

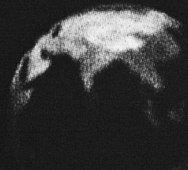
# THE COLLEGE VOICE

For Free Tuition and Open Admissions

MAY 2005

## SUPER-PATRIOT ISSUE

O.B.L VS G.W.B = W.M.D



*The Battle of the Century  
and the Alternatives*

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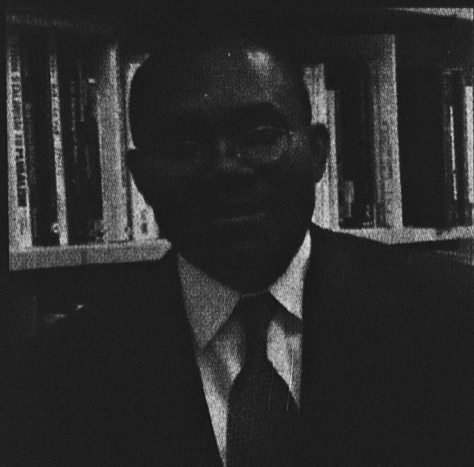
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**TRUTH IS NEVER FOR SALE !**



# IN MEMORIAM



(1961 - 2005)

The College Voice Staff  
wishes to extend their deepest sympathies  
to the family of  
**Professor Francois Ngolet**  
of the History Department, who passed away  
Monday night on April 11, 2005

## NYPIRG on Social Security

### KEEP SOCIAL SECURITY SECURE- SIGN ON

Our organizations oppose legislation designed to “divert” revenues (also known as “privatization”) from the nation’s Social Security system. Social Security is a successful and necessary program that protects elderly and disabled Americans from devastating poverty. We believe that additional risk has no place in this program—Social Security should remain secure for generations to come.

By “diverting” revenue to private investment accounts, the nation would be reducing what is needed to pay today’s benefits Social Security and thus would have to borrow trillions of dollars in order to make up the difference. Such a plan would jeopardize both the benefits that need to be paid today and benefits of tomorrow.

We are, however, quite aware of the troubles that currently besiege Social Security. It is clear that reforms are needed to ensure that it will continue to serve Americans for generations to come. We believe that the best way to protect Social Security is not to “privatize” it but to enact sensible reforms. Reforms that could be considered are:

- Investing part of the Social Security surplus so that it earns higher returns than those offered by U.S. Treasury bonds. This proposal could bolster Social Security’s revenue stream while sharing the risks of investing. The nation should not be creating a system where some people could win and others could lose future benefits that currently comes from Social Security.
- Raising the cap on the amount of wages taxed to support Social Security. Raising today’s cap of \$88,000 to approximately \$140,000, for example, would raise additional revenue for the system.
- Making Social Security a truly universal system by including all newly hired state and local government workers in Social Security.

The nation must always be reexamining the future of the Social Security system. However, such reexamination must ensure that the Social Security safety net is secured, not weakened.

For Info on what you can do contact Dan Botting  
at 1718 982 - 3109  
Or go to their office in 1C - 218



# Chechnya in Context

Committee on  
Conscience

## Overview

A massive Russian military force entered Chechnya on September 30, 1999, supported by air and artillery. Russian officials claimed the "anti-terrorist operation" responded to an incursion by Chechen militias into the neighboring Russian republic of Dagestan and to apartment bombings in Moscow and elsewhere that they blamed on Chechens. In the ensuing months, Chechnya was devastated, including the almost complete destruction of Grozny, the Chechen capital. Russian artillery and air indiscriminately pounded populated areas. Human Rights Watch also documented several massacres of civilians by Russian units.

Russian President Vladimir Putin proclaimed Chechnya pacified by Spring 2000. But peace has been elusive for Chechen civilians, victims of a continuing war of attrition. They are plagued by abuses committed by Russian forces, arbitrary arrest, extortion, torture, murder. Chechen civilians also suffer because there have been no sustained efforts to rebuild basic social services, such as utilities or education. Chechen fighters also commit abuses against civilians, but neither on the same scale nor with the same intensity as Russian forces. According to the Washington Post's Jackson Diehl, "the campaign by the Russian military and police against Chechnya's separatists has degenerated into a full-fledged dirty war, complete with disappearances, mass graves, systematic torture and summary execution of civilians."

## Background

The roots of today's crisis extend back several centuries.

Russia established a permanent military presence in Chechnya in the late eighteenth century. The Chechens periodically rose up against Russian rule throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. In 1944, Josef Stalin ordered the deportation to Central Asia of the entire Chechen population, along with other nationalities in the region. The deportation exacted a heavy toll -- as many as three out of every ten Chechens died during the transport, resettlement, and first years of exile. Not until 1957 were the Chechens



allowed to return home.

As the former Soviet Union dissolved in 1991, Chechen leaders declared independence. Russian President Boris Yeltsin responded militarily in 1994. Two years of warfare presaged the current conflict, with widespread destruction and violence against civilians -- more than 30,000 civilians killed, some 600,000 displaced. That phase of the war ended with a Russian withdrawal from Chechnya at the end of 1996. A May 1997 peace agreement signed by Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Chechen President Aslan Maskhadov set aside the determination of Chechnya's legal status for five years. Between 1997 and 1999, the Maskhadov government failed to establish

stability or rebuild Chechnya's shattered economy.

## Demonization and Discrimination

Chechens in particular, and other "persons of Caucasian nationality" in general, tend to be demonized in Russian society. They often are referred to pejoratively as "blacks" and are assumed by virtue of their ethnicity to be criminals or terrorists. Throughout the Russian Federation, particularly in larger cities, Chechens suffer discrimination in housing and employment, and are subject

to arbitrary arrests and harassment. Chechens displaced by the war are not accorded the right of freedom of movement and are effectively barred from resettling elsewhere in Russia.

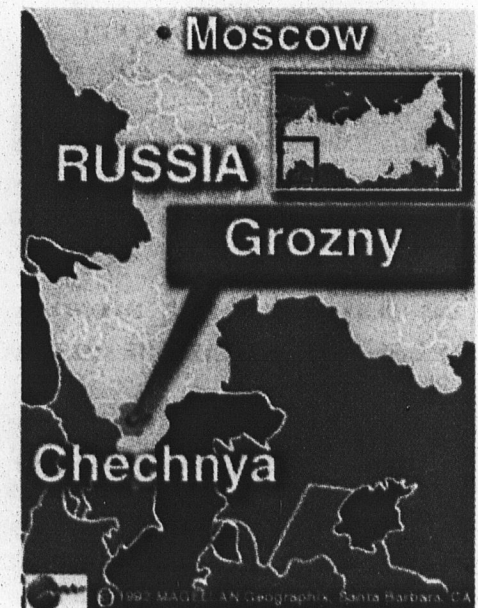
## Violence Against Civilians

As in 1994-1996, the fighting since 1999 has been catastrophic for civilians. The Russian siege of Grozny left that city in ruins, and other built-up areas that were held by rebels, however temporarily, sustained enormous damage as Russian forces indiscriminately used air and artillery bombardment. Both sides fought the war without regard to the safety of civilians, although the vast Russian superiority in numbers and firepower took a much greater toll.

The end of large-scale fighting has not meant security for civilians in Chechnya. Hundreds of thousands of Chechens who fled their homes for refugee camps in Ingushetia and elsewhere in the region remain displaced. Even though conditions in those camps are poor, the situation is worse where they came from. Those who do remain in Chechnya, especially men between the ages of 15 and 49, face the threat of theft, beatings, arrest, and murder by Russian soldiers during so-called *zachistki* -- door to door searches for rebels -- and at roadblocks. Detainees often get swept into a system of "filtration" camps, where torture is routine, before being ransomed back to their families or killed. Many simply disappear.

Although Russian authorities acknowledge some abuses, the number of admitted abuses is much lower than those calculated by human rights organizations. And accountability is virtually nonexistent, as the Russians fail to thoroughly investigate most human rights violations. They also impede access of international monitors, human rights and humanitarian organizations, and the media.

<http://www1.usmmm.org/conscience/chechnya/chechnya.php>





# OBL vs GWB = WMD

## The Battle of the Century and the Alternatives

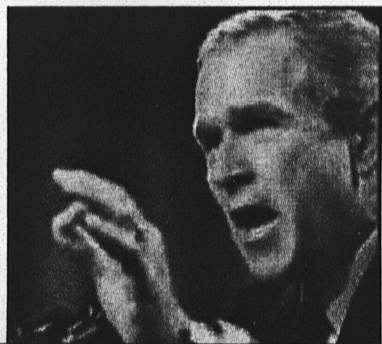
GHANIM KHALIL

With the re-election of George W. Bush (GWB) and the enduring message of Osama bin Laden (OBL) there is now enough reason to believe that we are living in a pivotal moment in time. (Wait a minute. We already know this! But here's a fine twist to this tale). This moment of perpetual warfare we live in, as lasting and complex as it is, has the potential to shape how we see the world and how we see ourselves, as Americans, in a way that will influence us for the next century. This is so because both OBL and GWB misrepresent the vision most necessary for the survival of people effected by the "war on



OBL Speaks

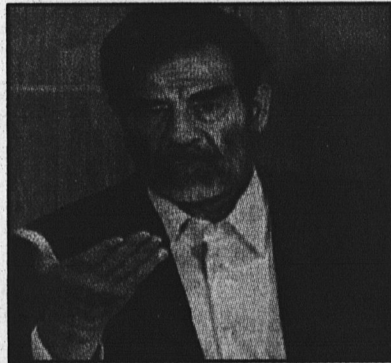
terrorism". Each reflects a tendency of the human mind to reduce complexities of life in order to sell a vision (or ideology or belief) that has more to do with fear and ignorance than reality. GWB sells the vision of American supremacy as a necessary component of a free and peaceful world while OBL sells the vision of an Islamic fight for overthrowing western control over Muslim people. Both sound plausible if one knows



GWB Speaks

absolutely nothing about the historical relationship between Muslims and what is unsatisfactorily termed "the West". The vision most necessary for both Muslims and westerners (especially Americans) is a vision of humanization. This can only be done after we realize that both OBL and GWB are mentalities that must dehumanize the "enemy" in order to become acceptable visions. The most obvious thing about the "other" is

the thing most dismissed or ignored: the "others" humanity. That's the twist. Dehumanization is the greatest WMD (weapon of mass destruction) in the history of humanity. This must not continue if it is indeed peace we are seeking in



Saddam Speaks

this world. This is why this is a pivotal moment in our time.

