



AJDS Newsletter

Volume 12, Issue 1

February 2011

www.ajds.org.au

THIS IS THE ONE AJDS AGM YOU SHOULDN'T MISS

AJDS members enjoy different levels of involvement, and many members have never felt a need to attend an AGM. This year however, all members are urged to attend our Annual General Meeting on 13 February because, rather than just considering actions for year ahead, we will be opening discussions about the general directions for the organisation. This is why your involvement is crucial.

The front page article in our last newsletter introduced some of the actual and potential directions and changes considered by the current AJDS executive. A finance sub committee has developed a plan that includes the employment of a part-time worker, changes to the newsletter (which will now only come out quarterly), and a sad end to our decade long relationship with the Middle East News Service.

These changes provide mechanisms for renewal. However, how we understand this renewal is for you, the members to decide. Don't let the decision be made without your input. AJDS's future depends on it.

Annual General Meeting

1.00pm barbecue*, 2.00pm meeting

Sunday 13 February 2011

1590 High St Glen Iris

****Bring your own meat & grog, salads etc supplied.***

Contact Tom 9885 6260 for more details.

If you are renewing your membership bring cash or cheque.

Momentous times in the Middle East

It goes without saying that as we go to press, momentous events are continuing to unfold in the Middle East. We know what happened in Tunisia. We cannot tell what will happen in Egypt, which may make everything else change again. However, we can say with some certainty that there will be a new Middle East and a lot of what has hitherto been taken for granted needs to be re-evaluated. But at any rate for us, just as important has been the release of the Palestine Papers by Al Jazeera and the *Guardian*, which is now complete. One way or the other, now is the time to take stock and not waste energy repeating worn-out mantras.

The Palestine Papers themselves told us very little that seasoned observers of the area were not aware of. From Uri Avnery on the Left to his counterparts on the right, commentators have pointed chapter and verse that the Palestinian position on questions like borders, Jerusalem and refugees have already been documented. Similarly, anyone with access to the Internet would have been fa-

miliar with the Israeli intransigence. Yes, we are now in possession of more anecdotes and we also have some petty details. But in the final analysis, who cares if a Palestinian delegate expressed his affection for Ariel Sharon, calling him a friend? We may wince at Tzipi Livni, a former Israeli Justice Minister, who does not believe in international law, but then again, so what? This is secondary; the fundamental positions of both sides have been there for all to see for quite some time.

As Gideon Levy pointed out in *Haaretz*, Israel is unlikely to ever get a better deal than the one offered by the Palestinian leadership on this occasion: all the settlements in East Jerusalem -- bar the post-Oslo Har Homa -- to be under Israeli sovereignty, settlements near the Green Line to be annexed and the vast majority of Palestinian refugees to lose their claim to return to Israel. But the Israeli leadership wanted more.

Of course it is a moot point whether the current Palestin-

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The views expressed in this Newsletter are not necessarily those of the AJDS. These are expressed in its own statements.

What we stand for:

- Social justice and human rights.
- Opposition to the vilification and mandatory detention of asylum seekers.
- The struggle against racism, antisemitism in particular.
- Non-violent paths to conflict resolution.
- In line with this, the search for a negotiated solution to the Israel/Palestinian conflict.
- Equal rights, including land rights and justice, for Indigenous Australians.

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ian leadership around Abu Mazen (Mahmoud Abbas) can actually deliver. In the eyes of their own people they have been exposed for not taking those people into their confidence. They have also shown a great deal of disdain for the democratic process. Abu Mazen's own term as president expired two years ago, but he seems in no hurry for new elections. It was the Fatah leadership around him that chose to take the initiative in breaking up the national unity government. That government would have undoubtedly been a tougher negotiating partner. But on the other hand it would have had the advantage of being able to carry the Palestinian people with it, thus making its signature much more meaningful. It is logical to assume that the Palestinian Authority was offering concessions that would probably not have been acceptable to most Palestinians. Such an offer has dubious value.

Above all, the Palestine Papers have done away with the great charade game that has been played over the peace process. Everybody: Fatah, Hamas, the Palestinian people, the Israeli leadership and its own people as well as international committees knew what was happening. Everyone knew that everyone else knew, but everyone pretended not to know. Now it is all out in the open. No one can pretend anymore.

And then there is Egypt. Even if Mubarak does survive, and at this stage there aren't many people taking bets on that, the situation has changed forever. Future Egyptian leaders will have to be seen by their own people as more independent, acting in Egypt's interest and not at the behest of the United States and Israel. The turmoil there will affect the way of thinking of every single Arab leader, each of whom will be watching his (none are female) back. The status quo is no more.

No fear of democracy

Mitchell Plitnick explained the implication in his Meretz USA blog: "One of the greatest fears of both the US and Israel has always been Arab democracy. For all the pro-democracy rhetoric that comes from both Tel Aviv and Washington, there is a reason that there has never been serious pressure on any Middle Eastern country to democratise. And that is because policies that reflect the will of the people will reflect the interests of the countries themselves, which will often be very different from Israeli or American interests. It may be impossible to generalise about 'what Arabs want', but it's pretty clear that the vast majority want stronger action in support of the Palestinians and that a similar if not even greater majority wishes to see the resources of the Arab world used to benefit the Arab masses, rather than a few elites and their partners in Europe and the USA."

The current Egyptian leadership may not survive and neither may be the current Palestinian leadership in Ramallah. Israel and its friends will just have to wait for a new leadership, the kind that reflects the will of their people to come forward. Then Israel will have to negotiate in good faith, because **one thing has not changed** and that is the principles behind any future agreement. We still need a two-state solution based on the 1967 borders to fulfil the national aspirations of two people.

The Editors of the *Guardian* expressed it best: "[The two-state solution] is still achievable despite the agony of these revelations and the conflicts of the last two decades. But such a deal requires both sides to make difficult concessions; in other conflicts we always praise those who do so. Such deals, however, rely on popular consent....

"It is often said that talks succeed only when each side can put itself in the shoes of the other. To imagine that Abu Mazen could put to a referendum a deal in which Israel got its way on all the core issues – settlements, Jerusalem, the return of refugees – and to imagine that such a deal would be durable, is the ultimate failure of a negotiator's imagination. To say how and where this deal fell short, is not to undermine the goal. It is the only way left of rescuing it."

Nothing to do but to concur.

Sol Salbe

So this is goodbye

Sol Salbe

The norm in the 21st century is for editors to find out that their last edition was their last one. It feels really lucky to be able to say goodbye properly and assess the past.

One may wonder where to start but it's easy: guidelines. The overarching theme of my editorship was "we start where the other ones stop". If your entire reading was confined to this *Newsletter* then your world view may well have been distorted, but if you also have access to the mainstream media and the Internet, we would have given you a better perspective.

I never sought to push a particular line. Yes, we are for peace; more than that, we are great believers in negotiations as alternatives to war, but within this context the idea was to provide a range of views. And it never mattered if those views were diametrically opposed to each other. Thus the late Henry Zimmerman could sing Ayaan Hirsi Ali's praises in one review, while Shakira Hussein was able to provide the very opposite view.

Driven by issues

This philosophy was applied across the board, and in nearly a hundred newsletters there were a lot of issues and events to cover. Some events chose themselves: the Iraq War, the Ashrawi debate, Palestinian terrorism and suicide bombings; the Second Lebanon War, Cast Lead and the whole issue of Boycotts, Divestments and Sanctions.

Other issues didn't dominate the headlines as much but were ours to cover. The Geneva Peace Initiative; the activities of those Israeli youngsters who refused to fight in an Occupation army and the soldiers who chose to tell the truth about what they have done and seen; the "security barrier" being built *inside* the Palestinian territories; attacks on the *Age* and SBS; climate change and antisemitism on the Left to name a few.

In all these, our contents were designed to help readers to engage with others in discussing the issues and provide a different point of view from the conventional wisdom.

