

Live Encounters celebrates 6 years 2010-2015

Live encounters

Free online magazine from village earth
September 2016



FLIGHTPATHS FOR KITES

A closer look at Creativity

Joachim Matschoss

**Support Live Encounters.
Donate Now and keep the Magazine alive in 2016!**

Live Encounters is a not-for-profit free online magazine that was founded in 2009 in Bali, Indonesia. It showcases some of the best writing from around the world. Civil and human rights activists, animal rights activists, poets, writers, journalists, social workers and more have contributed their time and knowledge for the benefit of the readers of the magazine.

We are appealing for donations to pay for the administrative and technical aspects of the publication. Please help spread the free distribution of knowledge with any amount that you feel you want to give for this just cause.

BANK DETAILS

Sarita Kaul

A/C : 0148748640

Swift Code : BNINIDJAXXX

PT Bank Negara Indonesia (Persero) Tbk

Kantor Cabang Utama Denpasar

Jl. Gajah Mada

Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia

Om Shanti Shanti Shanti Om

markulyseas@liveencounters.net

All articles and photographs are the copyright of www.liveencounters.net and its contributors. No part of this publication may be reproduced without the explicit written permission of www.liveencounters.net. Offenders will be criminally prosecuted to the full extent of the law prevailing in their home country and/or elsewhere.

Cover photograph by Mark Ulyseas

Click on title of article to go to page



Flightpaths for Kites

Joachim Matschoss

Joachim Matschoss was born in Germany and now lives in Melbourne/Australia. He is a playwright, poet and Theatre-maker. His Theatre Company, 'Backyard Theatre Ensemble (BYTE)' presents diverse pieces of theatre all across Melbourne/ Australia and internationally, both Youth Arts and for adults. Joachim has created theatre in Australia, New Zealand, United Kingdom, India, Uzbekistan, Malaysia, Indonesia, HongKong, Hungary, Taiwan, Switzerland and China. Joachim's poetry is published in Australia, Germany, the United Kingdom and the USA. www.byteensemble.com



Trump vs. Clinton vs. Sanders - The Blind leading the Blind

Dr Howard Richards

Dr Richards is a philosopher of Social Science who worked with the concepts of basic cultural structures and constitutive rules. He is Research Professor of Philosophy at Earlham College; PhD in Philosophy, University of California, Santa Barbara; Juris Doctor (J.D.) Stanford Law School: Advanced Certificate in Education (ACE) Oxford University (UK): PhD in Educational Planning from Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE), University of Toronto, Canada. He now teaches at the University of Santiago, Chile. Dr Richards is a Catholic, a member of Holy Trinity (Santisima Trinidad) parish in Limache, Chile, and a member of the third order of St. Francis, O.F.S.



Brexit and the German connection

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.



An icon retires: Whither anti-AFSPA agitation?

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.



Women as Humans...

Amber Karanikolas

Amber is a graduate of a BA (International Relations) and LLB from the University of New South Wales. Her Honours thesis analysed participant literature surrounding the UN Fourth World Conference on Women to map how women's human rights discourse became a dominant language for transnational feminism. She is currently working as a community researcher on a project run out of the Disability Research Initiative at the University of Melbourne. She has a special interest in Greek-Turkish relations, human rights in Turkey, and the relationship between feminism and human rights.



Bali - In The Village

Jill Gocher

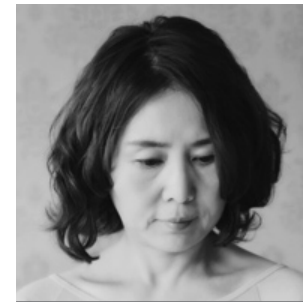
Bali based international photographer has spent her life exploring and enjoying Asian cultures. Her work has appeared in National Geographic, Time, International Herald Tribune, Asia Spa, Discovery, Silver Kris and many more. Her books - Asia's legendary Hotels, Periplus, Bali- Island of Light -Marshall Cavendish, Indonesia - Islands of the Imagination. Periplus, Australia - the land down under - Times Editions, Singapore, Indonesia - the last paradise - Times Editions. She has held exhibitions in Singapore, Kathmandu, and Bali.

www.amazon.com/author/jillgocher

Celebrating 6 years 2010-2015



SEPTEMBER
2016



Glimpses of Melaka

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. 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.



Oslob, Cebu

Mark L Chaves

Mark is a freelance writer and photographer based in Bali, Indonesia. He is an active contributor for [diaforlife](http://diaforlife.com), InBali.org, and [Balipedia](http://Balipedia.com). Follow Mark's photography portfolio on [tumblr](http://tumblr.com/marklchaves) and [eyeem](http://eyeem.com/marklchaves). <http://marklchaves.com>



Yumurtali Pide

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



My Flag is White

Mark Ulyseas

Ulyseas is founder and editor of Live Encounters Magazine and Live Encounters Poetry. 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*. <http://www.amazon.com/author/markulyseas>





Joachim Matschoss was born in Germany and now lives in Melbourne/ Australia. He is a playwright, poet and Theatre-maker. His Theatre Company, 'Backyard Theatre Ensemble (BYTE)' presents diverse pieces of theatre all across Melbourne/ Australia and internationally, both Youth Arts and for adults. Joachim has created theatre in Australia, New Zealand, United Kingdom, India, Uzbekistan, Malaysia, Indonesia, HongKong, Hungary, Taiwan, Switzerland and China. Joachim's poetry is published in Australia, Germany, the United Kingdom and the USA. Joachim's latest book, *Rain Overnight: Travels in Asia*, is available directly from him or from good bookshops in Melbourne and on www.amazon.com www.byteensemble.com

"Every child is an artist, the problem is staying an artist when you grow up" – Pablo Picasso

FLIGHTPATHS FOR KITES A CLOSER LOOK AT CREATIVITY

JOACHIM MATSCHOSS
PLAYWRIGHT, POET AND THEATRE-MAKER

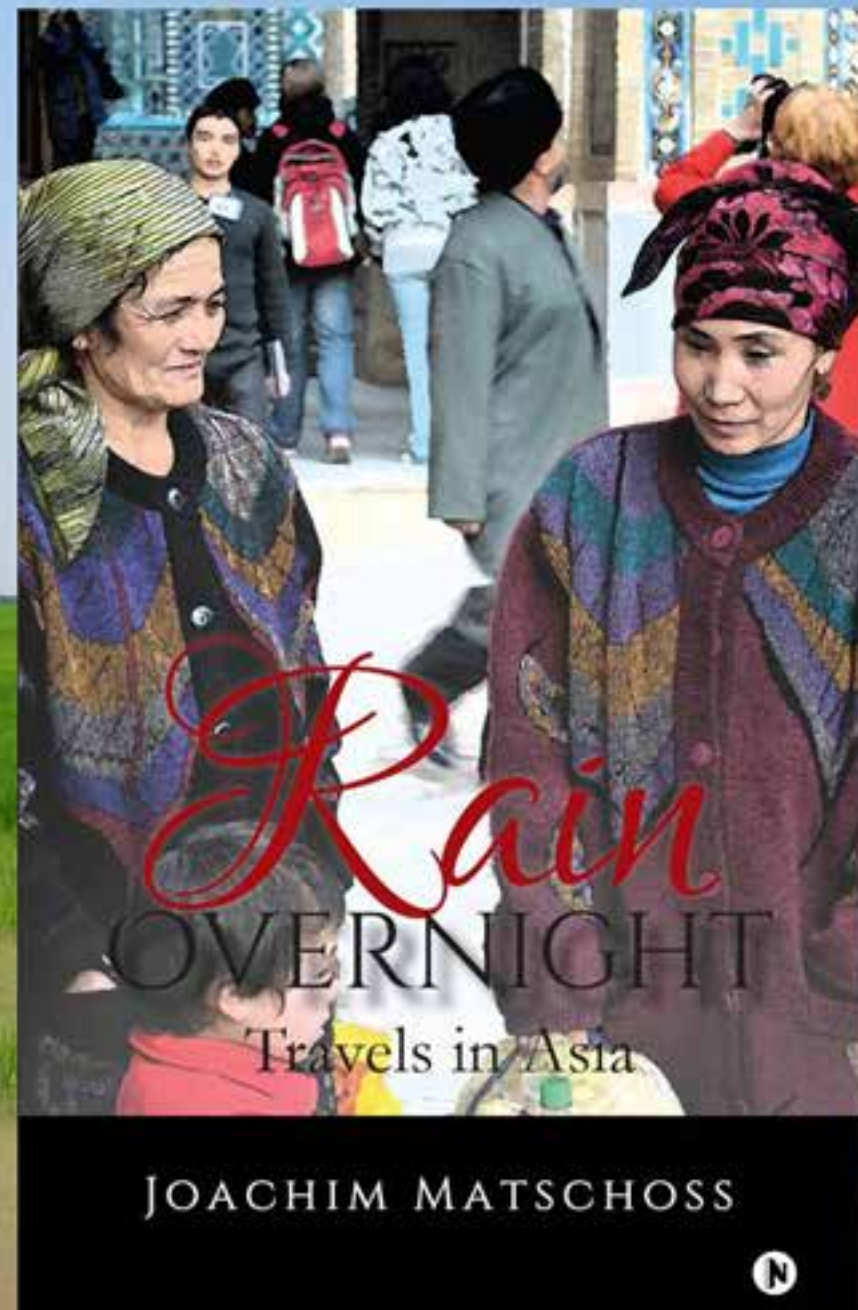
Creativity - from the Latin creare: to make and the Greek Krainein: to fulfil.

Creative people use their imaginations to 'make up' something new and valuable, and so transform what is there into something new, different, possibly better. Creative people move beyond, aim to become. Creativity is therefore about fulfilment.