Today, the American people remain deeply divided in many ways. There is a complex neoconservative movement within our borders that is redefining foreign and domestic policies without the American people's opinion or consent. (Applying the politics of fear is not the democratic thing to do). There is a "war on



Iraq under US swords

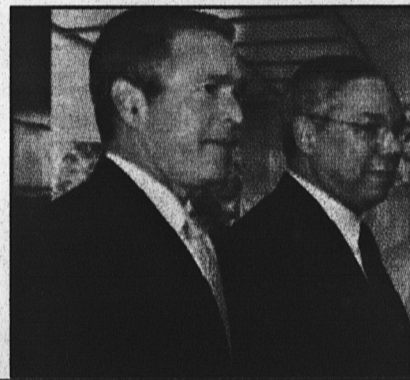
terrorism" that has created far more civilian deaths (collateral death) than "enemy". There is anti-Americanism all over the world that cannot be explained simply by dismissing it as "propaganda" or hate. Finally, there is the question of the "others" (Muslims) among us and "out there" living in distant countries where US troops are fighting. (The average American is ignorant of who "they" really are and whether we can trust these strange creatures. These are some of



Iraqi women at a funeral

the issues that speak countless volumes of opinion and fact but are treated with such narrow mindedness by our leaders and mouthpieces that it behooves us to be more active and honest in seeking the truth.

As expected, millions of Americans who could be termed spectators (those of us from various backgrounds who don't form policy nor are able to change policy our leaders form and change) have taken events and issues affecting us today (as the above) in a very black and white manner, forgetting that those who don't share our views are human beings. How many times do we sift through the pages of books,



GWB with CP

magazines, newspapers, and journals, or watched television, or listened to radio programming, and found views attacking the opposition in a manner identical to children arguing and fighting over issues that they have failed to comprehend? If we are doing this to each other within our familiar borders, what are we doing with those who live outside them? If you read the papers and watch the news,



OBL with MA

we are generalizing about most of them and killing excessive amounts of civilians as "we" liberate "them". (The report that recently stated that coalition forces in Iraq led by the US had killed 100,000 innocent people really didn't have the same impact as the killing of 3,000 people in the World Trade Center. Hmmmmmm. Iraqis must not be human after all).

At a time such as this it is no wonder that OBL vs. GWB = WMD. OBL is the mouthpiece of many Muslims who are discontent with their own political leadership around the Muslim world and have



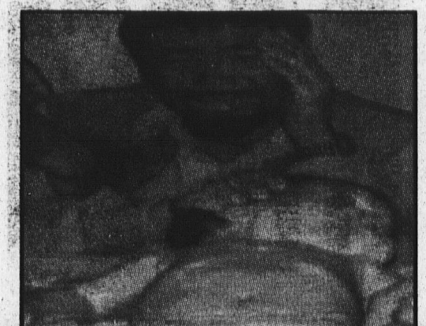
Engaging in terror

taken matters in their own hands, calling upon Muslims everywhere to join them in mortal combat against an aggressive "West". To be sure, there is a great deal of truth in the OBL discourse against the "West" (many of the dishonest professors of the College of Staten Island are too weak minded to admit that the "Islamic terrorism" of the OBL kind has much to do with "American, British, and French terrorism" that came before it). Still, OBL is a mouthpiece that doesn't represent



Training for terror

the Muslim world anymore than the Saudi government represents Islam. (They are loathed everywhere by Muslims outside their own sphere of influence). To accept OBL as a representative of Muslims is the first step to dehumanizing 1.5 billion people. Besides, what's so sensible in generalizing about millions of Muslims who have nothing to do with fanatical movements and their policies? GWB is the mouthpiece of millions of Americans who feel it is time for the "civilization-secularist



Collateral death in Afghanistan



project" of the United States to encompass the Islamic world, (especially the Arab-Irani part of it) by aggressively changing it to suit their vision of what the world ought to be. With the September 11 attacks as their major focal point they argue for an aggressive mortal combat with those in the Muslim world they see as "anti-American", "anti-Israeli", and "anti-Western", because it is these who stand in the way of the success of the "civilization-secularist project".

Still, GWB is a mouthpiece that doesn't represent the "West" or America anymore than the KKK represents Christianity or white people. (Don't be fooled by the "conservative" Christians known as the evangelists. The only conserving done by many of their leaders is to conserve a state of ignorance about Christianity). Millions of people voted for GWB, sure. Did they all vote for the same reasons? No. Many voted out of fear and ignorance



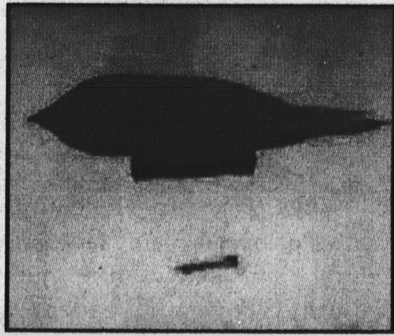
Praying for an end to terror

instilled by the Bush administration and their media mouthpieces. Voting out of fear and ignorance for Bush doesn't make him their representative. That aside, when you examine GWB's foreign policy and imperial ambitions, it doesn't seem representative of vast majority of the American people who have little desire for us the "maintain" huge amounts of foreign territory with people that don't want us there.

It is not hard to see why OBL vs. GWB = WMD. As gullible people have felt compelled to take sides as if they are reliving the battles recorded in the Iliad, not all is lost and those of us who don't see the complexities that confront our hearts in a black and white fashion must realize that it is our task to communicate a reasoned alternative to the OBL vs. GWB drama. OBL is not just one person. It is a mentality



Victim of terror in Iraq



Expensive tools of US terrorism

accepted by gullible Muslims who see no way out of the post-colonial predicament (which is equally the fault of Muslims as well as it is the consequence of western colonialism and imperialism). As the American spectator has little clue of what evil western colonialism and imperialism has wrought in the Muslim world (and other places such as Latin America) for centuries, many Muslims have taken this lack of acknowledgment as justification for terrorism, sought in the language of Islam, even as they read verses of the Qur'an that contradict their mentality - such as this one: "O ye who believe! Stand out firmly for Allah, as witnesses to fair dealing, and let not the hatred of others to you make you swerve to wrong and depart from justice. Be just: that is next to Piety: and fear Allah. For Allah is well-acquainted with all that ye do." [Qur'an, 5:8]

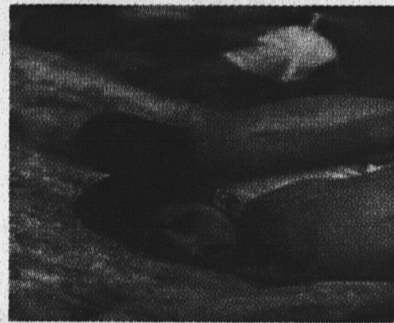


Victim of US terror in Iraq

How can people like OBL be doing "good" according to Islam if they are committing injustices in retaliation for American injustices? Do the Muslims who support them have more loyalty to OBL than the Qur'an?

GWB is not just one person either. It is a mentality that reacts to 911 as if it was an event that has nothing to do with America's role in the Muslim world. The common (and quite stupid) belief that "they hate our freedoms" perpetuates ignorance about a whole people and their complex faith as well as their current realities. This ignorance is what allows millions of Americans to elect a leader who has violated the US Constitution by breaking international laws (all treaties, agreements, and laws America signs with other nations or organizations is done so by the authority of the US

Constitution - to violate them is to violate the US Constitution itself), allows the invasion of another country with highly questionable justification (lying is lying, even when a president of this country does it), rationalize a huge number of innocent non-American deaths as acceptable in the indefinable "war of terrorism" ("who cares how many of them die" has been an attitude Americans have had since the birth of the United States), and has plans to re-arrange the entire region of the Middle East to suit its vision of a "Pax Americana" (read the national Security Strategy of the USA, September 2002). How can an enforced "Pax Americana" be considered a good thing when the US Constitution itself is against it? Do the Americans who support GWB have more loyalty to him than the US Constitution itself?