The contents of the *Newsletter* sometimes reflected the interests and talents of AJDS members as well as those of friends – both of the organisation and the editor. It was a privilege to publish Jeremy Kenner's methodical and sharp analysis of major Palestinian Israel documents and the Centre for Jewish Civilisation community survey. Similarly I'd like to thank Harold Zwier for his contribution to free speech and the issue of vilification within the Jewish community. By drawing upon Jewish scholarship and values in addition to liberal democratic principles, he raised the standard to a new high. There were also some not so obvious subjects which we made our own, like Sudan/Darfur, West Papua and the Stolen Wages saga.

Many of the articles were taken from other publications with writers as varied as the Electronic Intifada's Ali

Abunimah, Israeli academic Shlomo Avineri, former minister Shlomo Ben-Ami, former Israeli Foreign Ministry Director-General David Kimche, *Ma'ariv* editor Amnon Dankner, ultra-orthodox MK Meir Porush, Australian expatriate and medical specialist Nathan Cherny and even a bloke by the name of William Jefferson Clinton. We were quite happy to publish people with whom we would otherwise disagree. Sometimes within months the same person might be criticised for telling fibs and published when they had a persuasive argument; the most notable example here being Amos Oz.



Sol Salbe

Needed to be pro-active

There was another theme that ran through almost every issue: the stories of good deeds that did not receive the coverage they deserved elsewhere. There was the young settler woman who persuaded her village's security chief to assist in getting a Palestinian child to a hospital in Israel, and the owners of the Leica camera company who used their company facilities to transfer hundreds of Jews out of Nazi Germany, thereby saving their lives.

Getting a story out is important. A controversy over a piece of artwork in Flinders Lane would have remained just "the story that everyone got wrong" until a bit of digging came up with a photo that gave us a whole new angle. Interesting stories can cover almost anything, and we did have a few, including the Jewish origins of Superman and the other superheroes, the life of Melbourne Activist Zelda D'Aprano, or encounters with visitors to town like Israeli journalist/filmmaker Anat Saragusti or Palestinian activist Saif Abukeshek, the popularity of Hebrew music in Gaza and even the fascinating history of the Bagel Makers Union.

And then again there were the obituaries. While the loss of AJDS giants like Norman Rothfield, Evelyn Rothfield, Henry Zimmerman and Renate Kamener filled us with sadness at least I felt I was able to enrich readers' lives with their life stories. Obituaries of others were used in order to inform and educate. Some, like Lebanese writer and publisher Mai

Ghoussoub, were people whom none of us would have heard of beforehand. But so many people expressed their appreciation of learning more about her and others like Israeli novelist S Yizhar, Melbourne Palestinian Patriarch Shaher Mashni, Nobel Prizewinner Jose Saramago and Issy Wyner (the only person I've heard of who received the minutes of the Communist International for his barmitzvah!). None filled me with more pride than the story of Youssef Chaahine, the great Egyptian secular film director. Getting the information about Chaahine from one of Israel's own great film directors, Amos Gitai, was a professional highlight.

It has been a marvellous time.

Serious publication require light-hearted material that breaks the monotony while styling on message. Here's one of my favourite examples:

While watching Parramatta play Canterbury a few weeks ago, I saw a Muslim woman in the crowd wearing a hijab in Parramatta colours. If that is not integrated, I don't know what is.

Aaron Watson Potts Point (letter to SMH)

Jericho peace conference

Naphtali Raz

For many on the Israeli Left, the publication of the Palestine Papers marked a profound need for a new way of working with the Palestinian people. Others, however, continue to work with Palestinian peace organisations towards a solution. Their point of view is represented by this article –Ed.

I have visited the West Bank dozens of times for demonstrations, tours and meetings. But this time I spent two whole days there at a gathering of the Palestinian Israeli Peace NGO Forum. In the past, due to the great difficulty of getting entry permits for our Palestinian colleagues, we had to travel further afield to Jordan, Italy and Turkey, and many times we ended up feeling frustrated. This time, in Jericho - like our parents who witnessed the birth of the State of Israel - I felt like a participant/witness to the birth pangs of the state of Palestine and of peace.

The peace organisations forum was established five



The magnitude and opulence of the overseeing Peres Centre does not inspire confidence for peace.

years ago under the tutelage of the Israeli Peres Centre for Peace steered by the diligent and wise hands of Dr Ron Pundak and Yael Patir - and under the Palestinian umbrella of "Panorama", initially under the leadership of Riad Malki, who was later to serve as the Palestinian Foreign Minister, and then by Saman Houry, the general manager of the Peace and Democracy Forum and Nisreen Abu-Ziad. The Forum brings together the heads of a hundred Israeli and Palestinian peace groups. This time, over 200 people attended the gathering at the Intercontinental Hotel. And (note this, Knesset members Ben-Ari, Kirshenbaum, Danon and Netanyahu!) the funding came from the EU. The diversity of participants and their organisations is part of the story, so I will detail it a bit (taking it all down, parliamentary investigators?...), and I do ask for your forgiveness for not mentioning all the 80 Israelis, 70 Palestinians and 50 internationals.

Among the leaders of the Israeli peace camp who participated were: Hagit Ofra - Settlement Watch,

coordinator of Peace Now; Dr Aharon Barnea of the Parents Circle, a forum of bereaved families for peace; Dr Gershon Baskin Israeli CEO of the Israel/Palestine Centre for Research and Information [IPCRI]; Mossi Raz,



Naphtali Raz

Director All for Peace Radio; Jamal Alkiranawi and Judith Korda-Recanati co-chairpersons of Social Workers For Peace; Judy Lotz - Yesh Din; Dr Daniel Argo - Sheikh Jarrah solidarity movement; Yudith Oppenheimer - Executive Director Ir Amim; Anna Veeder - Emek Shaveh; Dr Alla Shain-skaya - Our Heritage (immigrants from the former USSR); Dr Sarah Ozacky-Lazar - Van Leer Institute; Ruth Atzmon - Windows; Amos Davidovich - Yaari Centre; Tal Harris - CEO One Voice; Rabbi Dr Ron Kronish - director of the Interreligious Coordinating Council; Yizhar Be'er - CEO Keshev; Attorney Hassan Jabareen - Adalah; Gadi Kenny co-founder Wounded [Crossing](#) Borders and People Peace Fund and Hillel Schenker, Co-Editor Palestine-Israel Journal. Other speakers included Ronit Heyd - CEO Shatil, Kadima MK Orit Zuretz, Labour MK Avishai Braverman. I participated as an organiser for the council for Peace Initiatives as well as my colleague Professor Dan Jacobson. As I also wore my *On the Left Side* hat, so you, the readers, are entitled to a report.

Among the heads of the Palestinian peace organisations (yes, there are dozens of them!) Participating were: Ziad Abu-Ziad Co-Editor *Palestine-Israel Journal* and former Minister in the Palestinian Authority government; Hanna Siniora - CEO - Chairman of IPCRI; Maysa Baransi-Siniora, Co-Director All for Peace; Ali Abu Awad, Parents Circle; Nidal Fqaha - CEO of the Palestinian Coalition for Peace (Geneva Initiative); Raed Hadar-Combatants for Peace; Sawsan Samara - Seeds for Peace; Mohammad Joudeh - Hiwar Centre for Peace; Husam al - Meghari - Palestinian Youth Union for Cooperation and Peace; Taleb al-Harithi - Palestinian Peace Society; Khaled Abu-Kaf the Al-Quds Association for Dialogue and Democracy; Musa Abu-Maria - Freedom and Justice Centre; Dr Omar al-Aloom - Al Tareeq; Issa Abu Eram - Arabian Culture and Information Centre; Fatma Faroon - CEO Shorouq-Charitable Society for Women and Adeb Saleem - International Peace and Cooperation Centre.

Among international participants: representatives from the UN, the EU, from USAID, the Society of Friends (Quakers), the World Bank, the Friedrich Ebert Fund; diplomats from ten countries including Russia, Italy, Poland and South Africa and many reporters.

Recognition of independence of Palestine – an Israeli interest

In order to receive an IDF permit to enter Jericho (which

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is in Area A), we Israelis were asked to sign an indemnity form taking personal responsibility for our own safety. At the entrance to Jericho there is a Palestinian checkpoint, and for the next two days armed Palestinian police in uniform accompanied us for our protection.