Creativity is viewed to have universal meaning that extends beyond time and self and any true creative activity combines the energies of feelings, imagination and thought.

"Imagination is the highest kite one can fly" - Lauren Bacall

Some believe that the approach of one's end of life actually stimulates creativity with increased urgency, intensity and energy. It is vital to ensure that the young remain young through life. It is vital that they develop a lifelong appreciation for the arts and in a broader sense for learning itself. It is important for all of us to stay young by taking inspiration from the young in spirit who remained creatively active all their lives: Goethe completing *Faust* at 80; Titian painting masterpieces at 98; Toscanini conducting at 85; Justice Holmes writing Supreme Court decisions at 90; Edison busy in his laboratory at 84; and Benjamin Franklin helping to frame the American Constitution at 80.



Creativity is the paradoxical integration of doing and being. It is a conversation with our world - an active letting go, an aggressive receptivity, a passive responding. It is the assimilation and integration of polarities to find new directions, new solutions, and a fresh viewpoint. It is the integration of our logical side with our intuitive side, our left brain with our right. It is all of these and more.

The *process of creating* and one’s attitude, the way one approaches any given project, may be more important than the actual product or tangible outcome. To borrow from George Bernard Shaw:

“You see things; and you say, ‘Why?’ But I dream things that never were; and I say, ‘Why not?’”

Why is it important to cultivate creativity?

Creative expression may accomplish many of the following:

- Create balance and order
- Give a sense of control over the external world
- Make something positive out of a loss, bad experience or depression
- Maintain an individual’s integrity
- Resolve conflicts
- Make thought and feeling clear

Creativity is the paradoxical integration of doing and being. It is a conversation with our world - an active letting go, an aggressive receptivity, a passive responding. It is the assimilation and integration of polarities to find new directions, new solutions, and a fresh viewpoint. It is the integration of our logical side with our intuitive side, our left brain with our right. It is all of these and more.

In schools and in our own lives we need to create environments that encourage creativity, such as:

- | | |
|-----------------|--|
| • Solitude | to be alone allows the person to make contact with the self and be open to new kinds of inspiration. |
| • Inactivity | Periods of time are needed to focus on inner resources and to be removed from the constraints of routine activities. |
| • Daydreaming | allows exploration of one’s fantasy life and venturing into new avenues for growth. |
| • Free thinking | allows the mind to wander in any direction without restriction and permits the similarities among remote topics or concepts to emerge. |

Henry Miller stresses ‘the moment one gives close attention to anything, even a blade of grass, it becomes a mysterious, awesome, indescribably magnified world in itself.’

- | | |
|--------------|--|
| • Alertness | A state of awareness that permits the person to grasp the relevance of seemingly insignificant similarities. |
| • Discipline | A devotion to the techniques, logic, and repetition that permit creative ideas to be realized. |
- (S.Arieti: Creativity: The Magic Synthesis, 1976)

The rule makers are always a step behind the innovator.

Therefore creativity always goes beyond any definition of it. Individual or for example school structures may block opportunities for artistic expression.

*

The artist’s role is to stay alive and awake in the space between convictions and certainties. The truth in art exists in that tension between contrasting realities. As an artist and a teacher of theatre you have to find shapes, ways, words and silences that embody current ambiguities and uncertainties. While resisting certainty, you have to try to be as lucid and exact as possible from the state of imbalance and uncertainty. The teaching of theatre and any creative approach to teaching and learning ultimately needs to be ‘organised chaos’.

Theatre needs to challenge both students, performers, teachers and audiences alike. You can do all kinds of activities, try to engage your students in a myriad of stimuli and provide carefully planned differentiated curricula but ultimately it needs to be about not to see too many things, but to look hard at what you see.

Henry Miller stresses ‘the moment one gives close attention to anything, even a blade of grass, it becomes a mysterious, awesome, indescribably magnified world in itself.’

One of the most used words in our young peoples’ vocabulary is ‘boring’. This word entered language fairly recently and there is not a single moment in anyone human being’s life that is the same.

Life should not be measured in minutes, hours or days, but rather in the space and quality of every single breath. Perhaps the quality of time ‘spent’ depends on the individual’s attitude towards time.

As a theatre-teacher it is my role, my responsibility to determine the politics and the values in my class. It is my job to insist upon justness, mutual respect, and above all listening. It is important to celebrate accidents, as the creative act is a conscious process fed by the unconscious. It is vital to take risks and to challenge; I know I am repeating myself. Things are not difficult to do; rather what is difficult is to put yourself into a state to do them.

In autumn 1985, the artist Christo and his partner Jeanne-Claude completed a remarkable project in Paris, France. They wrapped the city's oldest bridge, the Pont Neuf, including the sidewalks and streetlamps, in vibrant light-gold cloth. People living in the area are quoted saying that the usual day-to-day atmosphere of the place had altered dramatically. It was as though everyone on the streets of that neighbourhood had awoken from a long sleep. The true function of art, of theatre, dance, and music is to awaken what is asleep. Before Christo's 'intervention' the bridge and the surrounding streets had become drenched in daily habit and assumption, now in the context of an art event where one is asked to put on special lenses, suddenly the bridge was transformed and the entire neighbourhood woke up.

The bridge was once again visible.

We are living in very particular times that demand very specific responses. No matter the immensity of the obstacles, the one thing we cannot afford is inaction. This needs to be the role of any teacher. For me it is about looking to history, literature, science and aesthetics in order to work out how to function positively, creative and effectively within the present environment so that I can try to teach my students strategies to live their lives – alive and not succumbing to inaction.

The Dalai Lama was once asked if he would return to earth in another century, even though it is almost certain that poverty, pollution, and overpopulation will make our planet a miserable environment to inhabit. 'If I could be useful,' was his reply.

As a theatre-teacher it is my role, my responsibility to determine the politics and the values in my class. It is my job to insist upon justness, mutual respect, and above all listening. It is important to celebrate accidents, as the creative act is a conscious process fed by the unconscious. It is vital to take risks and to challenge; I know I am repeating myself. Things are not difficult to do; rather what is difficult is to put yourself into a state to do them.

A phenomenon as complex and elusive as creativity will always raise more questions than it answers, but that is exciting! I hope that thoughtful teachers who raise these questions will go far beyond strategies, methods, techniques. I hope they experiment, enjoy chaos, try new ideas, and observe what happens. Only through such efforts can we expand the body of knowledge on the development of creativity, its impact in classrooms, and its manifestations in children.

Right: Collaboration and problem solving
Photograph Joachim Matschoss



There are many ways to express creativity and many variations within these and this is just the stuff I like:

Dance

Rhythms cross all cultures and aspects of life. Many cultures use non-verbal gestures in the patterns of their daily lives. There are numerous ways to use dance in creative expression.

Music

Music is universal and familiar in some form to everyone. Even if one cannot sing or dance well, most can relate to rhythm. One can enjoy music individually and personally or enjoy it publicly in a school setting. It is no secret that therapeutic use of music in exercise, communication and memory is of great importance. Music therapy is an approach where individual programs are prescribed and created by professionals to change behaviour.

Poetry

Poetry is much like music with rhythmic appeal.

- Translate the poetry for those who have a different primary language
- Recite poetry individually and in groups
- Memorize favourite poems
- Read and discuss poetry
- Attend and listen to public presentations
- Create a group poem
- Illustrate a poem
- Set a poem to music, a favourite song
- Focus on particular type of poetry such as contemporary, children's poetry or specific works of a poet
- Make a poetry notebook
- Create humorous limerick or poetry for special occasions like assemblies
- Analyse poems
- Rewrite existing poems
- Write a new poem about a particularly favourite subject
- Use a cultural focus for a poem

“Don’t think. Thinking is the enemy of creativity. It’s self-conscious, and anything self-conscious is lousy. You can’t try to do things. You simply must do things” – Ray Bradbury

Students who use content in creative ways learn the content well. They also learn strategies for identifying problems, making decisions, and finding solutions both in and out of school.

Theatre

The theatre is a wonderful forum for artistic expression. In performing before others an atmosphere of trust is needed with structure, acceptance, non-judgmental surroundings and rules. There are many ways to express one’s self creatively in the theatre.

- Storytelling/ Oral Histories
- Dance
- Painting/staging
- Writing
- Singing
- Costuming

“Don’t think. Thinking is the enemy of creativity. It’s self-conscious, and anything self-conscious is lousy. You can’t try to do things. You simply must do things” – Ray Bradbury

*

I believe strongly in the importance of creativity in the constant reshaping of the world in which we live and, more specifically, I believe in the importance of creativity in a school. It is easy to consider the essential role of creativity in bringing joy and meaning to the human condition—without creativity we have no art, no literature, no science, no innovation, no problem solving, no progress. For quite some time it seemed to be less obvious to the decision makers that creativity has an equally essential role in schools. People working in the Performing Arts have and to some degree still fighting to be taken seriously.

It is therefore helpful I think to point out that the processes of creativity parallel those of learning. Recent calls for authentic activities, teaching for understanding, and real-world problem solving all require engaging students with content in flexible and innovative ways. Students who use content in creative ways learn the content well. They also learn strategies for identifying problems, making decisions, and finding solutions both in and out of school. Classrooms organized to develop creativity become places of both learning and wonder, a places that generates a sort of curious delight. Early in 2011 I was part of an event in Perth, aptly titled ‘Stories under the Night sky’. It was all about re-capturing the essence and beauty of this ‘dying’ art-form.



Matschoss’s contemporary version of Shakespeare’s Midsummer Night’s Dream. Photograph Joachim Matschoss.

It was a quiet place under an ancient tree and the audience listened carefully to each nuance, appreciating both the well-known story line and the new turns of language and elaboration that make the characters come to life.