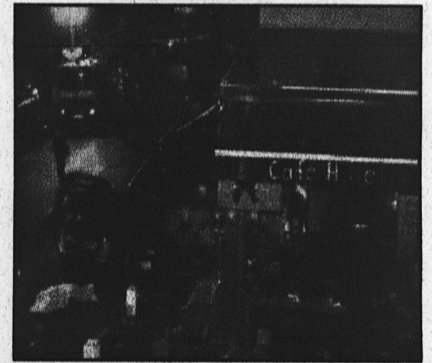
Hostages of US terror in Iraq

If al-Qaida is considered a threat to the world, then "Pax Americana" is an equal or greater threat because historical facts teach us that violent force used for illegitimate purposes conceived in a time of mass ignorance and fear has resulted in not decisive victories (like in Rambo or Commando) but in the deaths of countless people who had nothing to do with the powers that fight each other. This is the weapon of mass destruction that made possible the Holocaust of the Jews and others in Nazi Germany and is wiping out Arabs in Iraq and Palestine as you read this. This is the dehumanization of large segments of the global population that appeared in the form of the Crusades, the African slave trade, genocide of the Native Americans, and more recently 911 and the war on Iraq. The OBL vs. GWB epic will not end in Iraq or Afghanistan. It has the potential to continue in other parts of the world, until both mentalities are de-legitimized by spectators in all areas involved. That means, until Americans, Europeans, Muslims, Christians, Jews, and anyone else, realize that the only peace achievable in the world today is one that values humanization and eliminates dehumanization, we will all suffer from the injustices and evils of two mentalities that are bringing humanity closer to a world war 3.



Doing the work of GWB

Read much of the discourse on terrorism, Islam, the war on Iraq, and related topics and you will find all types of written material and Internet sites devoted to a black and white understanding of what is going on. But so what? That only means ignorant people can also type. Look hard enough and you will find material that rejects their simplicity. Look even harder and you will find that there are promising alternative views. But are we ready to uncover them? Are we ready to admit that issues about terrorism and the war on Iraq are too complex to explain in an "us versus them" fashion? Until our professors (like many at this college of ours) and leaders do their jobs, many of us will remain under the spell of idiocy we are under now.



Victims of terror in Israel

As for the alternatives, we begin by not generalizing about Americans and Muslims (or anyone else, including, yes, Jews). We can then identify various groups by understanding them in the context of their own history and culture. By understanding others more comprehensively, we are taking the first step in humanizing them and creating the first barrier to dehumanization. The only thing to do after humanization is to stop the dehumanization.



Victims of Israeli terror in Palestine



# COLLEGE VOICE

## WHO WE ARE

### WHAT WE STAND FOR

Purpose 1. We, in the College Voice, stand for rational and informed views that encourage people to investigate for themselves the stories behind the political, social, and environmental events shaped by our times.

Purpose 2. We stand for speaking up for the oppressed and persecuted in all nations regardless of race, color, creed or gender. Very often, the oppressed among us remain voiceless. Therefore, we aim to give some of them a voice.

Purpose 3. We stand for revealing news and information lacking in the organized media that are pertinent to purposes 1 and 2.

### WHY WE STAND FOR WHAT WE STAND FOR

Statement 1. We believe that rational and informed views (the quality of information) are more accurate and significant than just any or all views (the quantity of information).

Statement 2. We believe that all human beings are equal even though we are influenced by different ideologies and trends. However, some of us are oppressed by others, and so we see it fit to expose the nature of the oppression.

Statement 3. We believe that today, nationalism often obscures the greater and more honorable human functions of humanitarianism. One example of this obscurity is the self-censored views media corporations have on various subjects and events due to the fear of losing funding and support from narrow-minded groups of people. We believe it is important for us to follow the spirit of humanitarianism in place of nationalism.

### EDITORIAL COLLECTIVE

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**SUE US**  
Opinions expressed are those of the writers and not necessarily shared by anyone else.

The College Voice is a member of the Columbia Scholastic Press Association, The Associated Collegiate Press and the College Media Advisor

Meet people in such a manner that if you die,  
they should weep for you, and if you live,  
they should long for you

- ALI IBN ABI TALIB (d. 661)

Education: that which reveals to the wise,  
and conceals from the stupid,  
the vast limits of their knowledge.

- MARK TWAIN (d. 1910)



# HUMORIAL

A letter from our favorite patriot:

**KOLONEL "Krazy" K**

## **WANNA JOIN THE MILITARY?**

**BE A PART OF CIVILIZING THE WORLD TODAY!**

Wanna be part of the White Man's Burden? Wanna prove to your buddies you're a real man or wo-man? Wanna train to kill Iraqis and other sub-humans? Then the U.S. military is just for you. Yeah, yeah for college. Sure, sure for money. Just go to your local recruiting station and sign up for the glorious tests so that you could give your life away to the Man, who will scream and shout until your one of them. Then you could be like the Man wearing your clean uniform, lookin good, and learning how to eat and talk crap. It doesn't end there folks. It gets lots better. Imagine yourself on the way to Iraq or Afghanistan (or perhaps real soon Iran and Syria) in the desert among the savages. Imagine how proud you will feel after teaching them the basics of life (how to dress like White men, how to eat and talk like White men). They will be happy to learn from you how to back off when you're coming and going or how you exercise your manly skills of interrogation and torture. Yes, they will love it.

They will cheer for more and more and more.

Join now! Yeah, yeah for college. Sure, sure for money.

Now lets be honest. There maybe some accidental murder involved. I hate to say it but there may just be some innocent sub-human death. Not too much, but just a little, collateral damage here and there. It happens. Its war, what can you do? But think of the bright side, you will be part of a great historic miraculous heavenly effort that will civilize whole families, neighborhoods, villages and towns and eventually whole countries and continents and then the world! What honor you will receive in playing the part of transforming a backward Iraqi into a ready-to-be-like-the-white-man citizen who will love his way into freedom and into your own heart. Okay, now the bad news. There are many folk out there in the world who hate us, yes absolutely hate us, our way of life, and our liquor stores. Yes, they hate liquor more than our way of life. We must teach them to love our liquor and maybe one day, it's a high hope, but maybe they will love us too. Oh, they also hate our porn and our foreign policy. They just don't understand that we love porn (Abu Ghraib) and want to share it with them so that they can drink liquor like us and then hopefully love us. That's the plan, our foreign policy. Imagine the peace that can come from it. Join now! Yeah, yeah for college. Sure, sure for money.

Come join the U.S. military, where Bush is King and you're the canon fodder. Don't worry about all those crazy lefty-liberal protesters; they're just jealous they can't do all the civilizing we are doing. Forget them, and think about how much the savages need us to liberate them from Islam. Just imagine the service you can give them after teaching them to submit to your weapon. And just in case one of them unruly savages kills you, imagine the praise you will receive as yr coffin (with you in it) is draped with the flag of freedom and presented to your family as proof of your great honor.

Join now! Yeah, yeah for college. Sure, sure for money.

## **Who is Kolonel "Krazy" K?**

He is the Man. He tells it like it is. When he tells you to jump, you do it like Nike. Kolonel K is a trustworthy experienced commander of an elite secret unit who knows what you don't, so stop being skeptical - Trust him! Kolonel K hates politically correct BS and promotes a straightforward one-on-all dialogue between himself and scum like you. Hopefully some of you will heed his call and join the military, so you can one day be a man or wo-man. Your country needs you and Kolonel K is here to knock some nonsense into you. Join now! Yeah, yeah for college. Sure, sure for money.



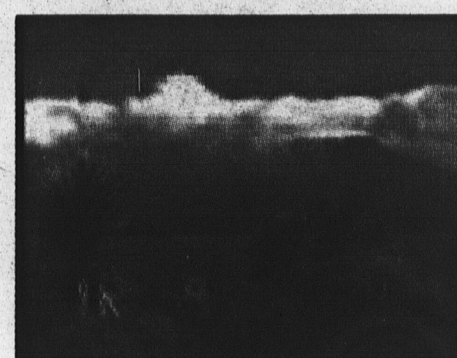
# ART & POETRY



## Innocent Love

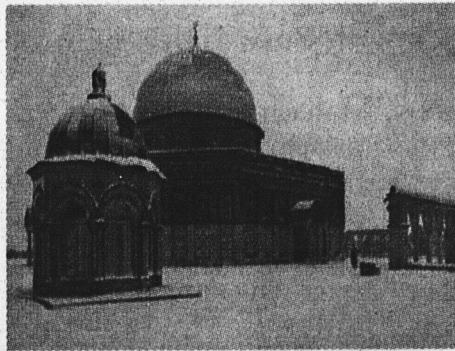
Walking in the path  
Were no man had ever set foot in  
Light as dim as a candle  
Scared I might not recognize  
The tracks that I left behind  
Yet anxious to see what's ahead of me  
Mother told me what she saw  
She said I wasn't ready  
But I craved to observe for myself  
Father warned me I may fall  
He said I wasn't ready  
But Ears closed as I continued  
Walking without delay  
Looking around me  
No one to come along  
They say it was a journey like reading a book  
Revealing its ending in the final page  
As I turned through my pages  
Waiting to read the closing  
Realizing the truth  
That was once whispered to me  
Mother was right, I should've stayed  
Father knew better, I did indeed fall  
Crying in the corner  
Waiting for a hand  
Mother came running  
Holding me dear  
Father lend me a napkin  
Said ill be fine  
Naïve I will stay  
This I promise you  
Mother I'm sorry  
Father please forgive me  
This path was not for me  
Indeed this time I will wait

