds even on delicate issues, and I am fully aware that such speaking out can have large political fallouts, so I hope and pray that a religion that decides to speak out will also be careful not to issue diktats to its faithful. It will speak out, because it is within its rights to speak out. But it will not seek to impose, not even on its own adherents, and it will certainly not stoop to manipulate.

And, besides, religion itself has to keep purifying itself in its concrete incarnations.

A one-track morality frightens me: Catholics, for example, who shout loudly against abortion and homosexuality, but are quite unmoved about war and injustice.

Cardinal Peter Turkson, who was with us here in Jerusalem recently, used a phrase that I like very much: gentle accompaniment. That is a good way of putting it: religion as gently accompanying humanity, politics, as the case may be. Not a heavy-handed religion, not a religion that is *prepotente* or attempting to dominate, but a religion that gently bears witness to the truth. And here, I must say, religion has its own rights to be respected and to be respectfully heard.

Speaking out is not the same as 'interference.' If everyone has a right to speak out and be heard, so do religious bodies. Telling the truth as one sees it is not necessarily 'imposing' oneself on others, and it would be uncharitable to interpret it that way. I believe that religions have a right to speak out and say their minds even on delicate issues, and I am fully aware that such speaking out can have large political fallouts, so I hope and pray that a religion that decides to speak out will also be careful not to issue diktats to its faithful. It will speak out, because it is within its rights to speak out. But it will not seek to impose, not even on its own adherents, and it will certainly not stoop to manipulate.

And then there is what Bernard Lonergan calls the dynamic of creation and healing. All religion bears witness also to the existence of Something or Someone by which or whom we are carried beyond ourselves, as it were. We do our little part to improve the lot of humanity, and if we believe, we do it not with cynicism but with hope. Lonergan refers to this component as 'healing': God is at work to redeem, heal, save, in ways that we know and in ways that we do not.

But there is also the component of 'creating'. God's ongoing work does not take away the need for human creativity, for insightful responses to concrete needs, for an ongoing evolution of systems to meet the needs of human beings on smaller or larger scales. Lonergan is engaged in making two points: first, that creating and healing are both necessary: the creative process, when unaccompanied by healing, is distorted and corrupted by bias; but the healing process, when unaccompanied by creating, "is a soul without a body." Second, that moral or religious theorizing needs to arise from intimate knowledge of economic or political processes.



Thus economic theorists are called upon to work out a new type of analysis that acknowledges the inevitable component of human insight and decision in economic process, and that therefore works out how moral precepts have both a basis in economic process and an effective application to it. Moral theorists, on the other hand, must be able to see the need to descend from abstract and lofty moral principles to “specifically economic precepts that arise out of economic process itself and promote its proper functioning.” “When physicists are able to think on the basis of indeterminacy, economists can think on the basis of freedom and acknowledge the relevance of morality. Again, when the system that is needed for our collective survival does not exist, then it is futile to excoriate what does exist while blissfully ignoring the task of constructing a technically viable economic system that can be put in its place.”

While economics does not coincide with politics, no one will deny that the two are inevitably connected. So while religion might play the role of Socratic gadfly, witness to the truth, or gentle accompaniment, and while it also is a witness to its conviction that there is a component of healing in world process, there is also the fact that believers and religious and moral theorists, like everyone else, are called upon to contribute to the component of creating, so that their invitations to the purification of reason arise from proper familiarity with the economic, social and political processes in question.

And if I am right in my suspicion that this last part of my essay is intolerably vague, I will try to offset this by referring my readers to Lonergan’s essay itself, “Healing and Creating in History,” found in a collection of his essays entitled simply *A Third Collection*.

TURKEY



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ASHURE – NOAH'S DESSERT

This delicious dessert of grains, pulses and dried fruit, referred as Asure or Ashura – Noah's Dessert-, is most probably one of Turkey's most famous dessert. According to the legend, Noah made it on the Ark by combining whatever ingredients were left on the ark. It is also the traditional dessert to serve on the 10th day of the Muslim month Muharrem, the first month of the Islamic calendar. Asure is always made in large quantities and shared with friends and neighbors.

Though the ingredients list is pretty rich, I believe whatever grains, pulses and dried fruit you have in your pantry will do. And if you are short of time, why not using good quality pre-cooked chickpeas and beans in cans; I am all up for it if it helps making this wonderful dessert. Adding the pomegranate seeds over the top give a festive touch and make the dessert refreshing too.