After a welcome from the governor of Jericho, Majid Al-Fatyani, the gathering opened with a pre-prepared Israeli declaration read by Dr Ron Pundak:

"The leadership of the Israeli Peace NGOs Forum announces today the recognition of an independent Palestinian state based on the '67 borders alongside Israel with Jerusalem as the capital of two states. We call on the Government of Israel to adopt this approach ... recognition of the independence of Palestine is an Israeli interest to end the conflict ... as representatives of Israeli organisations we stress the urgent need to salvage the two-state solution and immediately resume negotiations until their completion."

Palestinian representatives welcomed the recognition and expressed their continuing support for the Palestinian Authority's leadership "in its search for a just and sustainable peace and ending the Occupation and the conflict".

No to a one-State solution

The discussions were fascinating. Ziad Abu-Ziad summed up the Palestinian participants' comments when he said: "We are opposed to a single state of all people of the area, a recipe for constant friction. But if the settlement building continues and the peace talks are constantly brought to a standstill, there will be no

room for a Palestinian state, and we'll have to think again."

The recent leaks from the Israeli-Palestinian negotiations have again proven to us, Israeli delegates, that there is a Palestinian partner and the onus is on the government of Israel to prove that it is also a partner. The leaks also embarrassed the Palestinian delegates and caused the cancellation of the participation of Palestinian Prime Minister Salam Fayyad and the Former Foreign Minister Nabil Shaath and our tour of Ramallah.

On the second day we toured the Jordan Valley and the Jericho region. The suffocation caused by settlements was vividly illustrated in the village of Auja. The 4500 residents are having their land and water springs steadily stolen by the settlements of Yitav, an abbreviation of Yad Yitzhak Tabenkin [named after a labour movement stalwart] with its 120 residents, mainly immigrants from the former Soviet Union.



Maysa Baransi-Siniora

After the gathering broke up we said our farewells with excitement tinged with optimism. Even with the negotiations on hold, even with the settlements, even with a reluctant Israeli leadership and a divided Palestinian leadership - we will overcome. We are now witnessing the birth pangs of peace and that of a Palestinian state. The birth pangs may be long and painful but the birth will surely come. Do not say "the day will come" bring forth the day!

An Arab and democratic TV channel

Elias Zaidan

Had a visitor from Mars compared current affairs programs on the Israeli TV channel in Arabic (Channel 33) with the equivalent Hebrew programs on channels 1, 2 and 10, he would come to an unequivocal conclusion: there is one channel that can be described as "Arabic and democratic" or more precisely "democratic and Arabic" and three channels can only be defined as "Jewish only".

On the Arabic-language channel, especially on political current affairs programs, both Arabs and Jews appear. You can find presenters, comperes, interviewees and panellists of both groups. This channel celebrates democracy. Democracy is celebrated to the extent of positive discrimination for Jews. You don't believe me? Here's an example: a few days ago I watched an entire program compered by Shlomo Ganor in which the participants were David Chacham, Roe Nahmias and Yochanan Tzoref. All are Jews who speak Arabic, some very well, some not so.

On the other hand, as a critic from Mars I would have concluded that the other three channels are "Jewish" because the presenters, comperes, interviewees and panellists are all Jews. That does not mean no one talks about "Arab affairs" on these channels, but on most occasions discussion of Arab matters takes place in their absence. The fact is that all the commentators on Arab affairs are

Jewish. It is as if they understand the Arabs better than the Arabs understand themselves.

Suppose this Martian researcher were to research the phenomenon further. What conclusions would he have drawn if he were to discover that the number of Palestinians who speak Hebrew is much larger than the number of Jews who speak Arabic? What is certain is that the researcher would have highly recommended to the three Hebrew channels (1, 2 and 10) that they learn from Israeli Arabic TV, and adopt the same policy towards Arabs as Israeli Arabic TV has towards Jews.

And what would be the response of the public, government and the aforementioned channels if the researcher's report were to be published widely throughout the galaxy? Presumably he would be accused of being biased against Jews. It would be alleged that, unquestionably, he made up his mind before even making contact with the channels. In light of all this, he is deserving of the epithet of an antisemite. If the same researcher wishes to explore the Israeli radio networks, he would be met with a refusal, for his conclusions are certainly biased. Therefore, the next Martian visit to Israel would not be approved and if somehow he managed to reach Israel, he would immediately be deported back to Mars.

**Originally published in left-wing Israeli site *Haakets*.
Translated from Hebrew by Sol Salbe.**

Hatred for migrants starts with criminalising

Pramila Jayapal

December last year marked the 10th anniversary of International Migrants Day and the 20th anniversary of the passage of the UN Convention to Protect Migrant Work-



Scene outside Woodside Town Hall, SA

ers. This is an important moment to reflect on the fact that today nearly one billion people are on the move across the world, and they are increasingly the target of hatred and violence.

That's why I am celebrating International Migrants Day by signing the pledge to respect immigrants everywhere by dropping the i-word and demanding that the media do the same.

Politicians and media alike use the word "illegal" to describe human beings without immigration status, sometimes shortening "illegal immigrant" to "illegals." While this may seem trivial to some, the language of criminality plays an enormous part in moving people along the continuum from language to violent behaviour. Calling people "illegal," describing them in ways that make them less than human, recasts them as members of an undeserving sub-class that are owed less respect than what would otherwise be acceptable for "regular" human beings.

We know that, leading up to and during World War II, language was a powerful factor in moving an ideological and genocidal agenda. The language of elimination of an entire race -- described as the "final solution" -- was used frequently and without apology. In the decades following the Holocaust, this kind of language was widely condemned and deemed unacceptable. And yet, as recently as this year, we have seen genocidal language directed at migrants worldwide.

Consider the recent statement of the deputy mayor of the Italian city of Treviso in relation to the issue of the undocumented Roma migrants: "I want a revolution against gypsies ... I want to eliminate all the gypsy children who steal."

Or consider the United States, where anti-immigrant extremists have painted a picture of all-out warfare that threatens the very idea of nationhood. Conservative commentator Pat Buchanan claimed on MSNBC that the influx of undocumented immigrants into the US is "an invasion, the greatest invasion in history ... the last scene is the deconstruction of the nation."

The leap from fearmongering to violence -- vigilantism or state-sponsored -- is surprisingly short. The imagery of

war and warfare helps to up the ante. After all, if this is really war, we must protect "our own."

Across the world, violence against immigrants is on the rise. The Libyan government, according to a report just released by Amnesty International, has been torturing undocumented African migrants through electric shock and beating, even shooting at fishing boats because they may have held "illegal immigrants."

In Sweden, shortly after the far right, anti-immigrant party won a place in Parliament for the first time, police arrested a 38-year-old man suspected of carrying out a dozen shootings, nearly all of immigrants, where one person died and eight were wounded.

In the United States, the FBI has documented a dramatic increase in reported hate crimes against Latinos, from 595 in 2003 to 888 in 2007. Along the US-Mexico border, armed vigilante groups who claim to be "dedicated to the defence of American patriotism" are on the rise, and the *New York Times* has consistently reported on the number of deaths that occur in detention centres due to callous disregard for medical needs of immigrant detainees.

One of our challenges in fighting the criminalisation of migrants is that the most extreme voices in the dehumanisation of immigrants have been legitimised by the media and politicians as representatives of the "other side" of the immigration debate. In spite of numerous reports from the Anti-Defamation League, the Southern Poverty Law Centre and Media Matters that call out the connections to clear racist and xenophobic ideologies, groups such as the Federation for American Immigration Reform are routinely called on to give testimony in Congress or provide comments for news stories. Their racism skews the bounds of reasonable discourse about immigrants -- and as a result sets extreme new bounds for reasonable policy, too.