Jasmine





# POETRY & ART



This is for the ones who sleep in peace  
but live in hell  
For the ones who are of light  
but fight darkness  
This is for the ones who see clearly  
but are killed blindly  
This is for the ones who worship the one  
but are oppressed by many  
This is for the boy that awaits for his fathers return  
from prison  
This is for the girl that awaits for the school to reopen  
This is for the pregnant woman awaiting for hours at  
the check point to go to the hospital  
This is for her husband who can do nothing about it.  
This is for the house that was suppose to be mine  
This is for the stone throwers of Gaza  
This is for the undying hope of a people  
This is for the inspiration they bring  
This is for a people whose faith is unbreakable  
We love you Thank you and pray for you  
This is for the one and only  
This is for the Palestinians  
Allah Maickum (God be with you)

by Omar Hammad





# Forget the Democrats, build the mass movements instead!

ROY ROLLIN

In the aftermath of the elections, much of the mainstream Left remains in a state of despair or disbelief over Bush's victory. Many hoped against hope that some scandal of epic proportions will emerge out of Ohio. Others contemplate packing their bags and moving to Canada. Not a few of the liberal literati have taken to writing off most of America's population as a bunch of religious rednecks who got the government they deserved by not heeding their enlightened advice on who to vote for. However, the real tragedy was not the defeat of the no less pro-war and pro-globalization (i.e., pro-imperialism) John Kerry but the demobilization and demoralization of the anti-war and global justice movements that the liberal left's perspective of "Anybody But Bush" (ABB)

Back in the 1960s, Malcolm X warned activists that when they put the Democrats first, the latter put them last.

was predicated upon.

Early on the leaders of the anti-war movement decided to go with whichever Democrat was considered the most acceptable alternative to Bush in the eyes of "swing state" voters. What that meant was that the "Anybody But Bush" had to be the anybody most like Bush, i.e., John Kerry. Only the reformists were so effective in their herding of anti-war activists into the Kerry campaign and off of the streets, that the Democrats didn't even see any good reasons to throw any crumbs their way. After all, who else were they going

to vote for? And since the ABBers did such a good job of taking the wind out of the anti-war movement's sails, the ruling rich saw no need to employ a Kerry to do so and chose to stick with Bush instead.

Back in the 1960s, Malcolm X warned activists that when they put the Democrats first, the latter put them last. Ralph Nader, the bete-noir of the ABBers, more recently reminded radicals that when they get taken for granted, they get taken. Instead of heeding such sound advice, the left chose to give Kerry a blank check to spend however he saw fit just as

evil" politics under the guise of "beating Bush." Thus they built one large demonstration during the Republican convention, replacing opposition to the war with opposition to "the Bush agenda." In other words, they organized support for Kerry, since that "agenda" was the common property of both bosses parties.

Likewise they chose to ignore the opportunity of bringing the anti-war movement closer to the labor movement when they did nothing to build the Million Worker March, which attempted to unite the

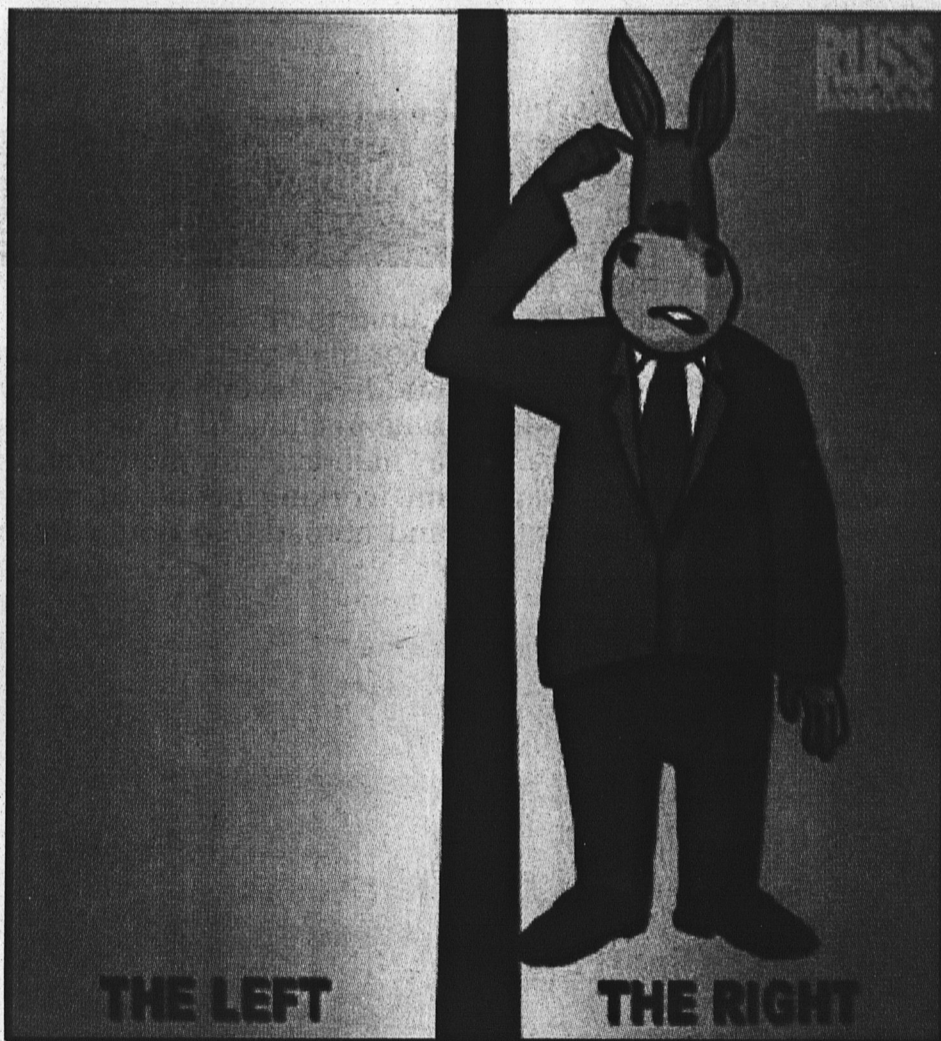
the White House even if that Democrat had supported GATT, NAFTA, the WTO and the abolition of welfare and was for a \$7.00 an hour minimum wage two years from now! Indeed the AFL-CIO, whose ranks now account for a paltry 13% of the American workforce, spent far more of its time, energy and resources upon the Kerry campaign than it has on any recent organizing drives or strike support, let

Like Gore four years ago, Kerry had no desire to unleash any popular mobilizations against electoral fraud, which might get beyond the control of the Democrats and embarrass American "democracy" in the eyes of the world.

alone taking on notorious non-union outfits like Walmart.

In exchange for all this, they got a candidate who promised, every time he got a chance to do so, to exceed the bumbling Bush in bloodthirstiness when it came to waging the so-called "War on Terror." In case any one other than the ABBers wasn't listening, Kerry made sure that he used the word "kill" in every one of the debates to drive home the point. The irony of the liberal left's unconditional surrender to the pro-war Democrats was not lost on conservative commentator even if those of The Nation or the rest of the "progressive" publications that lined up behind Kerry failed to see it.

Perhaps that was because their vision was blurred by their heads being so far up the Democrats posteriors. That's not to say the reformists failed to fight. Like the Democrats they tailed after, they chose to "beat Bush" by going after the main enemy, Ralph Nader. Once again building a



Kerry and the other Democrats had given Bush the same free hand when it came to waging his wars. Rather than mobilizing the masses of anti-war activists when the warmongers were on the ropes in the wake of Torturegate and the uprisings last April, the leadership of the main antiwar groups like UFPJ chose to channel growing discontent against the war into the dead-end of "lesser

struggle against the war with the struggle for jobs and health care. Instead, UFPJ, which had taken the trouble to endorse the rally, sent its activists into "swing states" to ring doorbells for John Kerry, who was neither against the war nor for jobs or health care. The AFL-CIO leadership was no better. It sought to sabotage the march from the get-go as a "diversion" from the main task of putting a Democrat in



political party independent of both bosses' parties got put on the back burner since this was the most 'important' election since Goldwater, Nixon, Reagan, Bush Sr. and Bob Dole were running. For their part, the Democrats made it clear that they would rather lose the election than lose their captive constituencies to Nader. So they spent millions of dollars, and, more importantly, forced Nader to do the same in opposing their efforts, in getting the latter knocked off the ballot in as many states as possible. So desperate were the Democrats to maintain their vice-like grip on working people's votes that they even went after small fry socialist candidates in some states. One guy that they didn't go after in the key "swing state" of Florida was George Bush, where the Republicans filed late and could have been technically disqualified if they had made a case of it. Of course, they didn't make much of case against Bush's Jim Crowing thousands of Black people out of their votes there in 2000 either. And as soon as the pundits had pronounced Bush the winner in Ohio, Kerry rushed to surrender, instead urging "unity" behind Bush and his assault on Fallujah. Like Gore four years ago, Kerry had no desire to unleash any popular mobilizations against

Just as the ABBers accepted Kerry as the only game in town, so too did Kerry accept Bush's "war on terror" as the only acceptable parameters to campaign within. Thus whatever differences there were over how to better conduct imperialist aggression around the world and enforce austerity and repression at home to pay for it.

electoral fraud, which might get beyond the control of the Democrats and embarrass American "democracy" in the eyes of the world.