I can still remember the story of Madeleine. She is in first grade and was given an outline of a giant shark’s mouth on a worksheet that asked, “What will our fishy friend eat next?” She dutifully coloured several fish and boats, and then wrote the following explanation. “Once there was a shark named Peppy. One day he ate three fish, one jellyfish, and two boats. Before he ate the jellyfish, he made a peanut butter and jellyfish sandwich.”

To me creativity involves three components: skills, newness and value. It is the skill of bringing about something new and valuable.

Some people take the view that creativity is a gift, and that you either have it or you don’t. If you do, you develop it. If you don’t, you hire those who do and encourage them to use their skills. If creativity were only a gift, then we better all shut up and admire or hire the results of the gifted. But I believe creativity not only involves certain learnable skills that can be taught, but that you must invest all of yourself in forming and delivering anything really new and valuable.

Opposite: Village with no daughters. A devised piece of theatre dealing with the issue of slave labor.
Photograph Joachim Matschoss



The poem below is a response to a student who felt very discouraged by a teacher's response to her writing.

the head of English is editing her poem

this is a draft, surely?, the head of English quirks,
life isn't!, she says, looking out the window.
it is raining.
a bit more light around here, yes?
the head of English tries to encourage
are you surprised that I am living
entirely in the present, sir?
the student has a fresh face
she had seen a documentary about drink driving on TV,
about young lives being lost,
you got side-tracked here
the head of English explains
first set the scene, she nods
introduce the characters –
it's me. I'm it!
even if it is you
I'm concentrating hard on death, sir
I even went to a ward where people die
and met a face, young like mine
everything was just one small room and thoughts –
you need to make sure that the reader is with you,
the head of English explains,
all the way
never lose sight of your audience

she wants to throw her words around the room
random words to be read by anyone, in any way

but I'll re-write it, sir
it's good, don't get me wrong, he smiles
the thoughts are really good
the head of English encourages
keep at it
it might even make it into the magazine.

*

What is important?

I do believe that

- Creative people do more than break away from the old patterns.
- Creative people do more than find alternatives.
- Creative people diverge from familiar patterns, but then they converge on new solutions.
- Creative people break laws to remake them.
- Creative people make hard decisions about what to include and what to eliminate.
- Creative people innovate.
- Creative people aim toward newness.
- Creative people must go beyond the new. Their creation must also be of value.

each time I write
I complicate her
surround her with questions
try to wrap her in answers

Finally

It is most important to constantly reflect on creative journeys and make sure that these reflections are as important to the traveller as the journey itself. To me self-assessment is the best way to do that.

reflection

she left herself on my doorstep many a times
abandoned, lonely and
cold

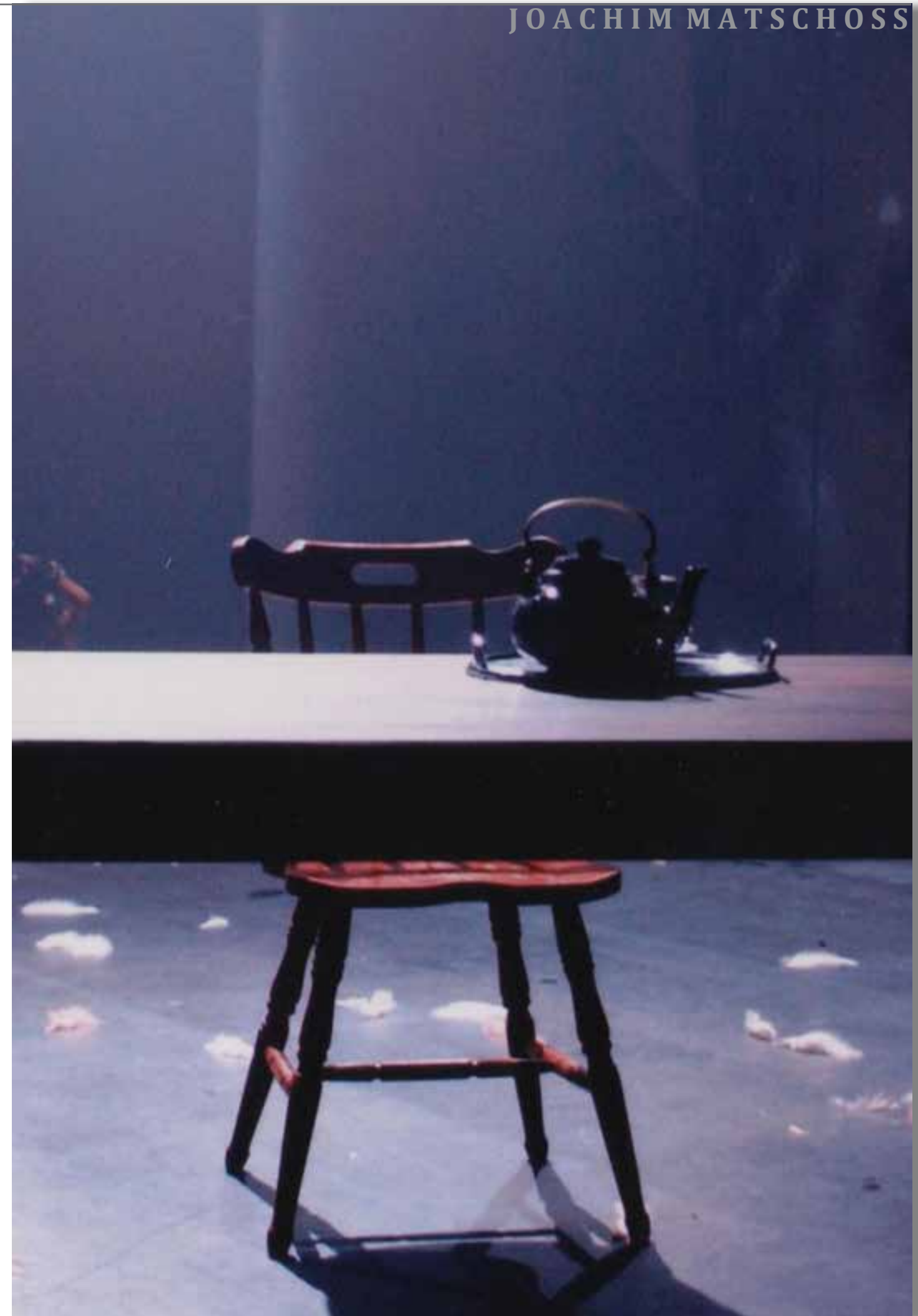
from her I rent my time
dream images
escape the snow
or walk the clouds
and often wake up shouting

she whispers softly out there
and vividly seems to remember people –

each time I write
I complicate her
surround her with questions
try to wrap her in answers

she is insane with skill
and senses my incapability
sometimes my joy
and often my ability to suffer –

yet every time she calls
I will rush to open the door.



Dr Howard Richards (born June 10, 1938) is a philosopher of Social Science who worked with the concepts of basic cultural structures and constitutive rules. He holds the title of Research Professor of Philosophy at Earlham College, a liberal arts college in Richmond, Indiana, USA, the Quaker School where he taught for thirty years. He officially retired from Earlham College, together with his wife Caroline Higgins in 2007, but retained the title of Research Professor of Philosophy. He has a PhD in Philosophy from the University of California, Santa Barbara, a Juris Doctor (J.D.) from the Stanford Law School, an Advanced Certificate in Education (ACE) from Oxford University (UK) and a PhD in Educational Planning from the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE), University of Toronto, Canada.

He now teaches at the University of Santiago, Chile, and has ongoing roles at the University of South Africa (UNISA) and the University of Cape Town's Graduate School of Business program. He is founder of the Peace and Global Studies Program and co-founder of the Business and Nonprofit Management Program at Earlham. Dr Richards is a Catholic, a member of Holy Trinity (Santisima Trinidad) parish in Limache, Chile, and a member of the third order of St. Francis, O.F.S.

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Howard_Richards_\(academic\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Howard_Richards_(academic))



DR HOWARD RICHARDS TRUMP VS. CLINTON VS. SANDERS



The Blind leading the Blind leading the Blind

My thesis is that the proposals put forward by Donald Trump, Hillary Clinton and Bernie Sanders offer no solutions to the fiscal crisis of the state, and partly for this reason do not and cannot promise social integration. I am not complaining. I am just trying to do my part as a philosopher to help generate better ideas, ideas that will work.

First I will cite some typical proposals of the three candidates as background to help me explain my thesis.

- Then I will explain my thesis.
- Then I will suggest solutions to the fiscal crisis of the state.
- Then I will suggest some ways to achieve social integration.
- Last I will suggest some further readings.

Background

In his campaign book *Crippled America* Trump proposes a trillion-dollar plan for rebuilding America's infrastructure designed to produce 13 million jobs. He also proposes strengthening the military. He proposes tax cuts even greater than the legendary tax cuts made under President Ronald Reagan. To pay for infrastructure and weapons in spite of lower taxes, he expects revenue from closing tax loopholes and from imposing tariffs on imports. He expects the tax cuts plus economic nationalism to stimulate more investment, more sales, and more income, and therefore a larger tax base.

Clinton is more specific. On her campaign website Clinton proposes increased spending mainly on education, health, and infrastructure calculated to sum to 1.7 trillion dollars over ten years. She proposes tax increases on business and higher incomes plus some cost savings calculated to sum to 1.6 trillion dollars over the same ten years.

On infrastructure Sanders' proposal is in general terms is the same as Trump's: rebuild America at a cost of a trillion dollars thereby creating 13 million jobs. He proposes a way to pay for it: capture taxes now evaded by shifting assets to tax havens like the Cayman Islands and closing other loopholes, which a Congressional Research Service report estimates could yield 100 billion per year for ten years.