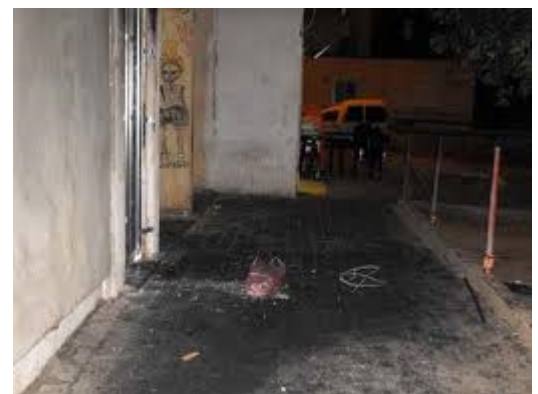
As economic insecurity heightens, Americans and Europeans who would otherwise support rational and human policies on migration --

polls consistently find vast majorities in this camp -- are drawn into fear. It becomes socially acceptable, and even personally necessary, to scapegoat or become violent towards someone else -- namely, immigrants.

In this polarised environment, some policy makers have fuelled the frenzy by embracing restrictionist policies that further criminalise immigrants. The success in exploiting fear in an increasingly fragile economic environment has



Pramila Jayapal



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led to fringe political parties across the world coming into power for the first time.

The *Guardian* has documented the rise of these fringe parties in Europe to "such a degree that they are now in the position of propping up governments." Parties that espouse anti-Muslim views have gained ground, and state-sponsored policies that ban core practices of Islam (such as burqas in France or minarets in Switzerland) are increasingly common. In the US, politicians who hold extreme anti-immigrant views are now in positions of power in the House of Representatives and are expected to introduce unprecedentedly regressive legislation, including an attempt to amend the Constitution's birthright-citizenship clause.

Some are also pushing back, recognising the real danger we face of escalating violence and polarization. In early

2010, Pope Benedict XVI, reacting to the riots in Southern Italy in which African immigrants were attacked, reminded people that, "An immigrant is a human being, different in background, culture and tradition, but a person to be respected, and possessing rights and duties.

...Violence must never be a way to resolve differences."

We need to push back more -- and take the hate out of the debate. It's time to stop using racist, fear-mongering language that promotes and even condones violence. It's time to create space for a rational, thoughtful and humane discussion around migration and immigration policies that support the economic and moral need for managed flows of people. Join me in celebrating International Migrants Day by taking a simple but significant stand for humanity. Take the pledge and drop the I-Word.

<http://colorlines.com/droptheiword/>

Pramila Jayapal is the founder and Executive Director of OneAmerica, an anti-hate US organisation.

Jewish women no longer at back of the bus

There is an alarming trend of gender segregation and gender discrimination in Jerusalem, spearheaded by segments of the ultra-Orthodox community. Examples include gender-segregated buses, which are currently growing in number under the authority of the Ministry of Transport. There are also escalating degrees of discrimination at the Western Wall and in the Jewish quarter, and there is a prohibition against presenting women in advertisements in the city's public spaces, according to Rachel Azaria, a city council member and founder of the social change organisation Yerushalmim (Jerusalemites).

Targum Shlishi is supporting Yerushalmim's program "Inclusive Jerusalem: The Struggle Against Religious Extremism" by funding a legal defence initiative to counter Haredi extremism. This pioneering initiative, established in 2010, seeks to raise public awareness of the issue of gender discrimination, and generate public pressure against the new extreme practices, and use the legal system to fight the discrimination.

"Our primary objective in this campaign is to re-establish the Zionist and inclusive nature of the Jewish sections of the Old City of Jerusalem," explains Azaria. "We are encouraged by the success we've achieved so far and also by the supportive responses from within the ultra-Orthodox community, both public delegates and citizens. They are supportive of our actions and relieved that something is finally being done to protect them against the extreme sects within their society."

In 2010 Yerushalmim initiated legal action against the gender-segregated buses, bringing the case to the Supreme Court of Israel. That legal campaign resulted in a court ruling in November 2010 stating that the buses are illegal, but that the arrangement could be maintained vol-

untarily. Yerushalmim was also involved in legal action in September 2010 when gender segregation was enforced on the main street in Me'ah She'arim and adjoining alleyways: the road and sidewalks were allocated to men only, while the women were instructed to walk on a narrow pathway. Yerushalmim petitioned the Supreme Court, which ruled that the police immediately remove all barriers.

"The increasing push for gender segregation and the growing instances of discrimination against women are simply unacceptable and in violation of the democratic ideals that the State of Israel was founded on," says Aryeh Rubin, director of Targum Shlishi. "Gender segregation is a slippery slope—history has shown us that segregation tends to foster discrimination, inequality, and lack of respect. It is significant that the discrimination is being effected by a very small, very vocal and powerful,

extreme segment of the population—much of the ultra-Orthodox community is opposed to this type of extremism. It is critical to address this issue now, and prevent further negative developments."

In 2011 Yerushalmim will continue combating gender segregation, discrimination, and the exclusion of women from Jerusalem's public arena by raising public awareness and bringing the attention of public delegates to this subject. Next steps will focus on the issues of women's images in the city

and the increasing expression of ultra-Orthodox extremism currently impacting the Jewish Quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem.

Received from Targum Shlishi, a group dedicated to providing a range of creative solutions to problems facing Jewry today. www.targumshlishi.org.



Gender segregation is not a new feature in Jerusalem

Dual loyalty: Jews, Muslims and national identity

Ilan Zvi Baron

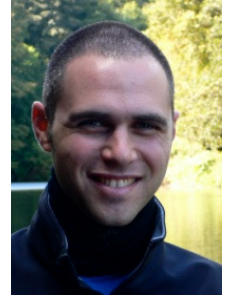
In Damascus in 1840, a Capuchin friar disappeared. A local Jewish barber was arrested and, after he was tortured, confessed to the disappearance. A mob subsequently attacked the local Jewish community and more Jews were arrested. The French government became involved due to its Middle Eastern ambitions, and supported the charges against the innocent barber. French Jews, however, became deeply concerned. As French citizens they should support France's foreign policy ambitions, but as Jews they could not stand behind their government's support of a malicious crime against Jews. Adolphe Crémieux, a Jewish French politician, eventually managed to secure the release of Jewish prisoners in Damascus. The victory, however, was a Pyrrhic one. French Jews were susceptible to accusations of disloyalty to France due to the perception that they would always choose to support Jews abroad over France.

These accusations emanate from what is often called dual loyalty, and while this example stems from 1840, it is by no means an isolated case and Jews are not the only victims of this charge. During the Second World War, Canadians and Americans of Japanese ancestry were viewed with enough suspicion for both governments to confiscate the property of these citizens. By 1942, they were interned in camps that were not closed until 1946. It took until 1965 for official compensation to be dispensed in the USA, with the first apology not made until 1988 although further compensation and legal issues continued until 1992. In Canada it was not until 1988 that the Canadian government issued a formal apology along with compensation. Today, it is Muslims who are becoming increasingly targeted as having dual loyalty, and the debate over dual loyalty is now framed as a problem of population diversity, national identity, multiculturalism, and the politics of difference.

Accusations directed against minority populations as not belonging 'enough' to the nation are not new, but they are deeply troubling. This problem challenges some of the underpinnings of the modern state system. This system is based on nation-states and, importantly, on the political idea that a stable domestic community and a relatively stable international community require that each state is based on a homogenous nation. In order to add credibility to the idea that there is a national body, the nation is presumed to have existed before the state came into being, and that the state reflects the national unity and similarity of its population. The problem, however, is that no state has ever been homogenous, and this retroactive reading of the national-identity does not change this fact. It would make more empirical sense to think in terms of nations-states as opposed to nation-states, but we do not use this language.