After all, that might jeopardize the legitimacy of the "war on terror", which Kerry, no less than Bush, sees as the key vehicle for exporting "freedom" (or is it "free" enterprise) around the world. Eugene V. Debs once said that he'd rather vote for something he wanted and not get it. The ABB left, on the other hand, preferred to vote for something they didn't want and got it - regardless of which capitalist candidate came out on top. In Star Wars, Yoda told Luke Skywalker to honor those who fight for what they believe in. The liberal left prefers to pretend to believe in what others fight for while at the same time they fight against those who actually do so like Nader.

Just as the ABBers accepted Kerry as the only game in town, so too did Kerry accept Bush's "war on terror" as the only acceptable parameters to campaign within. Thus whatever differences there were between the two were over how to better conduct imperialist aggression around the world and enforce austerity and repression at home to pay for it. Kerry and Edwards were as much for the PATRIOT ACT as were Bush and Cheney. Nor were they about to live up to Bush's charges that they were tax and spend liberals. All they promised was trickle down Reaganomics, i.e., more corporate welfare for the rich, if only the latter would create jobs or health care, since any increase in government spending on social services was out of the question. While the more naive nitwits amongst the lesser evilists may have hoped that Kerry was just pulling a fast one by faking to the right, the fact of the matter is that both sets of capitalism's candidates have the same program because they work for the same employer, if only on different sides of the street. For the past thirty years,

Republicans and Democrats have taken turns in dishing out layoffs and cutbacks at home while waging wars of imperial aggression abroad as American capitalism looks to maintain itself as the unchallenged master of the universe. And even though all of capitalism's candidates blatantly stated their desire to do more of the same, the liberal intelligentsia continued to look for a lesser evil. So who was really

However, the real tragedy was not the defeat of the no less pro-war and pro-globalization (i.e., pro-imperialism) John Kerry but the demobilization and demoralization of the anti-war and global justice movements that the liberal left's perspective of "Anybody But Bush" (ABB) was predicated upon.

stupid then?

For their part, Bush and his buddies haven't wasted any time in citing their victory as a "mandate" for more attacks on working people at home and abroad. No doubt Bush counts on the Democrats rolling over for him for the next four years the same way they did during the previous four. The real question is whether or not the left will continue to roll over for the Democrats. The Bush gang will create many more enemies for itself here when it attacks workers living standards, just as it is now doing in Iraq with its attack on Fallujah. In other words, there will be no lack of opportunities for the left to organize around.

We can start by reviving the anti-war movement in response to the current carnage in Iraq. There already exists massive anti-war sentiment throughout the country; at least 50% of the population is opposed to the war and 80% of those who voted for Kerry did so because they, unlike their

candidate, were against the war. There are thousands of antiwar and global justice activists out there who, rather than move to Canada, would rather stand and fight right here. They may have mistakenly believed that putting Kerry in office was a way to open up space for such a fight, when, in fact, it was a way of putting off that fight. Now there are no more excuses. The question is what kind of fight there will be.

Will the left be content to wait until the same reformists who betrayed the anti-war movement to the Democrats put away their Kerry crying towels and do something or will we at least try to start something in the here and now while American GIs and Iraqi civilians are dying in the streets of Fallujah? And when the big guns of lesser evil liberalism do decide to mobilize, usually when they see that the left has beaten them to it, will we once again surrender to them just as they surrendered to the Democrats? Will we reach out to the most oppressed and exploited as allies by linking their struggles to the fight against war or will we allow the reformists to abandon them out of fear of alienating the Democrats and their "swing state" voters? Or will we build an anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist pole of attraction within the mass movement that can challenge the reformists for hegemony so that we won't have to repeat the same debacle in 2008, only with a Democrat even more right wing than Kerry. And that means picking up where the Nader campaign left off, by building an independent party of, by and for working people.

Thus whatever differences there were between the two [Bush and Kerry] were over how to better conduct imperialist aggression around the world and enforce austerity and repression at home to pay for it.



# CV BOOK REVIEW

On T. Todorov's

## THE CONQUEST OF AMERICA

Professor Todorov's *The Conquest of America* approaches the 1492 and beyond encounter between Europe and the natives of the newly discovered America in a way that examines not only how Europeans saw (and understood) the natives but also how human beings see (or understand) each other today. His thesis deals with how the terrible consequences of negating the Other's humanity can be prevented in the future. "I am writing this book to prevent this story and a thousand others like it from being forgotten. I believe in the necessity of 'seeking the truth' and in the obligation of making it known; I know that the function of information exists, and that the effect of information can be powerful. My hope is not that Mayan women will now have European men thrown to the dogs (an absurd supposition, obviously), but that we remember what can happen if we do not succeed in discovering the other." (p. 247)

Todorov's book begins with the statement that the subject of his work will be "the discovery self makes of the other" (p. 3). His reason for picking the conquest of America is because this "encounter will never again achieve such an intensity", yet, it is the conquest "that heralds and establishes our present identity" and marks "the beginning of the modern era" (p. 5). He chooses a handful of figures, that represent the different shades of the conquest of the Americas. Even within each figure (some more than others) there seems to be different stages of understanding the Other. There is Christopher Columbus, a medieval mind. But there is also Hernando Cortes, the modern mind. Both are knee deep in the conquest and influence scores of conquistadors to commit what Todorov calls "the greatest genocide in human history" (p. 5). Then there is Bartolome de Las Casas and Bernardino de Sahagun who become part of counter movements which in

various ways seek justice for the natives. The first message received from Todorov's book is that the Europeans were not monolithic in how they saw the Other and this is how human beings generally are even today. Where on one hand there exists the possibility of total denial of the Others' equality there also exists the possibility of the opposite - to acknowledge the Other as an equal.

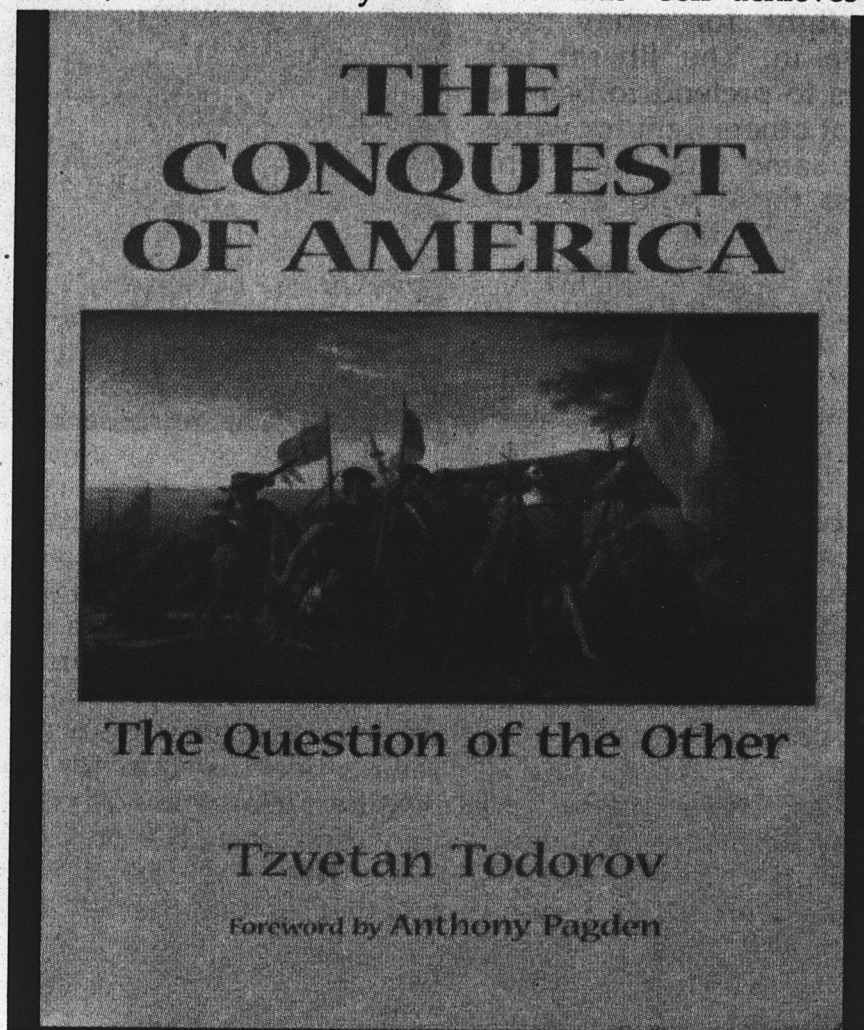
Columbus, according to Todorov, is motivated by the

mentality" that initiates the "modern era" (p. 12). Despite his primary motive for his journeys, his discovery "instead of a means becomes an end" (p. 13). He is so much into discovering and assimilating his discoveries into his mentality that he fails to discover the fact that he has actually discovered a "new land" far away from China. The Other, therefore, becomes assimilated to his visions and loses all real identity. Columbus' self achieves the

Aztecs in order to pass as Quetzalcoatl (the ancient and powerful divine-man worshipped by the Aztecs). He plays the game of "divide and conquer" through a mind disconnected from religious dogma (though the Christian faith was for him a reason to conquer the Other and substitute Aztec evil with Christian good).