Every other country that has tried democratic socialism has clashed with the reality encountered by President Salvador Allende of Chile who said frequently, "We have the government but we do not have the power."

The fiscal crisis of the state is a permanent consequence of the constitutive rules of the dominant paradigm whenever citizens demand their rights. Nothing in the proposals of Trump, Clinton, or Sanders (and nothing in those of Le Pen, Sarkozy, Hollande and so forth) changes this fundamental underlying social reality.

Background *contd...*

Sanders proposes free tuition for all students at public universities, to be paid for by financial transactions taxes that a University of Massachusetts study estimates would bring in 300 billion dollars per year. He has a revenue plan for each of his spending plans.

Each of these major United States political figures has given thought to how to raise the money their proposals require. My thesis implies that they are thinking inside the limitations of a dysfunctional dominant paradigm. It suggests that liberalism (known in the United States as "conservatism") will not work. It suggests that social democracy (known in the United States as "liberalism") will not work in the forms Clinton and Sanders have proposed.

Here are some anomalies that may serve to loosen the grip of the dominant paradigm and to motivate a willingness to rethink fundamentals. They are adduced not to prove points but to open minds:

1. The USA had major tax cuts under Reagan and under G.W. Bush. They have been recently kept in place by a Republican congress. They have not been followed by prosperity for all. They have been followed by ballooning public debt.
2. In the latter part of the 19th century and until 1913 the United States was a neoliberal ("conservative") utopia. Government was minimal. Taxes were minimal. During long decades during that period the USA was mired in recessions and depressions. During all of that period the majority of the people were dirt poor.
3. Projecting that new taxes can pay for new spending does not solve the problem of inability to pay for old spending. The US government is 19 trillion in debt and going is deeper into debt every day even without new spending.
4. Every other country that has tried democratic socialism has clashed with the reality encountered by President Salvador Allende of Chile who said frequently, "We have the government but we do not have the power."

My Thesis

My thesis is rooted in philosophical realism, in John Dewey's pragmatism, and in the philosophies of John Searle and Charles Taylor which as far as I know do not have special names. I start with a realist Earth Story, the common story of all humanity, a worldview that is suitable for seeking consensus on how to adjust culture to its physical functions because (unlike the myth of the social contract) it is true.

Culture (often synonymous with religion) is the ecological niche of the human species; it is what has given tribes and nations the cohesion to cooperate and hence to survive. Every culture has a basic structure. It is the normative framework that governs producing and distributing the basic necessities of life. Our culture is basically governed by the constitutive rules of markets (they are the dominant paradigm).

The rules of the market game are the rules of buying and selling. In the dominant paradigm production is for sale and sale is for profit. Nobody is obliged to buy. Some do not. Those who do not find buyers who will pay them enough money to live on (of whom in a pure market game there must inevitably be some) are the losers. They are excluded from the game.

Governments are perennially caught in the dilemma between lowering taxes to stimulate the economy and raising taxes to pay their current expenses plus the interest on their debts. Typically, if they raise taxes they drive wedges between buyers and sellers. The wedges diminish sales because the wedge means that the buyer pays more than the seller receives. Hence they diminish profits, which diminishes investment. (Taxes that do not drive such wedges are another subject, one recently treated admirably by Thomas Piketty.) Impoverished and disempowered governments cannot meet their obligations as guarantors of human rights; for example, the right to security in old age. There is a permanent inability of the state to structure the society in ways that meet the needs of the people in harmony with the natural environment.

The fiscal crisis of the state is a permanent consequence of the constitutive rules of the dominant paradigm whenever citizens demand their rights. Nothing in the proposals of Trump, Clinton, or Sanders (and nothing in those of Le Pen, Sarkozy, Hollande and so forth) changes this fundamental underlying social reality.

Today we have new kids on the block: schools, psychologists, self-help groups like Al-Anon, Facebook groups, and others. In spite of the efforts of socializing institutions new and old, modern societies are still generating too little humanity and too much inhumanity. Hillary Clinton's proposal to make more psychotherapy available at community care centres is a major step in the right direction. It will do more to stop insane rampages by lone terrorists than any number of bombs dropped on Iraq. Bernie Sanders supports it. To the best of my knowledge Donald Trump has not yet commented on it.

My Thesis *contd...*

The idea of "social integration" comes from Emile Durkheim. Durkheim drew maps of Europe showing that in the more modern (more capitalist) areas the rate of suicide was higher. In the more traditional areas the rate of suicide was lower. In a modern society those who are not integrated are in the first place the losers in the marketplace mentioned above, but Durkheim's idea is broader. They are also the millions whom hyper-markets dehumanize by commercializing every thing and dissolving every community, as well as millions who suffer a similar fate for a variety of other reasons. Durkheim's turn-of-the-twentieth-century concept of social integration, and its corollaries normlessness and loneliness, anticipated Paulo Freire's 1960s identification of dehumanization as the concrete historical fact that defines our epoch.

Solutions to the Fiscal Crisis of the State

There are two complementary ways to solve it. One is for all of us to assume more responsibility for guaranteeing human rights, for example the right to health care. Then the duties of the government as guarantor-of-last-resort of human rights will be performed at less cost to the public purse. This first way calls for an ethic of service and stewardship. It calls for reviving the old-fashioned concept of vocation; and for reviving - if anybody still remembers it-the old-fashioned concept of profession. It calls for an emphasis on moral development in education; on corporate social responsibility and shared value; it calls for neighbours who join together to fight crime and to be sure that nobody in the neighbourhood is going hungry or is abandoned to face illness and/or old age alone. And so forth.

Some Ways to Achieve Social Integration

Traditionally key roles in social integration have been played by major institutions older than capitalism: families and churches. Today we have new kids on the block: schools, psychologists, self-help groups like Al-Anon, Facebook groups, and others. In spite of the efforts of socializing institutions new and old, modern societies are still generating too little humanity and too much inhumanity. Hillary Clinton's proposal to make more psychotherapy available at community care centres is a major step in the right direction. It will do more to stop insane rampages by lone terrorists than any number of bombs dropped on Iraq. Bernie Sanders supports it. To the best of my knowledge Donald Trump has not yet commented on it.

A Few Readings

Margaret Archer, *Realist Social Theory*. Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
 Glyn Davies, *A History of Money*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2002.
 John Gibbs, *Moral Development and Reality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.
 Jürgen Habermas, *Legitimation Crisis*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1975.
 Tony Lawson, *Reorienting Economics*. London: Routledge, 2003.
 James O'Connor, *The Fiscal Crisis of the State*. New Brunswick NJ: Transaction Books, 1973.
 Howard Richards, *Say's Law* 2016 <http://unboundedorganization.org/says-law/>
 Howard Richards, *The Impossibility of Politics and How to Make Politics Possible* 2016
<http://unboundedorganization.org/the-impossibility-of-politics-and-how-to-make-politics-possible/>
 Howard Richards and Joanna Swanger, *Dilemmas of Social Democracies*. Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2006.
 Howard Richards and Joanna Swanger, *Gandhi and the Future of Economics*. Lake Oswego OR: Dignity Press, 2013.
 Jeremy Rifkin, *The Zero Marginal Cost Society*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
 Joseph Stiglitz, *The Great Divide*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

Solutions to the Fiscal Crisis ...*contd...*

"Points of light." The second solution, complementary to the first, reverses what was done in the 18th century when the victorious third estate deliberately made government subservient to property-owners by making its budget depend exclusively on taxes voted by them. (In the 18th century democracy had not yet fully arrived; for example, the same French Assembly of 1789 that wrote the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen decreed that the only voters would be adult male property owners.)

One approach - there are others - to putting the state on a sound fiscal footing would be to re-frame the large banks as quasi-public institutions. Astronomical profits now flowing into the purses of the 1% would then flow into the public purse. This would reverse the precedent set by the English "Glorious Revolution" of 1688-1692 which made the Bank of England a private institution independent of the sovereign. The sovereign issuer of the currency - now the sovereign people- would again play a larger and more profitable role.

Some Ways to Achieve Social...*contd...*

Achieving social integration calls for more and better employment in a world where some have no work, some work but do not earn enough to live in dignity, and where some working conditions are the cause of - not the cure for - psychopathology.

Mahatma Gandhi advocated a traditional Hindu rule for those who have no work: the unemployed should find something useful to do and do it. I agree. When you can't find a buyer who will pay you money for your services, serve anyway. Volunteer. The other side of the coin is that those of us who are winners in the market must one way or another support the volunteers. In general, the other side of the coin is funding livelihoods that do not depend on sales.

The general problem is how to include those whom the market excludes. I am suggesting that the general solution is to recycle the surplus. It should flow from where surplus exists (where by definition it is not needed, because if it were needed it would not be surplus) to where it is needed. Of course there has to be surplus in the first place. Creating surplus is a social function of capitalists and inventors like Bill Gates and Mark Zuckerberg, and of the millions who on a lesser scale put productive organizations together and make them work.



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>



BREXIT AND THE GERMAN CONNECTION

DR GRETA SYKES

INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION/UCL, LONDON

'Wir schaffen das' (we manage that). Angela Merkel's mantra about the refugees in Germany is symbiotic with her allegiance to US neo-liberalist globalisation and assists the US' most important foreign policy doctrine. George Friedman, founder of Stratfor Intelligence Corporation, declared 'United Germany and Russia are the only force that can break the US' (Utube, 2015). In his hacked emails Phillip Breedlove, former NATO supreme commander, comments that general Martin Dempsey is 'dragging his feet in order to save relations with Russia' (July 2016). Keeping Germany (technology) and Russia (resources) separate, a strategic aim since at least 1945, if not 1917, remains one of the key pillars in understanding the European situation and the war in Syria. The fact that American bases after the end of the Soviet Union did not decrease, but instead increased made critics, such as former army colonel Andrew Bacevich wonder 'whether American globalism really grew out of the need for Soviet containment (T. Meaney, 2016). In this essay the historical, contemporary and psychological dimensions of Merkel's politics are explored and their likely effects analysed.