Why we do not use this language is important, because the spectre of dual loyalty is all around us. In 2007 the

former Attorney General of England and Wales, Lord Goldsmith, proposed a new national holiday to celebrate "Britishness" as a way for the state to further develop a national identity that was without too much difference. It is worth noting that this proposal emerged in large part out of a concern about the loyalty of British Muslims, and that this loyalty was questioned due to the deadly 2005 July bombings in London, an attack at Glasgow airport in 2007, and increased fear over the threat of so-called "home-grown terrorists." In October 2010, the German Chancellor Angela Merkel claimed that multiculturalism in Germany had failed. Switzerland, never a bastion of multicultural tolerance, has nonetheless prohibited the construction of minarets (although apparently there are only 4 minarets



Ilan Zvi Baron



Suggestion of dual loyalty during WWII in Australia led to internment camp such as this one in Tatura.

in the whole country). Right-wing nationalist parties, often with anti-Islamist ideas, are growing in popularity across Europe. The Swedish Democrats have been working on preventing the construction of any new mosques in Sweden, along with French-like prohibitions against cultural Muslim headdresses worn by women. In the past year, a national uproar developed in the United States over the falsely named "Ground Zero Mosque." Interestingly, the neighbourhood where this Muslim community

centre is supposed to be built used to have a large Arab population in the 1940s, with the area then known as Little Syria.

Accusing minority groups of being a security risk because they are a minority group is not a new practice. Individuals and groups of people from most if not all religious faiths have been involved in political violence at one point or another, sometimes in a manner associated with terrorism and sometimes not. Terrorism being committed in the name of Islam is frightening and dangerous, but it cannot and should not damn an entire people. To presume that Islam is violent and that Muslims cannot be trusted or do not belong is racist. These types of dual loyalty accusations are deeply troubling, partly because of how easy it can be to fall into a xenophobic frame of mind, especially since our political language easily predisposes us to think in nation-state terms and not multicultural terms. It is interesting how while it used to be the Jews who were the easy target of dual loyalty accusations, today the accusation is directed toward Muslims. Unfortunately, due to the politics of the Middle East, Jews and Muslims have yet to recognise this similar experience and to learn from each other. Interestingly, the Middle East has featured in dual loyalty accusations directed at both peoples. Worryingly, we do not seem to be moving away from fears over dual loyalty.

Dr Ilan Zvi Baron is a lecturer in International Political Thought at Durham University.

Annoying everyone equally

As compromising the level of flight security is not an option, one must hope the High Court will instruct the state to adopt non-discriminatory inspection procedures.

Amnon Be'eri-Sulitzeanu

In December the High Court of Justice was expected to rule on a petition, filed by the Association for Civil Rights in Israel, over the legitimacy of the ethnic profiling policy that underlies security inspections used at Ben-Gurion International Airport and the country's other border terminals. This procedure categorises passengers, including Israeli citizens, according to national-ethnic features such as appearance, skin colour and accent, rather than on established, unbiased information about them or their behaviour. Often, they are subjected to extensive interrogation and physical inspection on this basis alone.

This discriminatory practice has garnered moral support from unexpected quarters. The decision in the United States to install invasive full-body scanning systems in all major airports has met with significant opposition. Many passengers don't appreciate the fact that their pacemakers, implants, prostheses, medical devices and other various nuts and bolts are revealed on inspectors' monitors – personal information that they would in many cases prefer remain undisclosed. But passengers who are not willing to walk through the scanners are subjected to a thorough, manual pat-down which can take more time and many feel is also humiliating. The default option between a scan and a pat-down has generated an outcry of public protest against the injury to privacy and dignity.

Seeking a solution to their dilemma, the Americans turn to us, of all countries. "In Israel," goes the basic argument, "they're much smarter. Instead of inspecting each passenger, they know exactly who the security risks are, and inspect only those individuals – and boy, do they inspect them! As a result, the inspection is a quick, superficial, almost pleasant experience for all the other innocent passengers."

What they forget to tell you in the US (or here, for that matter) is that "innocent passengers" almost always means Jews, while any and all Israeli Arabs who wish to travel fall into the category of – how surprising – "security risks." Complaints have also come in from foreign visitors who have been subjected to humiliating treatment when entering and leaving Israel. (Is this really something to be proud of? In the United States and in some other countries that seek to establish effective security measures,

it's a prerequisite for such procedures to be impartial, although there are exceptions. In Israel, however, the fundamental rule, which comes directly from the primer of ethnic profiling, is based on there being an entirely distinct inspection procedure for Jews and Arabs.

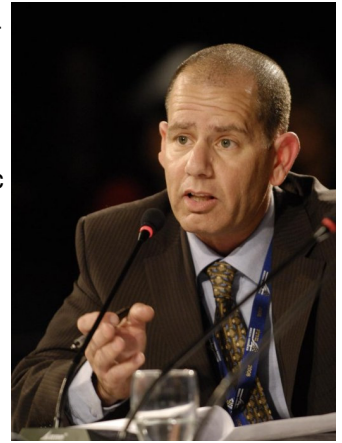
Israeli Arab citizens entering or leaving Israel are forced to undergo an extensive, invasive and meticulous security inspection. The degrading, nerve-racking procedure frequently entails multiple interrogations, luggage inspections in public and, quite often, a personal escort to the airplane's door. This "VIP treatment" may not even be the result of any specific suspicion, but is applied as soon as the inspectors identify the passenger as an Arab. Jewish

Israelis are spared this ordeal, and in fact are usually unaware that it takes place at all. They are free to focus their attention on the duty-free shopping that awaits them.

It can be argued that the system in use in Israel contributes to a relatively high level of flight security, but this argument ignores the substantial social toll that it extracts, in terms of exacerbating alienation from the state. Beyond the insufferable injury to the dignity of Arab passengers, the system is inherently, and sometimes irrevocably, injurious to their sense of identification with the state and its agencies. No one, not academics, publicly elected officials, civil society organisation activists or many others who have no choice but to use Ben-Gurion airport, is spared the procedure.

Today, an Arab citizen who boards a flight after such an experience is typically angry and humiliated. He does not identify with the state, to say nothing of his willingness to serve as its goodwill ambassador.

As compromising the level of flight security is not an option, one must hope that the High Court of Justice will instruct the state to adopt non-discriminatory inspection procedures that are not based on ethnic profiling, even if this imposes additional costs in terms of financial outlays, longer waiting time, or compromise of privacy – as long as these costs are shared by all Israeli citizens alike.



Amnon Be'eri-Sulitzeanu



At the airport: Simple check unless you're an Arab

Anti-democratic bills progress in the Knesset

Mitchell Plitnick

Given the momentous events taking place now in Egypt, it's important for those of us who care about Israel to remember that the assault on Israeli democracy from within is continuing.

Luckily, the Association for Civil Rights in Israel (ACRI) is maintaining its vigilance. They sent a chilling update regarding three bills that are moving forward in the Knesset. I include their brief reports on each bill (in *italics* below) followed by my own comments on each.

Parliamentary Committees of Inquiry:

The Knesset House Committee finalised the details of two separate but related parliamentary committees of inquiry, to be headed by MK Fania Kirshenbaum (Yisrael Beiteinu) and MK Danny Danon (Likud). This decision was made despite the pointed legal opinion presented by Eyal Yinon, the Knesset Legal Adviser, who stated: "The parliamentary committees discussed here are the first-ever to deal with clearly ideological matters and from only one side of the political map (...) The establishment of such committees creates an atmosphere that harms basic democratic rights."

The letters of appointment for the two committees will now be returned to the Knesset plenum for final approval. Knesset factions from the centre and left of the political map have already announced that they will ban these committees.

It is truly shocking that this measure can go forward despite the strong words of Knesset's own Legal Adviser. It



Faina Kirshenbaum

needs to be stressed that these committees target only one side of the NGO spectrum, which is the biggest problem with them. Both these committees are charged with investigating different aspects of foreign funding and involvement with the activity of Israeli NGOs. Kirshenbaum's is to investigate the foreign funding of left-wing NGOs.

The issue of transparency is a red herring. With all the talk about transparency, none of the MKs trying to indict NGOs has been able to point to a single example where an organisation has not complied with the existing transparency laws. This is nothing less than a witch-hunt and an assault on dissent, the very definition of an anti-democratic action. It's worth noting that even Likud ministers Dan Meridor and Benny Begin agree with that assessment, and we can be sure they have no love for B'Tselem, Peace Now and similar groups.