Both Columbus and Cortez had primary objectives that overrode the humanity of the Other. Columbus' ego deluded him to the point where his noble and holy mission justified cruel treatment of the natives. So entrenched was he that he even failed to establish communication with the natives (and his own men also), because in his "hermeneutics human beings have no particular place." (p. 33) To Columbus the natives are "generous" when they play into his plans but "cowardly" when they act according to their own interests (p. 36 - 40). "What is denied," writes Todorov, "is the existence of a human substance truly other, something capable of being not merely an imperfect state of oneself" (p. 42). His assimilationist viewpoint eventually turned to intolerance and inequality of the Other which commenced in their enslavement. Towards the end of his life he insisted to be free of all guilt for the murder of thousands of natives, including children. Why would he even consider entertaining such innocence if there was no feeling of guilt? Perhaps he finally realized the weakness of his understanding of the Other.

Cortez's primary objective was to make a name for himself by conquering the Aztecs and making them subordinate to himself and Spain. Rather than exploit the islands like Columbus, Cortez wanted to go for the main course (the mainland) where the real potential for wealth lay. This objective either blinded him or made him disregard the humanity of the natives, which justified all sorts of murder and mass exploitation. To succeed,



"universal victory of Christianity" (p. 10). He is to accomplish this by contacting the Emperor of China and initiating a great trade. The wealth from this trade will then fund the war on the Muslims for the liberation of Jerusalem (p.11). Along the way Columbus gives meaning (interpretation) to his every discovery (by naming and describing) according to his own perception of this primary mission - as a man chosen by God to elevate Christianity to meet the requirements of the Second Coming of Christ. Columbus is of the "medieval

negation of the Other by this very means and the result is catastrophic to the natives.

Cortez, on the other hand, knew exactly what was discovered and used methods of inquiry and control, which reflect his modern mentality. He adapted and then improvised his way to success (p. 248). He used force, just as Columbus had, but only when it suited a purpose subordinate to his schemes of infiltrating the Aztec's control over the non-Aztecs. Though inferior in arms he became superior in image (to the Other) by exploiting the mentality of the



Cortez overcame the obstacle of communication (p. 99 – 101). He then imposed on the Other his show of power (p. 114). Fame (p. 111) along with power is how he achieved his objective, even if it meant massacring the natives and causing them to suffer brutally if they challenged his authority. In both cases (Columbus and Cortez) there was the “desire for wealth and the impulse to master – certainly these two forms of aspiration to power motivate the Spaniards’ conduct; but this conduct is also conditioned by their notion of the Indians as inferior beings, halfway between men and beasts. Without this essential premise, the destruction could not have taken place” (p. 146).

In contrast to Columbus and Cortez are Las Casas and Sahagun. Both played a role in preserving Indian history, traditions, and languages, thereby halting the total extinction of the Others’ past. Both also came to recognize the Other in ways the conquistadors couldn’t. Las Casas, who became a Dominican, started off as part of the destructive system of the colonialists. After he saw the genocide (and goes through a “conversion” (p. 169)) he maintains the position of an “assimilationist” where benevolence of the Spanish is key. Soon after he went into a period of rest for 10 years and wrote on the history of the Indies. After his period of rest

he once again became active, this time (like a radical) totally against the system of slavery and murder and convinced Charles V and the Pope to end slavery in 1542. This decision is reversed due to pressure from proponents of slavery, which culminates in the great debate between Las Casas and the academic Sepulveda in 1550. It is during this period that Las Casas becomes a “perspectivist” (p. 189) – seeing the Other’s perspective as totally equal to his own: “renouncing, in practice, the desire to assimilate the Indians, he chooses the neutral path: the Indians will decide their own future for themselves” (p. 193). He becomes an Indian as much as he remains European in identity. It is at the various stages of this transformation that Las Casas is able to fight for the rights of the natives and counter the force of genocide.

Sahagun, the Franciscan, in the same vein, allows the Other to speak for themselves. He becomes the teacher and writer in the cause of the natives (p. 219). He began teaching Latin grammar in the Franciscan seminary of Tlateloco where his finest students are natives, thus proving their natural ability to learn and thus, expressing their natural equality with the Europeans (p. 220). Despite pressure he is able to write and preserve the natives’ history in his *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva Espana* that

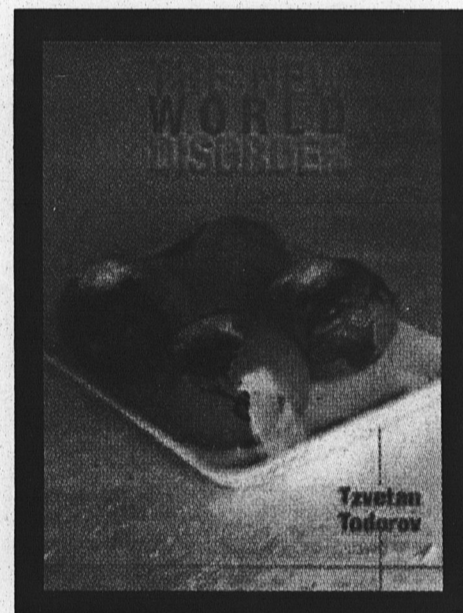
“occupies Sahagun for nearly forty years” (p. 227). This is the attempt to know the Other bearing fruit. “Knowledge”, writes Todorov, “will prevail over pragmatic interests” (p. 223). The result is this: “Sahagun had started from the notion of utilizing the Indians’ knowledge in order to contribute to the propagation of the Europeans’ culture; he has ended by putting his own knowledge in the service of the preservation of the native culture” (p. 237).

Both Las Casas and Sahagun learn the language of the natives (as did Cortez making sure communication with the natives was successful) and put it to use to benefit the natives. Language, in their case becomes one of the primary tools for achieving justice for the natives. Both also came to see the Others as subjects, no longer mere objects (as did Columbus and Cortez). All four of these figures are different shades of the self. We have many people today who could play the roles of Columbus and Cortez, as well as, Las Casas and Sahagun. The purpose of the book is not only to show the dangers of not knowing the Other, but also to show examples of how to know the Other. The descendants of the victims of yesterday can easily become the inflictors of injustice today. Todorov’s thesis is a unique way of expressing the importance of knowing those who are foreign

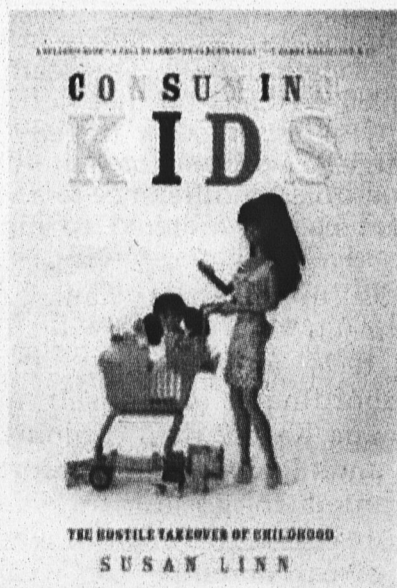
to our worldview or life philosophy. The fact that Others have their own histories, traditions, values, and worldviews must be recognized from the start in order to avoid clashes of ignorance. However, knowing the Other and respecting the Other are two different things. Knowing alone may not curb exploiting the Other, but finding respect for the Other may. Las Casas and Sahagun, as traditionalists they once were, found it in themselves to respect the natives because they allowed their Self’s to discover it in the Other.

*The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other*, by Tzvetan Todorov, Univ. of Oklahoma Press, March 1999, ISBN 0806131373

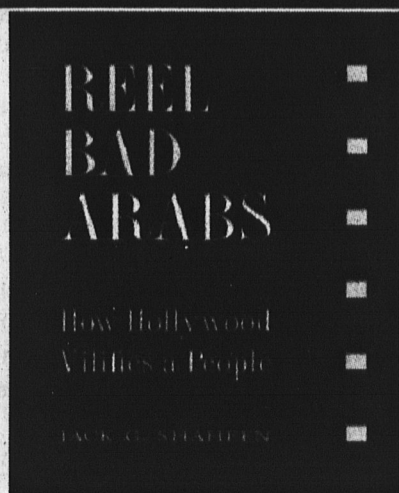
Todorov’s new book: *The New World Disorder*, Polity Press, April 2005, ISBN 0745633692



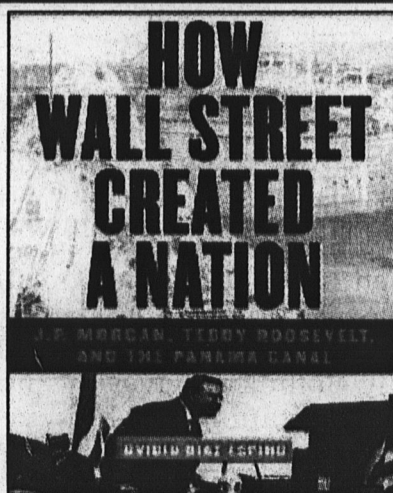
## Books you can read at the College Voice Office



**Consuming Kids**  
Susan E. Linn  
ISBN: 1565847830  
Format: Hardcover, 256pp  
Pub. Date: May 2004  
Publisher: The New Press



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Jack Shaheen  
ISBN: 1566563887  
Format: Paperback, 592pp  
Pub. Date: April 2001  
Publisher: Interlink Pub. Group,



**How Wall Street Created a Nation**  
Ovidio Diaz Espino  
ISBN: 1568582668  
Format: Paperback, 254pp  
Pub. Date: August 2003  
Publisher: Avalon Publishing Group

## MANUFACTURING CONSENT

The Political Economy of the Mass Media

By EDWARD S. HERMAN and NOAM CHOMSKY

With a new introduction by the authors

NEW YORK—Contrary to the usual image of the

**Manufacturing Consent**  
Edward Herman, Noam Chomsky  
ISBN: 0375714499  
Format: Trade Paper  
Pub. Date: 1/1/2002  
Publisher(s): Pantheon



# The war on Iraq has made moral cowards of us all

SCOTT RITTER

The full scale of the human cost already paid for the war on Iraq is only now becoming clear. Last week's estimate by investigators, using credible methodology, that more than 100,000 Iraqi civilians - most of them women and children - have died since the US-led invasion is a profound moral indictment of our countries. The US and British governments quickly moved to cast doubt on the Lancet medical journal findings, citing other studies. These mainly media-based reports put the number of Iraqi civilian deaths at about 15,000 - although the basis for such an endorsement is unclear, since neither the US nor the UK admits to collecting data on Iraqi civilian casualties.