TURKEY



Ashura - Noah's Dessert © Ozlem Warren

Serves 10 – 12

Ingredients

50gr/2oz haricot (navy) beans, soaked overnight (or at least for 6 hours) and drained
50gr/2oz skinned broad (fava) beans soaked overnight (or at least for 6 hours) and drained
50gr/2oz chickpeas (garbanzo beans) soaked overnight (or at least for 6 hours) and drained
115gr/4oz pot barley, with husks removed, and soaked overnight in plenty of water
50gr/2oz rice, washed and drained
115gr/4oz dried apricots
50gr/2oz raisins
50gr/2oz currants
225gr/8oz sugar
30ml/2 tablespoon corn flour (cornstarch) or rice flour
150ml /1/4 pint rose water

To garnish

2 teaspoons/10 ml cinnamon
4-5 dried figs, sliced
4-5 dried apricots, sliced
15 ml/1 tablespoon sultanas
30 ml/2 tablespoon crushed walnuts
Seeds of 1/2 pomegranate



Ozlem in the kitchen © Ozlem Warren

Cook the beans in separate pans of fresh water until just tender. The haricot beans will require about 50 minutes; the broad beans and chickpeas about 1 hour.

Transfer the barley and its soaking water to a large, deep pan and bring to boil. Reduce the heat and simmer for about 45 minutes, or until the barley is tender, topping up with the water during the cooking time if necessary.

Add the cooked beans, chickpeas and the rice, and bring the liquid to boil again. Reduce the heat and simmer for about 15 minutes.

Meanwhile, place all the dried fruit in a bowl and cover with boiling water. Leave to soak for 10 minutes, then drain. Add the fruit to the pan with the beans and stir in the sugar. Continue to simmer, stirring from time to time, until the mixture thickens.

Mix the corn flour or rice flour with a little water to form a creamy paste. Add 30ml/2tbsp of the hot liquid from the pan to the paste and add it to the pan, stirring constantly. Add the rose water and continue to simmer the mixture for another 15 minutes, stirring from time to time, until the mixture is very thick.

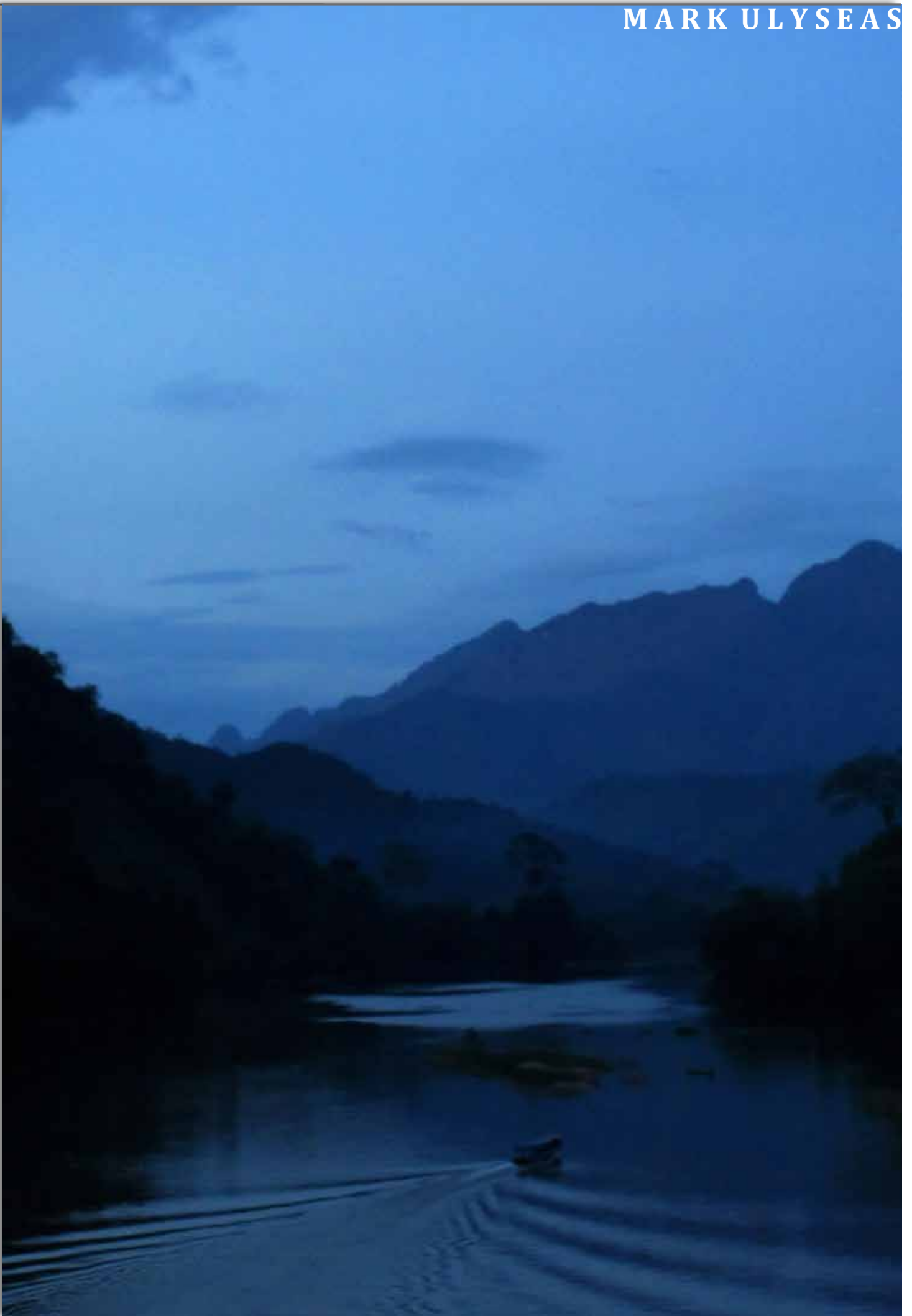
Transfer the mixture to a large mixing bowl. Shake the bowl to make sure the surface is flat and leave the pudding to cool. Sprinkle the cinnamon over the pudding and arrange the sliced dried figs, apricots, sultanas and walnuts over the top. Sprinkle pomegranate seeds over generously. Serve chilled or at room temperature.