The German connection

A recent opinion poll by INSA for Cicero magazine suggests that Angela Merkel's popularity has decreased substantially due to her party's policies regarding migration into Germany. Nearly 2/3 of those interviewed said they did not want her to stand in next year's election. Merkel's plea that the whole EU should participate in accepting the refugees unilaterally invited by her has fallen on deaf ears. Country after country closed their borders, Austria, Poland, Hungary. Her EU -Turkey deal has had close to zero effect in terms of movement for refugees. One of the reasons for inviting refugees in was an 'Arbeitskraftmangel' (lack of a workforce). How local schools, communities, hospitals and doctors would cope with a very large change of a population with little knowledge of German was left to improvisation. The original aims of the EU for peace and the values fought for by women and successive generations of trade unionists for better pay and working conditions are quietly negated

in favour of an alignment with US hegemonic aims of achieving domination for US companies – already able to wield power in their own country of minimum wages and migrating wage slavery - towards a globally shifting cheap labour force that is expected to be docile, helpless and without rights. The situation is exacerbated by a vicious circle of massive arms sales (\$1.3 billion worth by Europe into the Middle East) which is feeding wars. The Syrian one, is now in its fifth year with the US mantra of 'Assad must go' preventing a speedy peaceful solution in cooperation with Putin for the Syrian people. This in turn is leading to further migration. It is cynical to invite refugees in order to act as cheap labour into a country which is the second largest arms exporter in the world. The best current examples of how the world is supposed to look in the future according to Merkel and Co are the trade deals CETA and TTIP. Both aim to reach deeply into the fabric of European culture and tradition. 'The route using the law is used stating that every state action and legal operation must be conducted with a focus on private profits rather than the public good', comments Kraetke (2016).

The psychological dimension

The German Nazi past, although now seventy odd years ago remains a traumatic backdrop for its people. Guilt and shame act like deep-seated pieces of charcoal that can be readily reignited. Holding demonstrations for the rights of Palestinians and against Israeli aggression in Germany is always contested by people who call peace demonstrators anti-semitic. The term 'Gutmenschen' (good persons) has come to denote people who go out of their way to ensure that everyone can see how kind and good hearted one is. Last autumn the country was overflowing not just with refugees, but also with naïve Gutmenschen. They wanted to help and received encouragement from the media. Reports of thefts, attacks, sexual assault were suppressed and the mindset of the naive Gutmenschen could be activated by the media focus on affective responses. Almost cathartic in its dimension it permitted exculpating oneself from guilt and shame.

Meanwhile an open door policy, advocated by such people as George Soros and the campaign group Pro-Asyl, remains the neo-liberal quasi religion as directed by the US. As a borderless globalised 'free movement of people and goods' society the EU governments appear to stand helplessly by while one terror act after another shatters beliefs in security, culture, religion and the meaning of the nation state.

The psychological dimension *contd...*

It does not imply that most people are not honest and empathic about their helpfulness, but the hyper-emotionality of the media was driving an agenda that bordered on blackmail in its persistent urging the German people onwards. A picture of a dead child on the beach would function as a catalyst robbing people of their rational mind and their ability to explore pros and cons. 'Die Lügenpresse' (the lie media) by Ulfkotte (2014) explores the use of political correctness, emotionality and lies in the media in detail. There is another area of guilt, hatred, Angst and denial which needs to be explored, which is the continuing dissonance between East (Ossis) and West (Wessis) Germany.

Ossis and Wessis

In 1989 the wall was brought down, and East Germany (GDR) ceased to exist. Its business and industry, which used to feature as the tenth strongest economy in the world, was annexed by the West. Ossis still feel sore about how their country was swallowed up by Wessis. After all, their rights for women and their youth movements were second to none. In the decades before the wall came down and since its fall almost no week has gone by without a major TV programme or newspaper article condemning the GDR, berating its achievements and denigrating their attempts to build socialism. Frequently such programmes contain comparisons with the Nazis. It is not surprising that a sense of alienation among Ossis and a form of self-righteousness among Wessis are further emotional stress factors in this increasingly unstable and angst-ridden current situation. The combination of both narratives has created a psycho- pathological undercurrent in many German people against which Merkel repeats her mantra of 'wir schaffen das' like a headlight shone into a rabbit's eyes. Vague and hypnotic at the same time, hinting at bravery and glory, the little phrase represents globalised business in its drive for cheap labour and markets.

Meanwhile in each local community the people work hard to help, but feel the situation is out of control. When asked for their views they reply cautiously in case they are castigated as racist, or even fascist. An MP of the Green Party, Claudia Roth, verbally attacked Sahra Wagenknecht, the theoretician and MP for the Linke (Left) party only last week over mentioning that there ought to be a limiting management of the refugee influx accepted into the country. Meanwhile an open door policy, advocated by such people as George Soros and the campaign group Pro-Asyl, remains the neo-liberal quasi religion as directed by the US. As a borderless globalised 'free movement of people and goods' society the EU governments appear to stand helplessly by while one terror act after another shatters beliefs in security, culture, religion and the meaning of the nation state.

Encouraged by the Bishop of Hamburg, Hans-Otto Woelber, Horst Kasner, Merkel's father, moved the family from Hamburg to East Germany with the desire to increase the influence of the church in the East. He eventually became a pastor at Templin Pastors College – known as a window to the west with easy access to western media. The family's beliefs were firmly anti-GDR. It is not surprising then that Merkel is spearheading the relentless drive to annihilate any notions of real socialism, past or present. Thus it happens that the battle of ideas, as it was called, rages as powerfully as before in the middle of Germany.

The total control of global business interests over the Western media is such that, in spite of the glaring accumulation of unacceptable events in their countries, such as Islamic terror acts, a significant rise of sexual assault of women and interference in the politics of Germany by a foreign state (Turkey) are negated by Merkel's fuzzy and feeble responses to recent developments.

Socialism as a psychological and physical dynamo for change

Encouraged by the Bishop of Hamburg, Hans-Otto Woelber, Horst Kasner, Merkel's father, moved the family from Hamburg to East Germany with the desire to increase the influence of the church in the East. He eventually became a pastor at Templin Pastors College – known as a window to the west with easy access to western media. The family's beliefs were firmly anti-GDR. It is not surprising then that Merkel is spearheading the relentless drive to annihilate any notions of real socialism, past or present. Thus it happens that the battle of ideas, as it was called, rages as powerfully as before in the middle of Germany.

At its heart lies the GDR, this silenced country and its socialist achievements. Here can be found the key to understanding our present calamitous situation. The schism between socialism and capitalism still runs as it did since 1945 geographically as well as politically and psychologically through the middle of Germany. The unacknowledged, berated and hostile narrative of real socialisms' powerful visions, ideas and achievements, rather than merely its shortfalls, is the stumbling block which prevents a rational and constructive analysis of how alternatives to the neo-liberal credo and its fascistoid accomplices in the shape of jihadi terror can be put into action. The hysteria with which any reference to real existing socialism's achievements is met is an indication of how vital this debate is for a better future for us and our children. The fact that the GDR and the USSR built successful industrial societies in spite of being isolated by the West astonished and thrilled working people the world over. It offered hope and optimism for a better life, improved working conditions and equality for women and fired the imagination of revolutionaries, artist, writers, musicians and film makers everywhere, as well as inspiring freedom movements, not least the Cuban revolution and many other revolutions in turn.

'None of these hesitations (about socialism's universal vocation) troubled the first generation of those inspired by the shining light of October to devote their lives to the world revolution' writes Hobsbawm (1994, p72). He adds: "In the generation after 1917 Bolshevism absorbed all other social-revolutionary traditions, or pushed them to the margins...P72)

A few months after Merkel opened the borders to welcome refugees the Brexit vote took place, and there can be little doubt that her action aided the Brexit campaign. It made plain for all to see what Europe was struggling with. 'The strange thing about the EU referendum, which has engendered so much heartache, and was supposed to be so definitive is that it hasn't settled anything'.

Socialism as a psychological and physical dynamo for change *contd...*

'Moreover the threat of communist appeal to West European populations during the Cold War checked the predatory instincts of capital and ensured that trade union strength was tolerated and adequate welfare systems were financed...' (Willy Thompson, 2011, p229).

Hobsbawm comments: '...monopoly capitalists can come to terms with any regime that does not actually expropriate them...' (p129). The Soviet Union had done exactly this, and this singular sin was unforgivable. This is exemplified by the fact that Merkel maintains friendly relations with Saudi Arabia, where the death penalty is law and has chosen to link with Turkey, also not known for its human rights respect, in her EU-Turkey deal, rather than give the money to Greece and Italy, the two obvious states who have suffered the majority of refugee arrivals.

'If there is peace, profits grow thanks to stability. If there is war, profits grow on account of the new demand' (Groys, 2009, p24). Further Groys states:

'Communist revolution involves exposing, confirming and materialising the suspicion that behind the illusion of an open society are hidden the closed spaces of a manipulative and conspiratorial power...' (p29). Groys lays bare the falseness of the capitalist promises which present us with a world that exists without past or future. Stable world views are subverted, such as the vision of socialism. Both peace and war can feed capitalist production, so we cannot achieve a lasting peace while it is still in place.