Civilian deaths have always been a tragic reality of modern war. But the conflict in Iraq was supposed to be different - US and British forces were dispatched to liberate the Iraqi people, not impose their own tyranny of violence. Reading accounts of the US-led invasion, one is struck by the constant, almost casual, reference to civilian deaths. Soldiers and marines speak of destroying hundreds, if not thousands, of vehicles that turned out to be crammed with civilians. US marines acknowledged in the aftermath of the early, bloody battle for Nassiriya that their artillery and air power had pounded civilian areas in a blind effort to suppress insurgents thought to be holed up in the city. The infamous "shock and awe" bombing of Baghdad produced hundreds of deaths, as did the 3rd Infantry Division's "Thunder Run", an armored thrust in Baghdad that slaughtered everyone in its path.

It is true that, with only a few exceptions, civilians who died as a result of ground combat were not deliberately targeted, but were caught up in the machinery of modern warfare. But when the same claim is made about civilians killed in aerial attacks (the Lancet study estimates that most of civilian deaths were the result of air attacks), the comparison quickly falls apart. Helicopter engagements apart, most aerial bombardment is deliberate and pre-planned. US and British military officials like to brag about the accuracy of the "precision" munitions used in

these strikes, claiming this makes the kind of modern warfare practiced by the coalition in Iraq the most humanitarian in history.

But there is nothing humanitarian about explosives once they detonate near civilians, or about a bomb guided to the wrong target. Dozens of civilians were killed during the vain effort to eliminate Saddam Hussein with "pinpoint" air strikes, and hundreds have perished in the campaign to eliminate alleged terrorist targets in Falluja. A "smart bomb" is only as good as the data used to direct it. And the abysmal quality of the intelligence used has made the smartest of bombs just as dumb and indiscriminate as those, for example, dropped during the second world war.



*An Iraqi girl screamed Tuesday after her parents were killed when American soldiers fired on their car in Tal Afar, Iraq.*

The fact that most bombing missions in Iraq today are pre-planned, with targets allegedly carefully vetted, further indicts those who wage this war in the name of freedom. If these targets are so precise, then those selecting them cannot escape the fact that they are deliberately targeting innocent civilians at the same time as they seek to destroy their intended foe. Some would dismiss these civilians as "collateral damage".

But we must keep in mind that the British and US governments made a deliberate decision to enter into a conflict of their choosing, not one that was thrust upon them. We invaded Iraq to free Iraqis from a dictator who, by some accounts, oversaw the killing of about 300,000 of his subjects -

although no one has been able to verify more than a small fraction of the figure. If it is correct, it took Saddam decades to reach such a horrific statistic. The US and UK have, it seems, reached a third of that total in just 18 months.

Meanwhile, the latest scandal over missing nuclear-related high explosives in Iraq (traced and controlled under the UN inspections regime) only underscores the utter deceitfulness of the Bush-Blair argument for the war. Having claimed the uncertainty surrounding Iraq's WMD capability constituted a threat that could not go unchallenged in a post-9/11 world, one would have expected the two leaders to insist on a military course of action that brought under immediate coalition

control any aspect of potential WMD capability, especially relating to any possible nuclear threat. That the US military did not have a dedicated force to locate and neutralize these explosives underscores the fact that both Bush and Blair knew that there was no threat from Iraq, nuclear or otherwise.

Of course, the US and Britain have a history of turning a blind eye to Iraqi suffering when it suits their political purposes. During the 1990s, hundreds of thousands are estimated by the UN to have died as a result of sanctions. Throughout that time, the US and the UK maintained the fiction that this was the fault of Saddam Hussein, who refused to give up his WMD. We now know that Saddam had disarmed and those deaths

were the responsibility of the US and Britain, which refused to lift sanctions. There are many culpable individuals and organizations history will hold to account for the war - from deceitful politicians and journalists to acquiescent military professionals and silent citizens of the world's democracies. As the evidence has piled up confirming what I and others had reported - that Iraq was already disarmed by the late 1990s - my personal vote for one of the most culpable individuals would go to Hans Blix, who headed the UN weapons inspection team in the run-up to war. He had the power if not to prevent, at least to forestall a war with Iraq. Blix knew that Iraq was disarmed, but in his mealy-mouthed testimony to the UN security council helped provide fodder for war. His failure to stand up to the lies used by Bush and Blair to sell the Iraq war must brand him a moral and intellectual coward.

But we all are moral cowards when it comes to Iraq. Our collective inability to summon the requisite shame and rage when confronted by an estimate of 100,000 dead Iraqi civilians in the prosecution of an illegal and unjust war not only condemns us, but adds credibility to those who oppose us. The fact that a criminal such as Osama bin Laden can broadcast a videotape on the eve of the US presidential election in which his message is viewed by many around the world as a sober argument in support of his cause is the harshest indictment of the failure of the US and Britain to implement sound policy in the aftermath of 9/11. The death of 3,000 civilians on that horrible day represented a tragedy of huge proportions. Our continued indifference to a war that has slaughtered so many Iraqi civilians, and will continue to kill more, is in many ways an even greater tragedy: not only in terms of scale, but also because these deaths were inflicted by our own hand in the course of an action that has no defense.

Scott Ritter was a senior UN weapons inspector in Iraq between 1991 and 1998 and is the author of *Frontier Justice: Weapons of Mass Destruction and the Bushwhacking of America*



Continued from back page

But Zionism is separate. It's a political program, and has nothing to do with professional identity. "I don't have a problem with Jewish identity; I have problem with the claim that it is justified -- in the name of the national liberation of the Jewish people -- to perpetuate crimes against humanity and war crimes," he says solemnly.

**Apartheid State:**

According to Davis, more than 950,000 indigenous Palestinians owned 94 percent of the region prior to 1948. Following the establishment of the State of Israel, 530 of their villages and localities were decimated, he says. More than 800,000 Palestinians fled or were expelled from the territory -- the Diaspora refugees.

Today, the one million Palestinians living within "Green Line" borders represent 20 percent of Israel's citizens. Some 250,000 are still internally displaced, denied the right of return to their homes. Last month was the fourth anniversary of the second intifada, the uprising against Israeli forces that has cost an estimated 3,000 Palestinian and nearly 1,000 Israeli lives.



**The carnage continues.**

A recent rocket attack killing two Israeli children in a border town, prompted Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon to expand his army's offensive in the territory.

"This political Zionist state is essential an apartheid state with some democratic declarations. Israel is an apartheid state in the same sense that South Africa was for many decades. It regulates racial choices and structures through acts of parliament and law enforcement."

More Israeli raids and air strikes are expected before a unilateral withdrawal of its troops and settlers from the occupied Gaza Strip. Sharon told the Yediot Ahranot Daily, an Israeli newspaper, that Israel would "continue its war on terrorism, and will remain in the West Bank after disengagement from Gaza.

"It is very possible that, after the evacuation, there will be a long period when nothing else happens," Sharon said. The internationally backed "Road Map" to peace, which would see a Palestinian state by 2005, has been abandoned, according to Israel's critics. The worsening situation in the Middle East was addressed during the UN's 59th Annual General Assembly in September.

"Davis has repeatedly seen Arab cemeteries trespassed -- their sanctity violated along with the razing of urban and rural homes. Land and sub-soil are vital in Israel. About 93 per cent of the territory is reserved for settlement, cultivation and development. "Apartheid should be rejected -- not for double standards and inconsistencies, but for the injury it perpetrates against the indigenous peoples of Palestine."

Taking center stage was Israel's so-called "security barrier" -- a 687 kilometer structure, now largely completed, characterized by razor wire, military patrol roads, sand paths and surveillance cameras. Although Israel claims the wall's construction is an anti-terrorism measure, critics like Davis call it the de facto annexation of Palestinian lands -- both present and future. Its route snakes across the West Bank, enclosing the illegal settlements and isolating East Jerusalem.

If Palestinians wish to travel to school, work or religious sites, they will need the Israeli military's permission. Plans for the barrier are subject to change.