Funding from Foreign State Entities Bill

The Knesset Constitution, Law, and Justice Committee has approved this bill for its second-third reading in the plenum. Following intensive lobby efforts by ACRI, the version that will most likely be submitted for vote is a

somewhat toned-down version. For example, civil society organisations will be required to report on funding every three months (instead of annually, but not immediately as was the original version of the bill); and if public campaigns are funded by foreign state entities, it will be required to publish that in the campaign.

Even in its toned-down version, this legislation is clearly selective and politically motivated. ACRI fully supports transparency and we already publish all donations on our website, and so it is not clear how this bill intends to improve transparency. Furthermore, if the bill was truly out to increase transparency, it would include not only donations from foreign state entities, but also from foreign private donors, which are frequent funders of the activities of extremist organisations and groups in Israel.

As Hagai El-Ad, ACRI's executive director who wrote the update I'm quoting above, points out, settler groups are funded largely by private foundations and individual major donors from outside Israel, mostly the United States.

Acceptance to Communities Bill

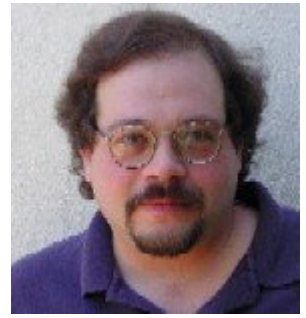
The Knesset Constitution, Law, and Justice Committee passed a slightly amended version of the Acceptance to Communities Bill, which will now be passed to the plenum for its second-third reading. The accepted amendments to the bill are applying it only to the Negev and Galilee regions and only to communities of up to 400 family units (instead of the original 500). ACRI views both amendments as insufficient, leaving private citizens with the authority to grant state-owned lands at their own discretion, thus promoting continued discrimination of Arabs, new immigrants, single parents, same-sex couples, people with disabilities, and others.

This bill is an attempt to legalise discrimination in Israel. This has often presented a problem for Jewish Israelis who wish to live exclusively with other Jews. The court is compelled to strike down discrimination in housing based on religion or race. Often, as is also true in the United States, Australia and other places, people who want to keep certain other people out can find ways to do it in individual cases, but when the discrimination is blatant, courts will rule against it. Israel is no exception.

So, the Knesset is trying to give courts the power to support discrimination, at least in small communities. The bill is clearly directed against Arabs, but El-Ad is quite correct when he points out that it will inevitably be used to bar other classes of people.

All of these measures are big steps in the war against democracy being waged by the right wing in Israel. Those of us who care about Israel's future need to keep our eye on this. It's tough to do right now with all that's happening in Egypt and the massive implications that has for Israel's future, but if Israel is to have a future as a democratic state, we can't take our eyes off these proceedings even for a moment.

Abridged from a blog on the Meretz USA website.



Mitchell Plitnick

The not-so-great Islamic threat

Gwynne Dyer

People often wind up believing their own cover story. Former British Prime Minister Tony Blair, for example, is trapped forever in the rationalisations he used in 2003 to explain why he was going along with George Bush's invasion of Iraq. He was at it again late last year, telling the BBC that "radical Islam" is the greatest threat facing the world today.

But is militant Islam really a bigger threat to the world than the possibility of a major nuclear war (happily now in abeyance, but never really gone)? Bigger than the risk that infectious diseases are going to make a major comeback as antibiotics become ineffective? Bigger even than the threat of runaway global warming?

Blair has to say it is because he was one of the people who launched a crusade against radical Islamists after September 11. Or at least against those whom they accused of being supporters of radical Islam, although many of them (like Saddam Hussein) were nothing of the sort.

Blair has never publicly acknowledged that Saddam was actually an enemy of radical Islam. Admitting it would drain the last dram of logic from his justification for invading Iraq. So he only talks in general terms about fighting "radical Islam," and hopes that the more ignorant part of the public will think that includes the Iraq war. Never mind. It's far too late for Blair to change his story, and anyway the argument about Iraq has gone stale by now. Except for one thing:

Many influential people in Western countries still insist that "radical Islam" is indeed the world's greatest threat. Some do it for career reasons, and others do it from conviction, but they all get a more respectful hearing than they deserve.

It depends on what you mean by "radical Islam," of course. In some Western circles, any Muslim who challenges Western policies is by definition an Islamist radical. But if it means Sunni Muslims who believe in the Salafist interpretation of Islam and are personally willing to use terrorist violence to spread it, then there aren't very many of them, a few hundred thousand at most.

These people are unlikely to start blowing things up in New Jersey or Bavaria, though they are a serious threat to fellow Muslims living in their own countries. (They are particularly keen on killing Shias.) The vast majority of them speak no foreign language and could never get a passport.

It's a big, ugly problem for countries like Iraq and Paki-

stan, but it is a pretty small problem for everybody else.

The number of people killed by "radical Islamic" terrorists in the past decade outside the Muslim world is probably no more than 15,000.

None of these deaths is justifiable, but it is weird to insist that a phenomenon that causes an average of, say, 1500 non-Muslim deaths a year, on a planet with almost 7 billion people, is the greatest threat facing the world today. Yet the people who launched the "war on terror" do say that, as do many others who built their careers by pushing the same proposition.

They do it by the simple device of warning (to quote Blair's recent interview) that "there is the most enormous threat from the combination of this radical extreme movement and the fact that, if they could, they would use nuclear, chemical or biological weapons. You can't take a risk with that happening."

Never mind the quite limited damage that terrorists actu-

ally do. Imagine the damage they might do if they got their hands on such weapons.

Very well, let us imagine just that.

During the Cold War, the United States and the Soviet Union had 10,000 nuclear weapons ready to launch at each other. If they had ever gone to war, hundreds of millions of people would have been killed – even several billion, if it had caused a nuclear winter.

And of course the two countries had huge biological and chemical warfare capabilities, too.

If "radical Islamists"

ever got their hands on a nuclear weapon, it would be one bomb, not 10,000 warheads. If they managed to explode it, it would be a local disaster, not a global holocaust. The worst poison gas attack ever, on the Tokyo underground system in 1995, killed only 13 people, and although germ warfare could be hugely destructive of human life, it requires scientific capabilities that are very difficult to master.

Besides, just how does invading various Muslim countries shrink any of these dangers? It probably increases them, actually, by outraging many Muslims and providing the extremists with a steady flow of recruits.

Terrorism, by radical Islamists or anybody else, is a real threat but a modest one. It cannot be "defeated," but it can be contained by good police work and wise policy choices. It might make it into the top 10 global threats, but it certainly wouldn't make it into the top three. Anybody who says it does has something to sell or something to hide.

Gwynne Dyer is a veteran Canadian journalist.



Most people don't realise that the majority of terrorism's victims today are Muslims in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

An assassination's long shadow

Adam Hochschild

Earlier this month, millions of people on another continent observed the 50th anniversary of an event few people around the globe remember, the assassination of Patrice Lumumba. A slight, goateed man with black, half-framed glasses, the 35-year-old Lumumba was the first democratically chosen leader of the vast country, nearly as large as the United States east of the Mississippi, now known as the Democratic Republic of Congo.

This treasurehouse of natural resources had been a colony of Belgium, which for decades had made no plans for independence. But after clashes with Congolese nationalists, the Belgians hastily arranged the first national election in 1960, and in June of that year King Baudouin arrived to formally give the territory its freedom.

"It is now up to you, gentlemen," he arrogantly told Congolese dignitaries, "to show that you are worthy of our confidence."

The Belgians, and their European and American fellow investors, expected to continue collecting profits from Congo's factories, plantations and lucrative mines, which



Patrice Lumumba

produced diamonds, gold, uranium, copper and more. But they had not planned on Lumumba.

A dramatic, angry speech he gave in reply to Baudouin brought Congolese legislators

to their feet cheering, left the king startled and frowning and caught the world's attention. Lumumba spoke forcefully of the violence and humiliations of colonialism, from the ruthless theft of African land to the way that French-speaking colonists talked to Africans as adults do to children, using the familiar "tu" instead of the formal "vous." Political independence was not enough, he said; Africans had to also benefit from the great wealth in their soil.