Brexit

A few months after Merkel opened the borders to welcome refugees the Brexit vote took place, and there can be little doubt that her action aided the Brexit campaign. It made plain for all to see what Europe was struggling with. 'The strange thing about the EU referendum, which has engendered so much heartache, and was supposed to be so definitive is that it hasn't settled anything' (James Meek, LRB, 14th July 2016). Meek asks: 'Will Britain continue to have high levels of immigration? We don't know. Will Britain continue to be part of the European Free trade deal? We don't know. Will the city dwindle or thrive? We don't know. What is certain: It is likely to lead to a huge waste of time and money.'

The EU referendum was 'the wrong question, put at the wrong time, in the wrong way... a reckless gamble, given that the stakes were so high. No one can say how it will play out...' David Runciman, LRB 14.7.) ...British voters had kicked the 'neo-liberal EU in the teeth' (Phillipe Marliere, LRB).

The Lügenpresse has been weakened by thousands of deserters to RT, Sputnik, Counterpunch and other sources of alternative views. The need to work with Putin has been recognised by Steinmeier and Seehofer, CSU, who only this week visited Putin for the second time. Peace can only be achieved with Russia not against it, says Steinmeier. This means first and foremost making peace with Assad in Syria and helping him to rebuild his country and bringing home his people.

Ironically, although having aided the neo-liberalist quasi religion (Harrington, 2016) into Europe, British voters rebutted its globalisation agenda with its free movement of cheap labour. .., advocated by such people, as Timothy Garton-Ash, Niall Ferguson, Bernard Henri-Levy and Josef Joffe.

True to form Merkel's response after Brexit was that there needs to be no change in the EU, while Walter Steinmeier (SPD), Sigmar Gabriel (SPD) declared that the EU has to return to its social welfare ideals. It is not difficult to imagine how Europe is going look, if Merkel and her policies of alignment with US/NATO global capitalism continue. CETA and TTIP point the way. Global companies will use their legal rights to thwart national governments' attempts to resist and maintain the rights working class people have fought for for centuries.

The conspiracy of global capitalism has though not reckoned with the people who are resisting everywhere. In Britain Jeremy Corbyn, Labour party leader, is leading a growing mass movement against all the odds. In Germany people voted for a new party focused on national priorities in local elections and reaching over 20% in places. The Lügenpresse has been weakened by thousands of deserters to RT, Sputnik, Counterpunch and other sources of alternative views. The need to work with Putin has been recognised by Steinmeier and Seehofer, CSU, who only this week visited Putin for the second time. Peace can only be achieved with Russia not against it, says Steinmeier. This means first and foremost making peace with Assad in Syria and helping him to rebuild his country and bringing home his people.

References

- Bacevich, A. (2016) in: Meaney, T. *So it must be forever*. LRB.
- Breedlove, P. (2016) RT.
- Friedman, G. (2015). Utube.
- Groys, B. (2009) *The Communist postscript*. Verso. London.
- Hobsbawm, E. (1994) *Age of extremes*. Michael Joseph. London.
- Hobsbawmn, E. (2011) *How to change the world*. Little Brown. London.
- Harrington, T. (2016) *American culture in a time of imperial orthodoxies*. Counterpunch.
- Kraetke, M. (2016) *Kreisen in der Warteschleife* (circling around waiting). Der Freitag, newspaper.
- Marlliere, P. (2016) *On Brexit*. LRB.
- Meek, J. (2016) *On Brexit*. LRB.
- Runciman, D. (2016) *On Brexit*. LRB.
- Thompson, W. (2011) *Ideologies in the age of extremes*. Pluto Press. London
- Ulfkotte, 2014) *Die Luegenpresse*. Kopp Verlag, Rothenburg/Neckar.



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.

Dr. Bibhu Prasad Routray

AN ICON RETIRES: WHITHER ANTI-AFSPA AGITATION?

Abstract

Irom Sharmila's decision to end her 16 year old fast demanding scrapping of the controversial AFSPA does raise several uncomfortable questions regarding the organisation of civil rights movements in conflict ridden states.

The anti-Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act (AFSPA) movement is all set to lose its most famous icon- Irom Sharmila Chanu. The movement may not disintegrate if she sticks to her decision to end her 16- year old fast on 9 August, but it goes without saying that it would need some serious re-organisation to nurture any hopes of success. Irom Sharmila's decision says a lot about long drawn civil rights movements and the impact it can have on the activists if the state decides to simply procrastinate and look the other way. The decision to start the fast, a reaction against the infamous November 2000 Malom shooting incident, was a personal one and mostly momentary and whimsical, without much understanding of how the system works. It was perhaps based on a 'straight from the heart' and child like-belief that the state's security sector decision making is open to emotional pressure and can be influenced by recourse to the Gandhian method. It remained oblivious of the fact that fasting, one of the most popular mode of protest, has not had much of success on influencing major state decisions in post-independent India and such modes of protests have indeed outlived their utility.

Since the decision to start the fast was a personal one, could the decision to end it be a personal one as well? Hypothetically speaking, what if Gandhi, for instance, at the height of the freedom struggle, was to decide to abandon the movement citing personal reasons and his despondency with the state of the struggle? What reaction would that sort of a decision have invited? A section of people in Manipur who are reeling under a feeling of being abandoned midway have some valid reasons to be annoyed with Sharmila. The more important question, however, is: whether such a decision by Gandhi, by all means the icon of the anti-British freedom movement, would have led to its collapse? The answer is 'No'. Gandhi, unquestionably the numero uno in India's struggle for independence, was part of a well-established anti-colonial movement that had several other leaders to carry it forward to its logical conclusion. Gandhi led the movement, and at the same time, played a role in shaping its course and agenda to be implemented by the Congress Party. Nothing of that sort ever happened in Manipur.

"The quality of a leader is reflected in the standards they set for themselves." –Ray Kroc

"Do what you feel in your heart to be right, for you'll be criticized anyway." –Eleanor Roosevelt

Irom Sharmila's was mostly a personal struggle, around which the civil society organisations scripted their programmes without ever having to make similar sacrifices. Sharmila's fast alone contributed to the career graph of the some of the human rights activists from the state. Sharmila too appeared to enjoy the limelight that the national and international media coverage brought in. Neither she nor the anti-AFSPA agitationists in Manipur ever attempted to shape the contours the struggle that challenged the narrative of the powerful Indian army, nor did they ever try to make common cause and launch an united struggle along with other states like Nagaland, where the AFSPA is an emotive issue. The agitation in Manipur remained mostly focussed on the Indian army's human rights violations. However, as the Army sensitised its personnel and took internal efforts to address the issue in the post-Manorama Devi killing (2004) period, such incidents shrunk and so did the crux of the agitation against AFSPA. While sensitising the Indian Army about human rights issues remains one of Irom Sharmila's achievements, she is equally guilty of keeping the struggle mostly personal and remaining its only icon.

Why should the Indian Army and the AFSPA continue in Manipur remains a valid question. Disintegration of the insurgency movements and a significant dip in violence has created the most suitable condition for the state police to handle counter-insurgency duties in the state. While the international borders with Myanmar can be protected by the Army, the internal security duties are best handled by the police alone. However, a directionless modernisation programme continues to preserve the police mediocrity which also has an equally infamous history of human rights violations. Many in Manipur, civilians and politicians alike, not surprisingly, distrust the ability of the police in the absence of the army. Surprisingly, the hatred for Indian army and also a conviction in its indispensability is a truth that goes unmentioned in many of the analyses on Manipur. Irom Sharmila intends joining politics and contest the Manipur state assembly elections as an independent candidate in 2017. This has been cryptically projected by some as restoration of her belief in popular democracy. However, given that she kept her 16 year-old protest peaceful and essentially Gandhian, her belief in democracy and the Indian system was never ever in doubt. Whether electoral politics will allow her to achieve what her fasting could not is a different question. Her decision to end fasting, however, does raise several uncomfortable questions regarding the organisation of civil rights movements in conflict ridden states.



Amber Karanikolas is a graduate of a BA (International Relations) and LLB from the University of New South Wales. Her Honours thesis analysed participant literature surrounding the UN Fourth World Conference on Women to map how women's human rights discourse became a dominant language for transnational feminism. She is currently working as a community researcher on a project run out of the Disability Research Initiative at the University of Melbourne. She has a special interest in Greek-Turkish relations, human rights in Turkey, and the relationship between feminism and human rights.



Women as Humans: Human Rights, Feminisms, and Rethinking the Human

Amber Karanikolas, Community Researcher on a project run out of the Disability Research Initiative at the University of Melbourne.

To come up against what functions, for some, as a limit case of the human is a challenge to rethink the human. And the task to rethink the human is part of the democratic trajectory of evolving human rights jurisprudence.[1]

Who is the subject of human rights? Or, to put the question another way, who has the right to be human? Do women? The concept of human rights is continually evolving, and it is used in diverse ways. Human rights can encompass the many forms of 'rights-talk' that social movements use to make their claims, and internationally, recognition of human rights is proliferating. Although not denoting global compliance with human rights norms, it is now commonplace to declare that we live in an age of human rights.

This claim references the expansion of human rights law and theory over the course of the twentieth century – what Upendra Baxi has called the 'overproduction of human rights'[2]. Human rights may now be considered universal in the sense that all states have formally endorsed them and citizens and organisations all over the world invoke them for a wide range of causes.[3] Yet even given the apparent expansiveness and malleability of human rights, feminist critiques persist.

Some advocates of women's human rights concede that although the concept of human rights may not be 'unproblematic...from a feminist standpoint', the discourse can still provide a vocabulary for women to 'assert their needs in the language of the powerful'.[4] Other scholars and critical theorists, feminist and otherwise, caution that there are pitfalls – as well as potentials – in a human rights discourse for women and feminism. Many emphasise what Ratna Kapur (following David Kennedy) refers to as the 'dark side' of the human rights project: its modernist narrative of progress, its universal, de-historicized, neutral and inclusive claims, and the atomised, insular liberal subject that it presupposes.[5]

...underlying problem with women's human rights may be, as Catherine MacKinnon phrased it, that being a woman is 'not yet a name for a way of being human'.