ABIDE WITH ME

PHOTOGRAPHS BY MARK ULYSEAS

“Swift to its close ebbs out life’s little day;
Earth’s joys grow dim; its glories pass away;
Change and decay in all around I see;
O Thou who changest not, abide with me”
- *Henry Francis Lyte, 1847*

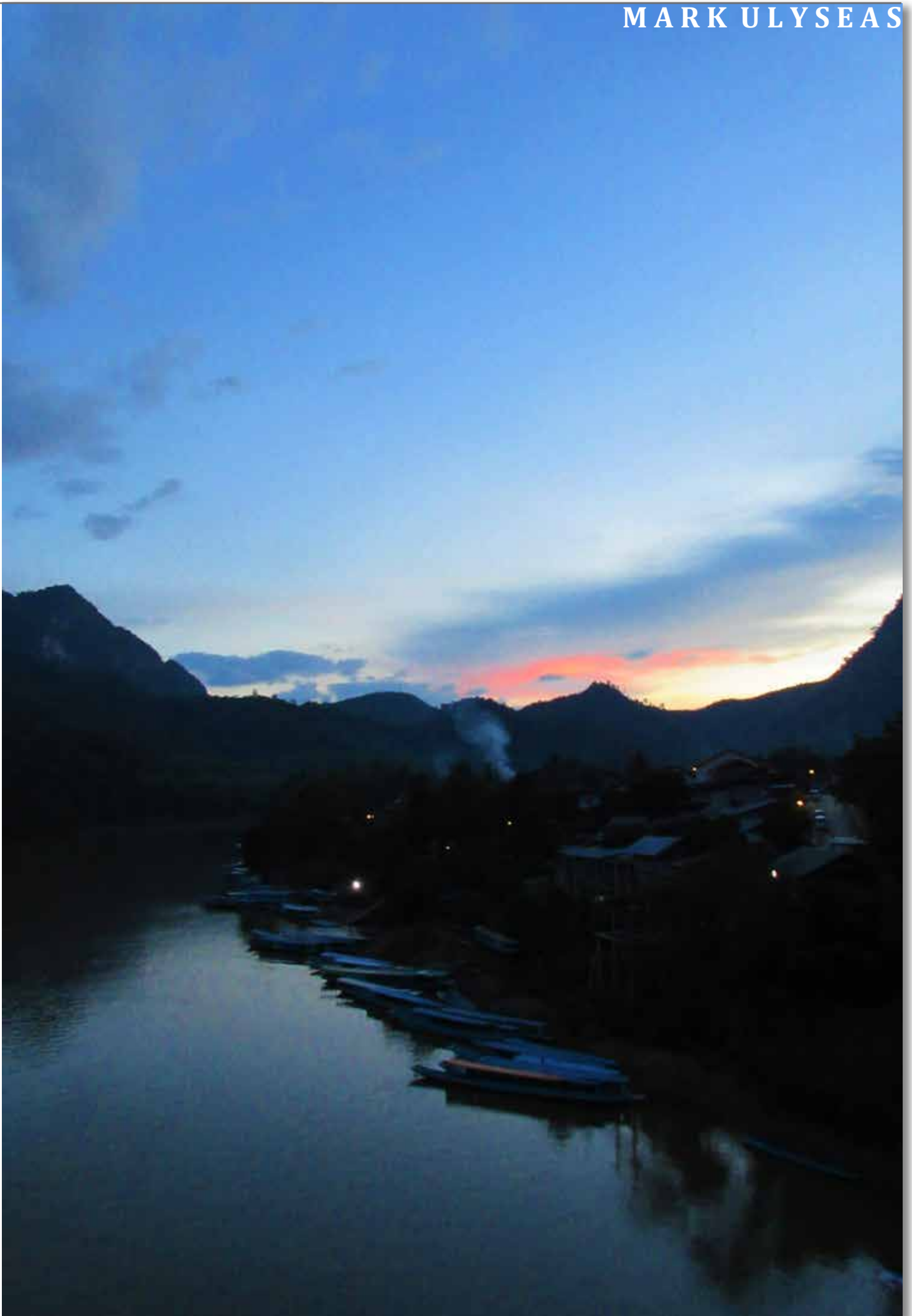


Twilight on the Nam Ou, Nong Kiau, Laos.

ABIDE WITH ME

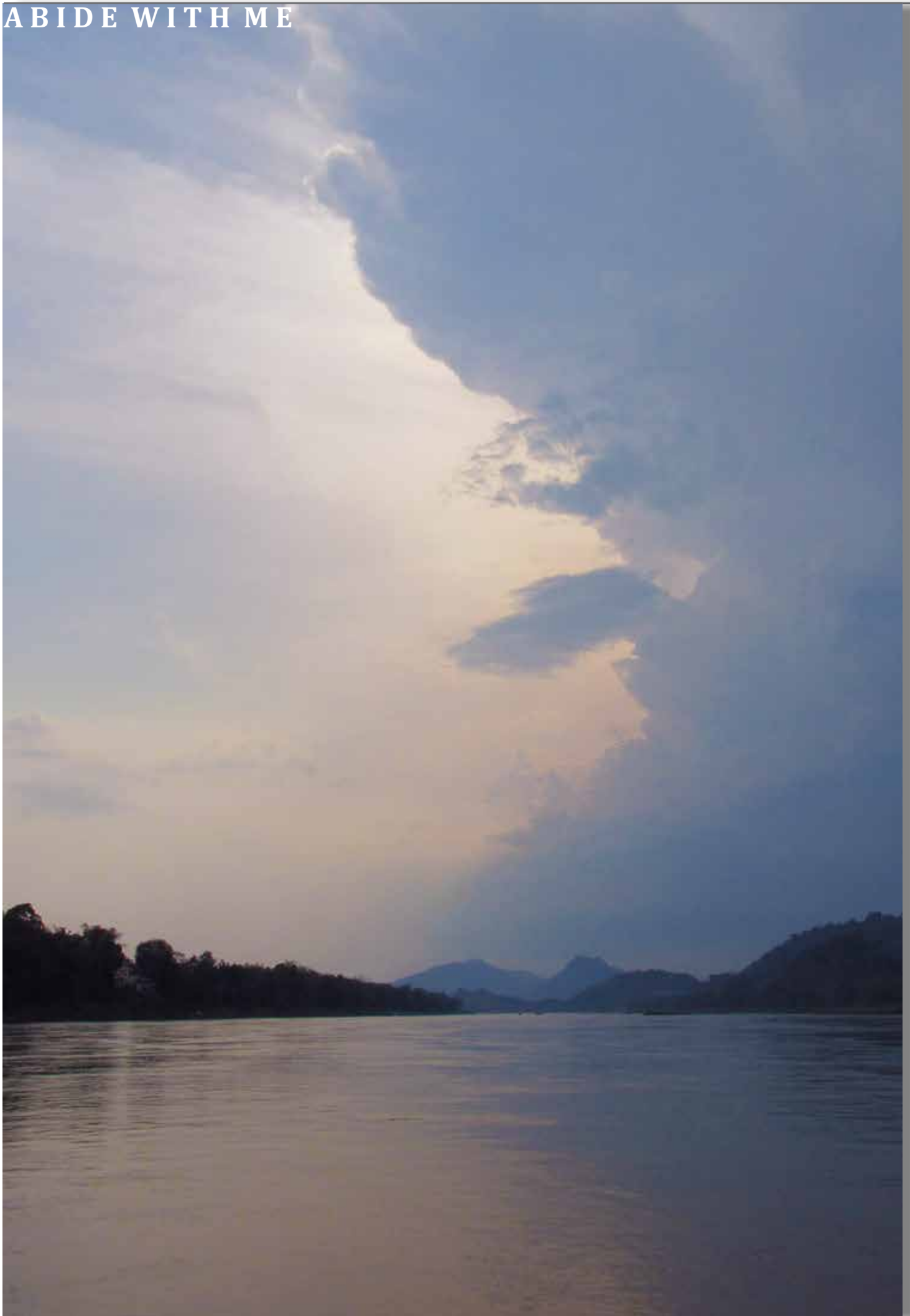


Dusk, Nong Kiau, Laos.
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Sunset over the Nam Ou, Nong Kiau, Laos.