With no experience of self-rule and an empty treasury, his huge country was soon in turmoil. After failing to get aid from the United States, Lumumba declared he would turn to the Soviet Union. Thousands of Belgian officials who lingered on did their best to sabotage things: their code word for Lumumba in military radio transmissions was "Satan." Shortly after he took office as prime minister, the CIA., with White House approval, ordered his assassination and dispatched an undercover agent with poison.

The would-be poisoners could not get close enough to Lumumba to do the job, so instead the United States and Belgium covertly funnelled cash and aid to rival politicians who seized power and arrested the prime minister. Fearful of revolt by Lumumba's supporters if he died in their hands, the new Congolese leaders ordered him flown to the copper-rich Katanga region in the country's south, whose secession Belgium had just helped orchestrate. There, on January 17, 1961, after being beaten and tor-

tured, he was shot. It was a chilling moment that set off street demonstrations in many countries.

As a college student travelling through Africa on summer break, I was in Léopoldville (today's Kinshasa), Congo's capital, for a few days some six months after Lumumba's murder. There was an air of tension and gloom in the city, jeeps full of soldiers were on patrol, and the streets quickly emptied at night. Above all, I remember the triumphant, macho satisfaction with which two young American Embassy officials — much later identified as CIA men — talked with me over drinks about the death of someone they regarded not as an elected leader but as an upstart enemy of the United States.

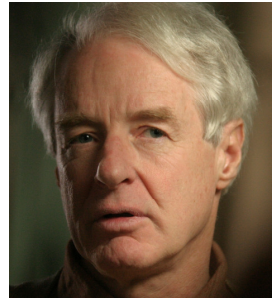
Some weeks before his death, Lumumba had briefly escaped from house arrest and, with a small group of supporters, tried to flee to the eastern Congo, where a counter-government of his sympathisers had formed. The travellers had to traverse the Sankuru River, after which friendly territory began. Lumumba and several companions crossed the river in a dugout canoe to commandeer a ferry to go back and fetch the rest of the group, including his wife and son.

But by the time they returned to the other bank, government troops pursuing them had arrived. According to one survivor, Lumumba's famous eloquence almost persuaded the soldiers to let them go. Events like this are often burnished in retrospect, but however the encounter happened, Lumumba seems to have risked his life to try to rescue the others, and the episode has found its way into film and fiction.

His legend has only become deeper because there is painful newsreel footage of him in captivity, soon after this moment, bound tightly with rope and trying to retain his dignity while being roughed up by his guards.

Patrice Lumumba had only a few short months in office and we have no way of knowing what would have happened had he lived. Would he have stuck to his ideals or, like too many African independence leaders, abandoned them for the temptations of wealth and power? In any event, leading his nation to the full economic autonomy he dreamed of would have been an almost impossible task. The Western governments and corporations arrayed against him were too powerful, and the resources in his control too weak: at independence his new country had fewer than three dozen university graduates among a black population of more than 15 million, and only three of some 5000 senior positions in the civil service were filled by Congolese.

A half-century later, US citizens should surely look back on the death of Lumumba with shame, for we helped install the men who deposed and killed him. In the scholarly journal *Intelligence and National Security*, Stephen R. Weissman, a former staff director of the House Subcommittee on Africa, recently pointed out that Lumumba's violent end foreshadowed today's American practice of "extraordinary rendition." The Congolese politicians who



Adam Hochschild

(Continued on page 13)

(Continued from page 12)

planned Lumumba's murder checked all their major moves with their Belgian and American backers, and the local CIA station chief made no objection when they told him they were going to turn Lumumba over — render him, in today's parlance — to the breakaway government of Katanga, which, everyone knew, could be counted on to kill him.

Still more fateful was what was to come. Four years later, one of Lumumba's captors, an army officer named Joseph Mobutu, again with enthusiastic American support, staged a coup and began a disastrous, 32-year dictatorship. Just as geopolitics and a thirst for oil have today brought us unsavoury allies like Saudi Arabia, so the cold war and a similar lust for natural resources did then. Mobutu was showered with more than \$1 billion in American aid and enthusiastically welcomed to the White House by a succession of presidents; George H. W. Bush called him "one of our most valued friends."

This valued friend bled his country dry, amassed a fortune estimated at \$4 billion, jetted the world by rented Concorde and bought himself an array of grand villas in Europe and multiple palaces and a yacht at home. He

let public services shrivel to nothing and roads and railways be swallowed by the rain forest. By 1997, when he was overthrown and died, his country was in a state of wreckage from which it has not yet recovered.



Child soldiers and many victims—the permanent reminders of the assassination's consequences etched in our minds.

Since that time the fatal combination of enormous natural riches and the dysfunctional government Mobutu left has ignited a long, multi-sided war that has killed huge numbers of Congolese or forced them from their homes. Many factors cause a war, of course, especially one as bewilderingly complex as this one. But when visiting eastern Congo some months ago, I could not help but think that one thread leading to the human suffering I saw begins with the assassination of Lumumba.

We will never know the full death toll of the current conflict, but many believe it to be in the millions. Some of that blood is on our hands. Both ordering the murders of apparent enemies and then embracing their enemies as "valued friends" come with profound, long-term consequences — a lesson worth pondering on this anniversary.

Adam Hochschild is the author of *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror and Heroism in Colonial Africa* and the forthcoming *To End All Wars: A Story of Loyalty and Rebellion, 1914-1918*.

Essential thank yous

The late John Kenneth Galbraith, whose obituary we published once, said that modesty was a greatly overrated virtue. However, a lot of his writing highlighted the importance of being candid. And honesty demands that I cannot leave this *Newsletter* without thanking the people who made it such a success.

First and foremost was the late Renate Kamener. She may not have contributed too many articles, but her role on the Editorial Committee was indispensable. She made peace when argument brewed and was always there to give good advice when all else failed.

Then there were the "brainstormers", the people with ideas who thought outside the box: Vivienne Porzsolt in Sydney, Les Rosenblatt, Margaret Jacobs, Dan Rabinovici, Miriam Faine, the late Henry Zimmerman and more recently Joan Nestle. Working together with such colleagues was a good example of the interaction of people with differing ideas which came out much better than the sum of their individual efforts.

I have been lucky to have so many non-members to assist me in carrying out these duties. Jacob Grech and David Spratt helped with layout and design and came up

with great ideas for illustrations. Esther Anderson kept us informed on Darfur, as did Annie Feith on West Papua and Christine Howes on the Stolen Wages campaign.

One should not forget the writers who saved us from reinventing the wheel: Peter Lewis of Unions NSW, Chris Graham of the *National Indigenous Times*, and US bloggers Richard Silverstein and Mitchell Plitnick. We must have published a couple of dozen of their articles, mainly because they were well written and said something very similar to what we would have said ourselves.

And finally there is Steve, Steve Brook that is. He must have tweaked almost every article published (missing only about two issues in all this time), eliminated thousands of typos as well as made lots of suggestions for improvement. Usually it was easier to pick the one or two changes rejected and accept the rest in bulk. [I did prefer my Shakespeare unamended, Steve!] He also wrote the odd film or book review, very odd, some said.

Thank you, Steve. Thank you everyone, including anyone I may have inadvertently left out

Sol

Sudan: History of a broken land

Jamie Doran

As the people of South Sudan have overwhelmingly voted for secession from the North, filmmaker Jamie Doran looks at the history of their troubled country. He wrote this piece before the 99 per cent result for independence became known.

It was the giant of Africa: a nation which once represented the greatest hope for peaceful coexistence between Arab and African, Muslim and Christian. That hope is all but gone.

The promise of Sudan was just an illusion.

It is already a fractured country and, in the longer term, this is unlikely to be an isolated matter of north and south breaking apart following the referendum on southern secession. Separatist movements in regions such as Darfur and the Nuba Mountains are watching with more than curiosity. And it is not just Sudan: in other African and Arab countries independence factions are eyeing developments with a view to making their move either through the ballot box or the gun.