However, the state's restriction on movement, coupled with its seizure of natural resources, have already battered the Palestinian economy, according to the press. "This political Zionist state is essential an apartheid state with some democratic declarations. Israel is an

apartheid state in the same sense that South Africa was for many decades. It regulates racial choices and structures through acts of parliament and law enforcement,"

Davis alleges. "You need to have a democratic constitution in order to be able to have protection. In the apartheid states, such constitutions do not exist -- not in former Apartheid South Africa, and not in present-day Israel." The acclaimed scholar admits Palestinians are represented in Parliament. They have equal access to courts of law. Nonetheless, 20 per cent of these citizens remain ghettoized in 2.5 per cent of the state.

Davis has repeatedly seen Arab cemeteries trespassed -- their sanctity violated along with the razing of urban and rural homes. Land and sub-soil are vital in Israel. About 93 per cent of the territory is reserved for settlement, cultivation and development. "Apartheid should be rejected -- not for double standards and inconsistencies, but for the injury it perpetrates against the indigenous peoples of Palestine."

**International laws broken:**

According to Davis, this "classic apartheid construction" contravenes the UN General Assembly resolution 181, which recommends the partitioning of Palestine into Jewish and Arab. Israel's claim to Jerusalem as the capital of the state of Israel is simply "null and void, illegal and preposterous." The resolution,

he asserts, does not license any party, including Israel army, to "ethnically cleanse the territories allocated by the UN General Assembly for the Jewish state."

Davis is not alone; thousands of Israeli Jews furtively subscribe to his views, he says. In the future,

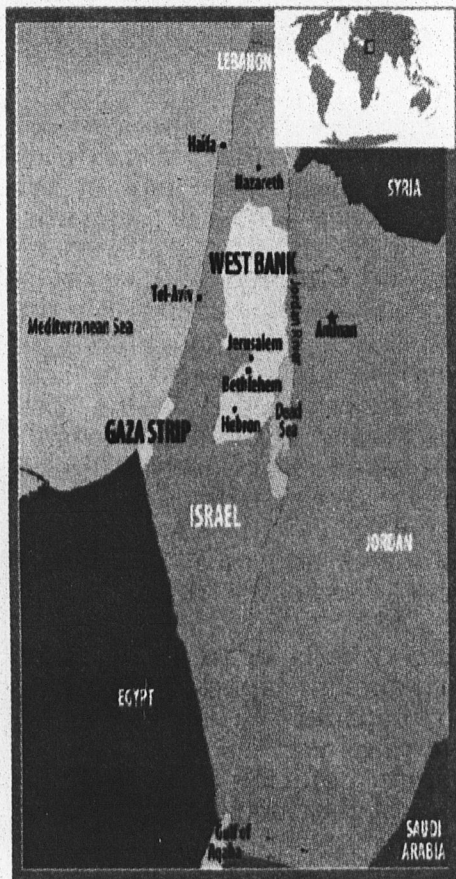
however, he predicts it will become progressively more difficult to label anti-Zionism activists as anti-Jewish. In his article, 'The Movement against Israeli Apartheid in Palestine', Davis writes that political awareness spread through the country's academic circles following the Oslo Accord collapse. In 2000, he was a part of a tenuous coalition of activists in Jerusalem and Haifa launching a 'No Apartheid' campaign. However, their work was curtailed during the intifada. The phrase 'Civil Society' describes the kind of state in which Davis would be happy to live.

"Davis is not alone; thousands of Israeli Jews furtively subscribe to his views, he says. In the future, however, he predicts it will become progressively more difficult to label anti-Zionism activists as anti-Jewish."

Nonetheless, Davis is unsure of a non-violent Palestinian movement in the face of Israel's military superiority. He's been radicalized by his experience as a Palestinian Jew. No longer an ideological pacifist or anti-militarist, he offers only a single vision of justice - the removal of institutions of apartheid, colonization, dispossession and occupation of Palestinian Arabs. He wants a more "just social and political order, one based on equality of individual and collective, economic, social, cultural, civil, political and national rights for all."

His duty, he says, is the same of all persons worldwide -- to mobilize against war crimes perpetrated by governments in their citizens' own names. "Not in my name," Davis cries out, a closed hand gesticulating his affront. "Not in my name as an individual and citizen." He raises his voice as loud as he is able to shout: "Not in my name as a Jew."

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# Not In His Name: Palestinian Jew Speaks Out Against 'Apartheid State'

Kevin Spurgaitis  
Catholic New Times



Sunday, October 24, 2004 -- Dressed in a formal shirt and suspenders -- his front pocket brimming with scribbled cues -- Dr. Uri Davis looks very much an academic. He sports a silver goatee and thinning hair, speaking with sparse, sardonic jibes. The Jewish scholar stands poised before a roused group of undergraduates, behind a podium draped in a Palestinian banner. Organized by the National Council on Canada-Arab Relations and Solidarity for Palestinian Human Rights, his keynote address at Toronto's York University is no sober oration, though. His is a heartfelt plea.

"For 30 years, the anthropologist and philosopher excavated Israel's democracy, trying to expose what he calls the "pervasive system of legal and social discrimination" against the Palestinian people."

"The flag of the State of Israel does not represent for me any signifier of pride or contentment. The flag of my country, the flag of Palestine, is the flag I'm happy to speak behind," he says with scorn. "I identify my country as the country of Palestine. I identify the state in which I'm a citizen as the state of Israel, a member state of the United Nations organization. It has a flag I personally would not wish to speak in front of. This flag is raised over detention and torture centers, police stations and prisons, where political detainees are incinerated."

Davis is a Jewish citizen of Israel, but staunchly identifies himself as a "Palestinian Jew". Born in an undivided Jerusalem in 1943, and raised by his British and

Czechoslovakian parents, he is an unlikely booster of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO).

For 30 years, the anthropologist and philosopher excavated Israel's democracy, trying to expose what he calls the "pervasive system of legal and social discrimination" against the Palestinian people.



Davis is the founding member and chairperson of the Movement against Israeli Apartheid in Palestine (MAIAP), and an observer-member with the Palestinian National Council. He is involved with the advocacy groups, MIFTAH (the Palestinian Initiative for the Promotion of Global Dialogue and Democracy) and Al-Beit (the Association for the Defense of Human Rights in Israel). An expert on Middle Eastern affairs and Islamic history, he continues as a fellow at the University of Durham and the University of Exeter in the U.K.

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The human rights defender has written and edited 15 books and numerous articles on politics, legal systems and human rights in Israel and Palestine. In his first book, 'Israel, An Apartheid State', originally published in 1987, he claimed Israeli legislation guarantees the rights of only a "subset of its citizenry". He followed its success with his autobiography, 'Crossing the Border', and his most recent release, 'Apartheid Israel: Possibilities for the Struggle Within'. Davis resides in the Arab city of Sakhnin in northern Israel, although as a Jew, he may live anywhere in the state -- a right denied to his Arab neighbors.

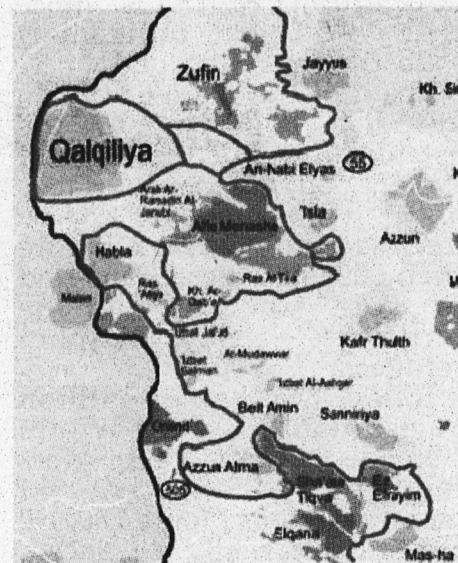
Formerly a resident of the South-Western UK near Plymouth, he arrived in Sakhnin as director of external relations with the Arab Institute for Vocational Completion. But after his service there, he saw no reason to change his address.

In his article, 'Just an Ordinary Sakhnin Day', published in 2001, he writes: "After I get up in my flat, brush my teeth, shave, comb my balding scalp, dress and go out to the veranda to greet my neighbors, I see my city of Sakhnin surrounded by a circle of rather lovely leafy rural suburban communal residential localities -- mostly perched on the mountain tops. This is what I see from my veranda when I get up in the morning."

His adopted home is not a collegiate town, nor a trendy tourist locale. It's sort of an industrial park, yet with no industrial plants of which to speak. However, as the only Jew, he does not face life imprisonment for membership in an illegal organization. He does not have tanks outside his window threatening his children. He says he has yet to be denied access to hospital treatment, or delayed "indefinitely" at a military checkpoint -- the reported indignities endured by Palestinians. Here, Davis' choice of residence reflects his commitment to a future in which all Jews and Palestinians enjoy equal rights.

Standing up as a Jew: His consciousness comes from the Holocaust. His Jewish mother's family was killed in World War II following the Nazi-invasion of

Czechoslovakia. "Her values underpinned my moral development and are universally relevant for all concerned including myself," he remarked in an article in the Irish Times.



In that article, he also accused Israel of exploiting the extermination of Jews in Europe, describing it as "a direct assault" on his ancestors. He says: "The publishing of any criticism of Israel to be anti-Semitic has been an instrument of intimidating critical debate on Israel for decades. It's therefore essential to base or anchor our narrative in fundamental separation between Zionism and Judaism. It's the most difficult obstacle that faces us." Political Zionism, he says, is a "wholly negative proposition."

Zionist is not my identity. I operate on the basis of a clear distinction between Zionism and Judaism. I have nothing against the Jewish collective, tribal identity or theological identity.

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