ABIDE WITH ME



Dusk over the Mekong, Laos.
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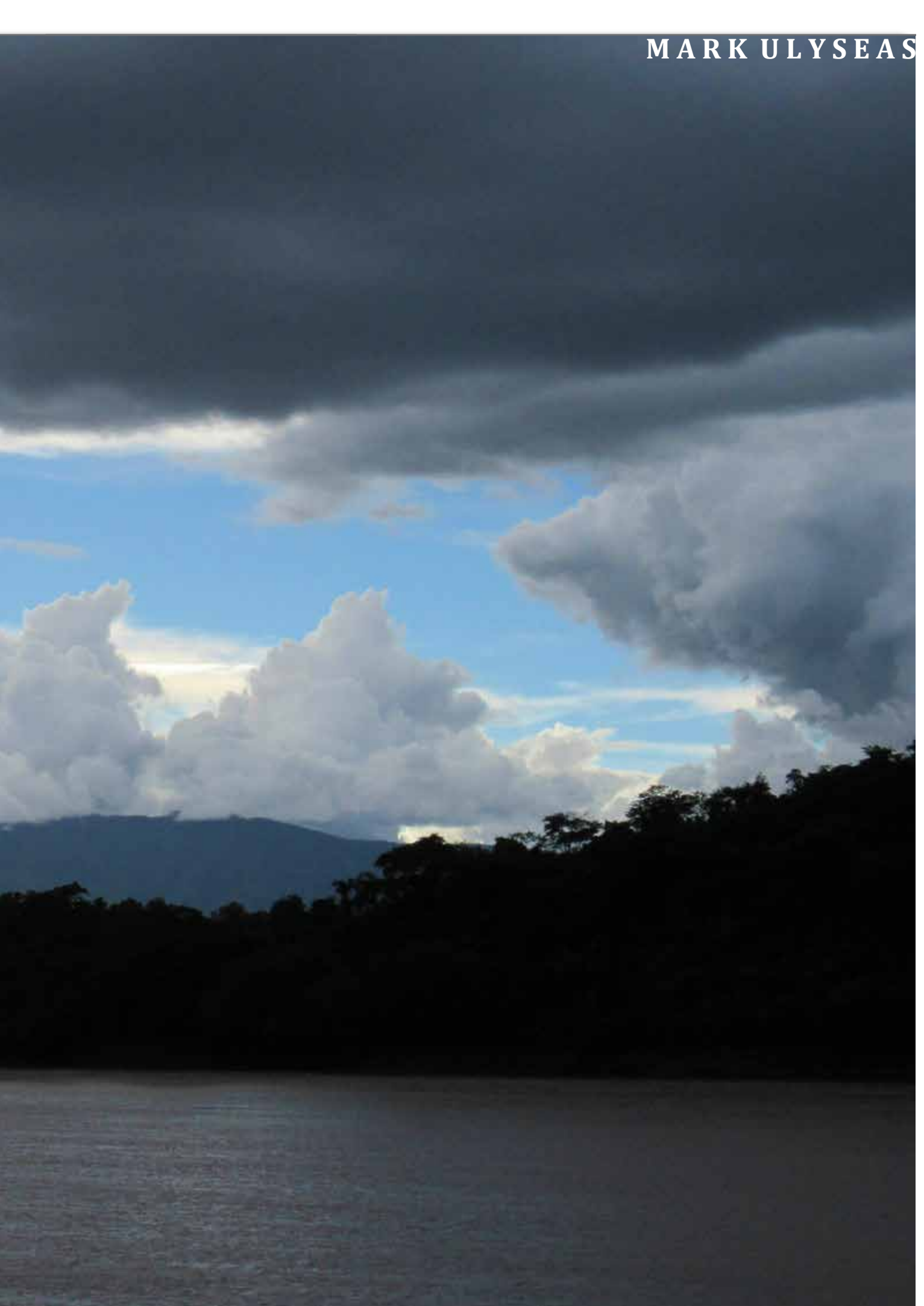


When night falls, Mekong, Laos.

ABIDE WITH ME



Abide with Me, 'Tis Eventide, Mekong, Laos.
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