In the run-up to the referendum, I travelled to Sudan to make the film. I have been fortunate enough in my life to have visited most of the world's countries, and yet this would be the first time I had set foot in Africa's largest.

To say that the northern Sudanese people are enormously friendly may be clichéd, but it is also very true. Soon after our arrival, the car we had hired in Khartoum broke down and we quickly found ourselves surrounded by young men, all of them trying to help discover and rectify the fault.

No-one was looking for money; it simply came naturally to them to help out and was just one example of many we would discover in the following weeks.

Unfortunately though, I also discovered self-delusion: in the coffee shops, restaurants and streets, the vast majority of people I spoke with wanted desperately to believe that it was not too late and that, surely, the South will never leave the union. It will.

Sudan's lost unity

In the South I found determination and certainty that independence is the only goal and that they will face up to any other problems once that goal is achieved. This naivety is an ironic repetition of events in 1956, when Sudan gained independence from the British/Egyptian administration. Then, as now, internal problems and disagreements were set aside until the target was reached.

Almost five decades of conflict followed and today, the prospect of intra-tribal war in the South, following its own

independence, is very real ... but no-one wants to talk about it until the referendum is over.

As always, it is the innocent people who will suffer. Well over two million may have died in the civil wars, but I have little doubt that the self-destruct button humanity has pushed so often in the past will be employed once again.

So who is to blame for Sudan's predicament?

Most northern politicians and historians will tell you it is the British. And they have a strong case. The splitting of the country in 1922, when northerners were not allowed to travel south (over the 10th Parallel) and southerners north (over the 8th), ensured that Muslims were stopped from spreading their faith southwards while the British openly supported the influx of Christian missionaries to the South.

This created much of the division that exists today.

The two cultures were never given a proper opportunity to interact, which is a genuine tragedy as they could have learned so much from each other. Most certainly, I met very many individuals from both sides of the soon-to-be border who could have coexisted with ease. I think here of the Tabibi brothers in Omdurman, Aban Raphael in Malakal, villagers in the Nuba Mountains and their counterparts in Bor; all of them good people, wishing only for peace.

But is it really just the British who are to blame? As the youngest son of an Irish nationalist, I am not about to defend the actions of colonialists. But a question must be posed: why, in the 55 years since

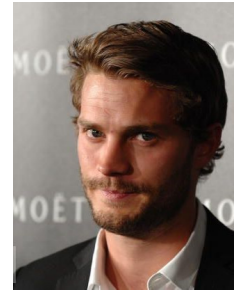
those colonialists departed, has the Sudanese government failed to invest in the South?

To this day, there are just 50km of paved roads in a country the size of France. Illiteracy amongst women is almost 100 per cent; poverty is rife, healthcare virtually non-existent and starvation a frequent blight.

Add to this the attempts by northern politicians to impose their own interpretation of Sharia Law (the infamous 'September Laws') on southern Christians and another picture emerges. The North imposed its dominance by force and, inevitably, the South rebelled.

'The forgotten tribe'

As the country awaits the outcome of the referendum, I cannot help but think that, whatever the outcome may be, we have not seen the last of conflict. Eighty per cent of



Jamie Doran



To get an idea of the scale: Sudan as a whole is slightly bigger than Queensland while Southern Sudan is nearly three times the size of Victoria.

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the oil is in the South, while the pipeline runs north. There is Darfur, potentially insoluble. And there is Abyei, situated right on the proposed border, inhabited by the southern Dinka Ngok tribe but used by the northern nomadic Misseriya tribe on a seasonal basis for grazing their cattle herds.

Frequently, the Dinka have come under attack from Misseriya militias, resulting in massacres and destruction. But the Misseriya see themselves as the forgotten tribe, and they have a case.

Under the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) which brought civil war to an end, two referenda were agreed: one for southern secession or unity and the other to give Abyei the opportunity to choose to be part of the North or the South.

There is simply no question that the Dinka Ngok would vote for the South but, under the terms of the CPA, the Misseriya were not given the vote and feel massively ag-

grieved. They fear that Abyei, as part of the new South, would attempt to stop them crossing the border, denying them the grazing rights they have enjoyed for centuries. As the Misseriya chief, Babu Nimir, told me:

"If Dinka Ngok say that they will not permit the Misseriya to reach the waters, I tell you we will fight them. We will fight them. We will fight them. And we will go through even beyond Abyei to drink water and to take pasture."

The Abyei referendum has now been effectively abandoned, leaving a dangerous state of limbo which could ignite at any time.

Sudan is already a broken land and it is difficult to envisage any form of lasting peace in the near or even distant future. I can only hope, on behalf of the many good people it was my privilege to meet, that I am wrong.

Jamie Doran is an award-winning Irish documentary filmmaker. He spent over seven years at BBC Television before establishing his own independent television company.

If you're under 25, climate change should be a worry

Lisa Hymas

Not too many of this Newsletter's readers are under 25. But all of us know members of our successor generation who are our children, grandchildren, workmates or friends. Their future is very much our concern.

So you effed up our planet, huh? "Generation Hot" is the 2 billion or so young people who will be stuck dealing with global warming and weirding for their entire lives -- and who have to figure out how to do it sanely and humanely. In his new book *Hot: Living through the next 50 years on Earth*, journalist Mark Hertsgaard puts the official start of Generation Hot at June 23, 1988, when climate scientist James Hansen first testified to Congress about climate change and *The New York Times* put the story on its front page.

"My daughter and the rest of Generation Hot have been given a life sentence for a crime they didn't commit," Hertsgaard writes in a piece in *The Nation* adapted from his book. Even if we manage to ditch fossil fuels over the next 25 years, "the reality is that we're locked in to at least 50 more years of rising temperatures and the harsher climate impacts they bring. Thus the young people of Generation Hot are condemned to spend the rest of their lives coping with a climate that will be hotter and more volatile than ever before in our civilisation's history."

Hertsgaard has been reporting about climate change for 20 years, but it wasn't until 2005, when his daughter was born and he began to realise what kind of world she would be growing up in, that he became, as he puts it, "deeply angry."

He plans to channel some of that anger into guerrilla-style protests against the "climate cranks" in the US Congress, corporations, and the media who have denied the problem and blocked the solutions. In late January, Hertsgaard and some of the members of Generation Hot were due to confront climate cranks on camera in Washington, DC.

But *Hot* is not primarily an angry book; at times, it's cau-

tiously hopeful. Hertsgaard travelled around the country and the world to see climate threats but also climate solutions. He highlights real things communities can do to protect themselves from climate impacts, and real communities that are already doing them -- from the Dutch who are planning 200 years ahead to protect their country from rising seas, to West African farmers who are adopting new growing methods, to Seattle leaders working to make the city more resilient. He introduces us to scientists, politicians, business leaders, and, most memorably, kids and young adults who will have to live through decades of climate chaos.

Here's one striking episode from a visit to a village in Bangladesh, where Hertsgaard talked to a young man who wanted to practise his English and ask some tough questions:

"Please, sir, I would like to ask you about climate change. I have learnt in school that carbon dioxide is collecting in the atmosphere and this is causing the earth to get hotter. Is it true?"

"Yes, that's what scientists say," I replied.

He nodded. "And I have learnt that rich countries have put these gases into the atmosphere. Is it true?"

"Mostly," I said. "But now China and India are releasing many of these gases as well."

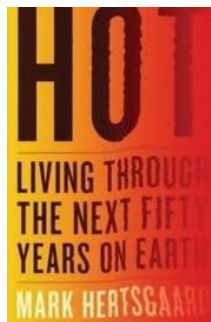
He nodded again. "I have learned that this CO2 will make the ocean rise and cover the south of Bangladesh with water. This village too will be covered with water. Is it true?"

Looking into the young man's beseeching eyes, I hesitated to tell the truth but could not tell a lie. "I'm afraid that could happen someday, yes. The scientists aren't certain, but they believe it could happen."

"That is a big problem, sir," he replied. "Please, sir, how do we solve this problem?"

Hertsgaard doesn't have the whole answer. No one does. But *Hot* is a start.

Lisa Hymas is a senior editor of *Grist*, where this was first published.



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