Feminist approaches to human rights must reckon with and overcome the imaginary, abstract human. They must provide spaces within which to 'imagine justice in registers that are both normatively and philosophically disruptive and disquieting'.

They argue that the subject of human rights reflects a distinctly masculine experience, and that rights are 'defined by the criterion of what men fear will happen to them'. [6] For instance, the 'first generation' of rights, including to individual liberty and to participate in political life, rest on a vision of an unencumbered (male) self who has 'a degree of separateness and independence' unfamiliar to most women. [7]

The underlying problem with women's human rights may be, as Catherine MacKinnon phrased it, that being a woman is 'not yet a name for a way of being human'. [8] Why is invoking the stark, naked human subject perceived as one of the strongest possible ways of making claims on behalf of any subjected or oppressed social group? As Kennedy has argued, the extent to which emancipatory projects must be expressed in the language of rights to be heard means other strategies that are not framed in this way may go unattended. [9] To what extent has the women's human rights movement de-legitimised alternative feminist international legal theories and forms of political action outside the confines of liberal legality and legal justice? [10] The appeal to women's human rights may simply re-cast the problem of women's *de-subjectification*, whereby women are already 'deemed less than human, or as having departed from the recognisable human community', as Judith Butler puts it. [11] Indeed, even the motto of the women's human rights movement, '*Women's Rights are Human Rights*' turns on women's status as Other, or not yet *fully human*. This statement attempts to re-figure women as belonging to the recognisable human community but within the boundaries of the imaginary of the liberal, humanist subject.

The current women's human rights movement ought to re-think the limits of the human. This re-thinking could spur important new intellectual and reflexive practices. Feminist approaches to human rights must reckon with and overcome the imaginary, abstract human. They must provide spaces within which to 'imagine justice in registers that are both normatively and philosophically disruptive and disquieting'. [12] Rather than signaling a repudiation of human rights, a critical re-examining of women's human rights could actually develop a more robust international legal theory, and a political praxis for the collective re-imagining of alternative futures beyond the area of women's human rights.

- [1] Butler, J. (2004), *Precarious Life: the Powers of Mourning and Violence*, (London: Verso), p. 90.
- [2] Baxi, U. (1998), 'Voices of Suffering the Future of Human Rights', *Transnational Law and Contemporary Problems*, Vol. 8, Issue 2, p. 125.
- [3] Asad, T. (2000), 'What do Human Rights Do? An Anthropological Enquiry', *Theory & Event*, Vol. 4, Issue 4.
- [4] Fileborn, B. (2010), 'Addressing Sexual Assault Through Human Rights Instruments', *Australian Centre for the Study of Sexual Assault (ACSSA) Aware*, No. 25; O'Hare, U. A. (1999). 'Realising Human Rights for Women', *Human Rights Quarterly*, Vol. 21, Issue 2, p. 380.
- [5] Kapur, R. (2006), 'Human Rights in the 21st Century: Take a Walk on the Dark Side', *Sydney Law Review*, Vol. 28, Issue 4, pp. 665-687.
- [6] Kapur, R. (2012), 'Un-Veiling Equality: Disciplining the 'Other' Woman Through Human Rights Discourse', in Ellis, M., Emon, A. & Glahn, B. (eds.), *Islamic and International Law: Searching for Common Ground*, (Oxford University Press), p. 272.
- [7] McNay, L. (1992), *Foucault and Feminism: Power, Gender and the Self*, (Cambridge: Polity Press), p. 169.
- [8] MacKinnon, C. A., (2007), *Are Women Human?: and Other International Dialogues*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University), p. 43.
- [9] Kennedy, D. (2004), *Dark Sides of Virtue: Reassessing International Humanitarianism*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press); Kennedy, D. (2014), 'The International Human Rights Regime: Still Part of the Problem?', in *Examining Critical Perspectives on Human Rights*, (eds.) Dickinson, R., Katselli, E., Murray C. & Pedersen, O. W, (Cambridge University Press), p. 20.
- [10] Kapur, R. (2015), 'Precarious Desires and Ungrievable Lives: Human Rights and Postcolonial Critiques of Legal Justice', *London Review of International Law*, Vol. 3, Issue 2, pp. 269.
- [11] Butler, J. (2004), *Precarious Life: the Powers of Mourning and Violence*, (London: Verso), p. 57.
- [12] Kapur, 'Precarious Desires', p. 268.



IN THE VILLAGE

PHOTOGRAPHS BY
JILL GOCHER

PHOTOJOURNALIST, EDITOR, MEDIA CONSULTANT

Balinese villages are full of life and fun. The people are earthy and real. Occupied in day to day activities, they have no time for anything more sophisticated than village gossip and their next upcoming ceremony.

This village just outside the cultural heart of Ubud, was involved in their Mapeed or procession - a 400 meter long line of women carrying tall offerings on their head. After this procession, which culminates at their village temple, there would be prayer before dance performances that would last long into the night. It is always a happy time and everyone enjoys getting dressed in their best finery to appear before the resident gods and of course, to impress their neighbours.

www.jill-gocher.jimdo.com/
www.amazon.com/author/jillgocher



Sunset procession.



Face of a boy.



Mummy's security.



Offerings in the sunset.



Village watchers.



Simple beauty.



Watching.



GLIMPSES OF MELAKA

PHOTOGRAPHS BY MIKYOUNG CHA

Before the arrival of the first Sultan, Malacca was a fishing village inhabited by local Malays known as Orang Laut. Malacca was founded by Parameswara, also known as Iskandar Shah or Sri Majara, the last Raja of Temasek (present day Singapore) following a Majapahit attack in 1377. He found his way to Malacca around 1400.

According to a popular legend, Parameswara was resting under a tree near a river during a hunt, when one of his dogs cornered a mouse deer. In self-defence, the mouse deer pushed the dog into the river. Impressed by the courage of the deer, and taking it as a propitious omen of the weak overcoming the powerful, Parameswara decided then and there to found an empire on that very spot. He named it 'Melaka' after the tree where he had taken shelter, the Melaka tree (Malay: *Pokok Melaka*). (wikipedia)



Christ Church (1753), Dutch Square, Melaka, is built in Dutch Colonial architecture style. The ceiling is spanned by wooden beams, each carved from a single tree. The roof is covered with Dutch tiles and the walls were raised using Dutch bricks built on local laterite blocks then coated with Chinese plaster. The floors of the church are paved with granite blocks originally used as ballast for merchant ships. (Wikipedia)



The Melaka River cuts across Melaka town on its way to the Straits of Malacca.



Hotel Puri, a heritage building, on Jalan Tun Tan Cheng Lock.



Chen Hoon Teng Temple: The prayer rituals that you will observe in the temple have been practiced in Melaka since the Chinese first settled here. Constructed in 1673, Cheng Hoon Teng, or Green Clouds Temple, is the oldest functioning temple in the country. Dedicated to Kwan Yin, the Goddess of Mercy, it is devoted equally to the three doctrines – Taoism, Confucianism and Chinese-Buddhism. Every aspect of the temple tells a story about the Chinese in Melaka, their lives, their beliefs and their concerns.



Jalan Tun Tan Cheng Lock before the morning rush.



Eng Choon Association on Jalan Tun Tan Cheng Lock (Heeren Street) is a clan association for Chinese immigrants in Melaka who originated from the Eng Choon District of Fujian Province in China.



The Chee Ancestral Mansion, designed by J.E.Westerhout is a mix of architectural styles – Chinese, Portuguese, Dutch and English. The mansion was built in 1925 in honour of Chee Yam Chuan, a prominent Baba businessman whose ancestry in Melaka dates back to the early 18th century.



OSLOB, CEBU

PHOTOGRAPHS

BY

MARK L CHAVES

I remember learning in primary school that Ferdinand Magellan was the first person to circumnavigate the world. Actually, he didn't. All Filipinos such as me know that Magellan died during that historic voyage in a place near Cebu, Philippines, March 1521.

Cebu is a 5,000 sq. km island in a region called the Visayas. Cebu City, was the first capital of the Philippines and is the country's oldest city.

On the south end of the island, about four hours by bus from Cebu City, lies the village of Oslob Poblacion. Exactly 494 years, to the month, after Magellan met his fate, I stepped back-in-time onto the hot, dusty streets of Oslob. It is an enchanted place where one can still witness men in their outriggers fishing the rich offerings of the sea and women bringing their husbands' catch to market or into their kitchens for the family supper.



Cuartel (Spanish barracks) ruins overlooking the Bohol Sea.



Main entrance to Oslob's largest general store.



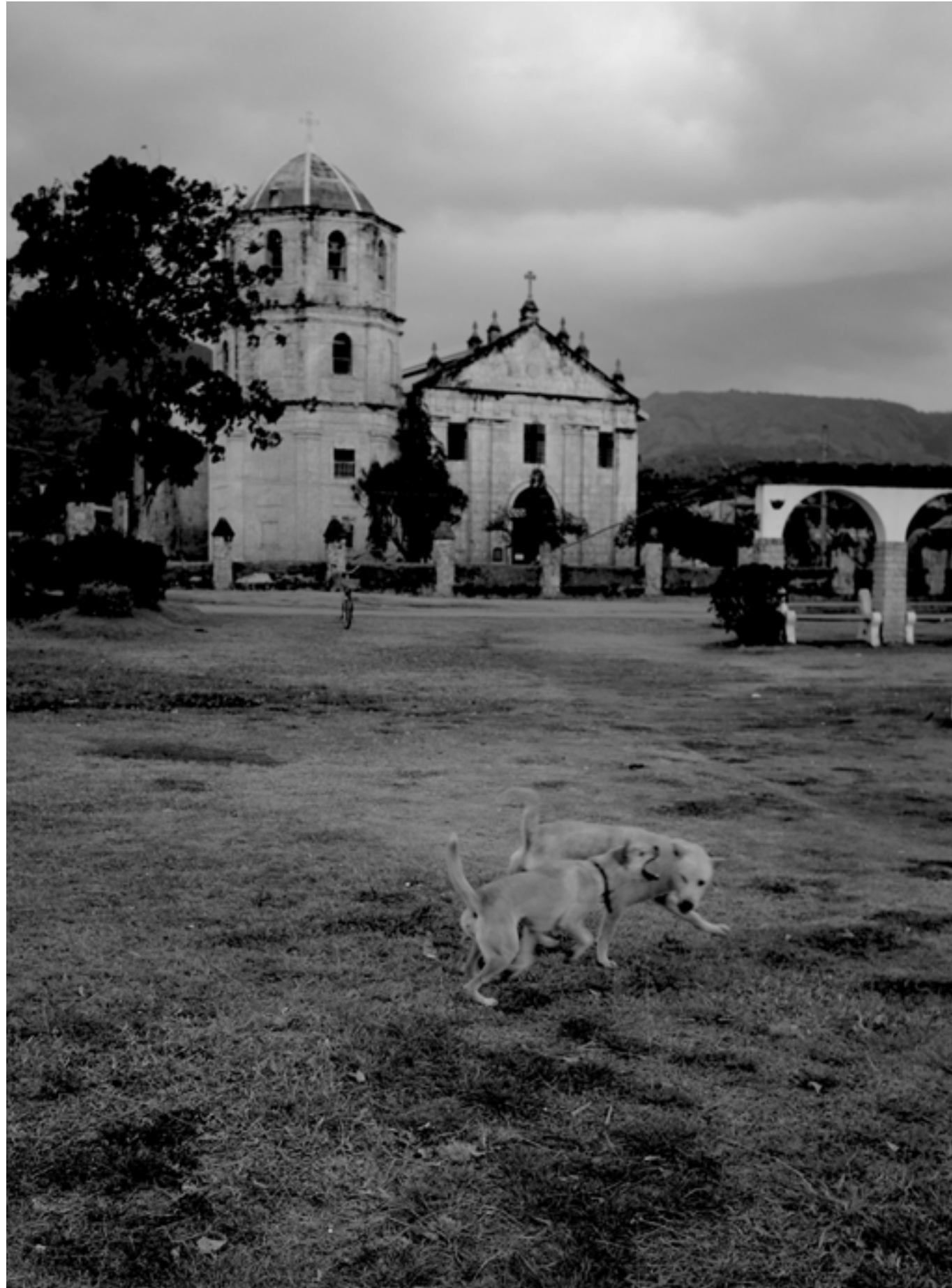
Morning rush hour at Julie's Bakery.



Passengers disembark at Liloan Port Santander, Cebu.



A fisherman in a traditional banca outrigger at sunset.



Our house dog playing with a local stray.



A motorized tricycle waits at the Church of the Immaculate Conception.

www.ozlemsturkishtable.com
www.ozlemwarren.myforever.biz



YUMURTALI PIDE

Pide, Turkish oval flat breads, are much loved at home; they are the ultimate snack and our “to go” food, our version of “Pizza”. Many of you kindly expressed that you enjoyed my Pide with Spinach, Peppers and Feta as well as Pide with Ground Meat and Vegetables with recipes here and asked for variations. Hence comes this new Pide recipe with cheese, tomato with a cracked egg in the middle, Yumurtali Pide.

This pide hails from the Kayseri region in Middle Anatolia, where locals would also use region’s wonderful delicacy, Pastirma – dried cured and thinly sliced beef over the topping. An egg would be cracked in the middle of each pide at the last 4-5 minutes of baking and then baked further until the egg is just set, delicious. I used medium cheddar cheese (kasar as we call it in Turkish) along with grated mozzarella at the topping, they worked well. The addition of warm milk at this dough made the crust slightly softer with still a nice texture to it.

I hope you enjoy this delicious, easy to make Yumurtali Pide; you can alter the topping and add on your choice of cheese or slices of dried cured beef or pastrami too. This wonderful Pide would also go down very well for Turkish style breakfast or brunch.



TURKEY



Pide, Turkish flat bread with cheese, pepper, tomato with a cracked egg, Kayseri Style © Ozlem Warren

Serves 8

Ingredients

- For the dough:
- 300 gr/ 10 ½ cups all-purpose plain flour
- 7gr dried yeast
- 5 ml/ 1 tsp. sugar
- 5 ml / 1 tsp. salt
- 4 fl. oz./112 ml/1/2 cup warm water
- 2 ½ fl oz. / 70 ml / ⅓ cup warm milk
- 45ml/3 tbsp. olive oil
- 1 egg + 5 ml/ 1 tsp. olive oil to brush the pide
- For the topping:
- 60 gr / 2 oz. medium cheddar cheese, thinly sliced
- 110 gr/ 4 oz. grated mozzarella
- ½ medium tomato, deseeded and thinly sliced
- ¼ green bell pepper, cut in half and thinly sliced
- 2 eggs (one egg for each pide) to crack over pide topping
- Red pepper flakes / Turkish pul biber to sprinkle over the egg

Instructions

01. Preheat the oven to 180 C/ 350 F

02. Stir in the dried yeast and sugar in a small bowl and pour in ½ cup warm water. Dissolve and mix the yeast in water. Set aside for the yeast mixture to get frothy for 5 minutes.



Ozlem in the kitchen © Ozlem Warren

03. Combine the flour and salt in a large bowl. Make a well in the middle and pour in 2 tbsp. olive oil and the yeast mixture. Also stir in the warm milk to the flour mixture. Using your hands, draw in the flour from the sides and work the mixture into a dough. On a floured surface, knead for 3 -5 minutes, until you reach a soft, smooth dough. The dough may get sticky as you knead, so pour the remaining 1 tbsp. olive oil and add a little more flour if needed to help shape into a soft dough.

04. Grease a large bowl with a little olive oil, place the dough and cover with a cling film. Leave the dough in a warm place for 1 hour to rise.

05. Once the dough is risen, place the dough on a lightly floured surface. Knead the dough for a minute then divide the dough into two pieces and roll into two balls. On a lightly floured surface, roll the dough balls into 2 oval shapes of 20 cm x 40 cm (about 8"x16"), with ½ cm (0.2") thickness.

06. Line a large baking tray with baking paper and place the 2 oval flat bread dough on the tray.

07. Spread the grated mozzarella cheese, cheddar cheese, sliced peppers and tomatoes evenly over the 2 flat breads, leaving 2 cm at the edges as a border with no filling (I've found it's easier to spread the filling while the oval dough is in the tray). Fold in the sides to act as border to keep the filling intact. Squeeze the oval dough at each end to make it pointy.

08. Beat an egg in a small bowl and mix it with 1 tsp. olive oil. Brush the edges of dough with this mixture. Bake for 18 minutes, until the pides golden and crispy at the edges.

09. Take the pide tray out of the oven and carefully crack an egg in the middle of each pide. Return to the oven and bake for another 4-5 minutes; take care not to overcook the egg; it should be just set with the yolk still runny.

10. Sprinkle red pepper flakes, Turkish pul biber over the egg, cut in slices and serve while warm.

Ulyseas is founder and editor of *Live Encounters Magazine* and *Live Encounters Poetry*. 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*.

<http://www.amazon.com/author/markulyseas>



MY FLAG IS WHITE

MARK ULYSEAS



“Because each nation has its own history of thieving and lies and broken faith, therefore there can only flourish international suspicion and jealousy, and international moral shame becomes anæmic to a degree of ludicrousness. The nation's bagpipe of righteous indignation has so often changed its tune according to the variation of time and to the altered groupings of the alliances of diplomacy, that it can be enjoyed with amusement as the variety performance of the political music hall.”

— Rabindranath Tagore, Nationalism

The flag I now carry is white.
No anthem.
No religious trinkets or lucky charms.
No colours denoting caste, creed or nationality.
A surrender to love, compassion and harmony.
A surrender to all the beauty that surrounds me.

There is too much hate. The profits from doom are rising and those collecting these profits are people who thrive on selling violence. It is now akin to porn that degenerates the soul by warping the senses and transforming one into a senseless *Being*. Many have become addicts to watching violent news, purveyors of others' misfortunes. The media plays along for it needs the revenue.

The world is spiralling into another third world war. Or so say the peddlers of news. But this is not true. Humanity has been at war with itself since earth began hosting this species. The paradox is that this violent species has created so much beauty. Perhaps it is this that holds Mother Nature's hands from kicking us out of her home, unceremoniously with all our ceremonies.

Let us look around and appreciate the magnificence that humanity has created in word and form and dwell upon this. Contemplate the fabulous contributions by artists of all hues. And the more we do this the more focussed we will become. Hopefully this will morph into an enchanting obsession thereby drawing us away from the ugliness of hate in its many avatars.

In the words of Nelson Mandela, “No one is born hating another person because of the colour of his skin, or his background, or his religion. People must learn to hate, and if they can learn to hate, they can be taught to love, for love comes more naturally to the human heart than its opposite.”

So choose white, a white flag, and surrender to all things bright and beautiful.

Om Shanti Shanti Shanti Om

Live Encounters celebrates 6 years 2010-2015

Live encounters

**Free online magazine from village earth
September 2016**



Photograph by Mark Ulyseas