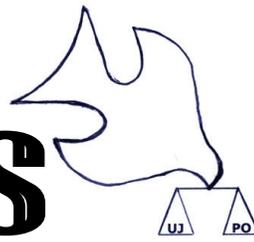


# UJPO News



The United Jewish People's Order is a national, nonpartisan, socialist-oriented, secular organization.

Serving Canada's progressive Jews in individual organizations since 1926 and collectively as the UJPO since 1945!

Winter 2013 - Volume #35, Issue #1

## BEN SHEK SOCIAL JUSTICE AWARD

United Jewish People's Order Canada

Honours (name)

*For a lifetime of leadership, dedication and exceptional contribution  
To social justice locally, nationally and internationally,  
in keeping with the proud history and values of the  
United Jewish People's Order.*

This award, launched in October 2011, has been created in Ben Shek's name (a beloved UJPO member who died in 2010) to honour someone who fulfills the following criteria:

- Is a UJPO member
- Upholds the values of the organization
- Is/has been active in promoting social justice
- Whose energies and commitment have enriched our organization

### Procedures:

1. Nominations must be submitted in writing to the UJPO National Board, by the end of June (annually), with the reasons why the person should be considered.
2. A UJPO member from any section can nominate any other UJPO member.
3. The UJPO National Resident Board will make a selection, then seek approval from other members of the National Board.
4. Once a decision is made, the plaque will be ordered in the name of the person(s) receiving the award.
5. The award(s) will be presented at our annual national meeting, normally held in the fall.

## HONOURABLE MENTSHN

### DORA ROSENBAUM

Dora Rosenbaum grew up in a home that was centred around the Jewish left – the Arbeter Ring and Sholem Aleichem communities. She has been a life-long activist: for several years she held positions on the Winnipeg UJPO executive, including vice-president, and she is still a member of the Board. She has also contributed many reports to UJPO News on Winnipeg's activities.

Dora loves music. For many years she has been a member of the choir of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians; in 2007, she helped found the North End Choir, now with 19 members.

We celebrate and thank Dora for her past, present and future contributions to the UJPO and the Winnipeg community! ♦

## THE SECTIONS' CHRONICLES

### FROM TORONTO

By MARSHA FINE SOLNICKI, President

Toronto UJPO held its AGM on November 19, 2012. Close to 50 members attended. Reports were heard from, among others, the Program, Social Justice and Membership committees, Locations and Human Resources committees, the Toronto Jewish Folk Choir and Outlook Magazine. Other items of business were Toronto by-laws, financial statements and elections. Below is the report presented to the meeting by Marsha Fine Solnicki, President of the Toronto UJPO.

UJPO-Toronto continues to be a busy, challenging and evolving organization.

Exceedingly long agendas which unfortunately often cannot be completed are an indication of an ambitious plan to improve and modernize and organize many aspects of our organization.

We have been working on our governance documents including our Constitution, By-Laws and Camp Naivelt Regulations. In consultation with our lawyers, we have ensured that these documents mesh with one another. This has been a long and arduous process headed by Ronit Little and Melanie Brennan. We are submitting the Bylaws and Camp Naivelt Regulations for approval at this meeting.

Issues of staffing have consumed many hours not only for Maxine Hermolin and Barbara Blaser, but also for our volunteers and the Human Resources Committee. Marilyn Tate was our liaison with the lawyers in our negotiations. Our move to making our secondary administrative job a part-time three day-a-week position has necessitated finding a new employee as this was not a job Lisa Roy wished to accept. We wished her well when she finished working at the end of August. We also found a wonderful new teacher for our Kinder Kapers program which Lisa had been doing. We have recently offered the part-time administrative position to Florencia Berinstein, who will be starting in early December.

We are very happy with our Shule enrolment this fall. We are running it out of a rented downtown location at 918 Bathurst Street. We will continue to monitor how this location affects the numbers of our children's programming. Of course, there are additional costs and work involved in not having our programs at our home location. We will keep these issues in mind when we evaluate Shule.

We have been looking at the issue of the location of our building for several years. We have been through the Kehilla development process and found it lacking in many respects for our purposes. We have a very valuable property and options which we are checking out, including partnering with other

institutions, buying another property or staying put. Our locations sub-committee has been working with varying degrees of energy and commitment on this issue. Meanwhile, we have upkeep on the building and we have to be very prudent about budgeting for repairs.

Our Rosh Hashonah and Yom Kippur observances were very well-attended: the hall was full of both old and new faces. These New Year events are a wonderful start to our year's programming. The concert by David Rovics enabled us to raise funds for a headstone for Peter Kastner. Co-presenting films with the Toronto Jewish Film Festival furthers our involvement with other groups for variety in our programming events.

The Social Justice Committee has attracted a large number of committed and active members. Julia Barnett has spearheaded this initiative with her usual energy and attention to detail. Several UJPO members attended the Independent Jewish Voices (IJV) AGM with some financial subsidy from UJPO. Through this group, we have given our support for City Hall workers when there was a potential strike looming several months ago and we had a presence at the Rally for Land Rights at Caledonia on Apr. 28th. Educational seminars dealing with Zionism and Israel/Palestine issues are planned for the new year. (Ed. Note: See article on this course, in this issue.)

The Congress of Secular Jewish Organizations conference last May was attended by two members and Maxine gave a keynote speech on the history of UJPO. As usual the report back is that this is a very enjoyable and useful conference to attend.

Camp Naivelt enjoyed a wonderful summer. We have new families and individuals, some of whom rented cottages this year and some who are interested in now buying a cottage. We had an excellent program and participants very much enjoyed the music and arts camps we ran. And the music concert which resulted from this camp was fantastic. Seeing multiple generations having fun together is inspiring and is an example of the essence of community which makes our summers so wonderful. Our Sunday Bagel Brunches were interesting and varied and very well-attended. The hot summer made our pool activities that much more enjoyable and invigorating. We had a ceremony in honour of Camp Naivelt's heritage designation at which a plaque was installed in our Peace Garden, attended by several members of Brampton's civic government. Grants which may be available through this new designation may allow us to make improvements to our Camp infrastructure. In all "Unzer Zumer Heym" (our summer home) is in very good shape!

An informal Women's group has been meeting for the last several years in social activities throughout the year. We have a Book Club which meets 5 or 6 times a year and we have had an annual clothing exchange and pot luck dinner. We hold these events at member's homes and enjoy the warmth and informality that this brings to our get-togethers.

The Choir had an excellent Spring Concert on June 3rd, but attendance was disappointing. Financial and other difficulties in organization make for an uncertain future for the Choir.

This year the Board has acquired additional burial plots at Bathurst Lawn Memorial Park and has decided to increase the one-time payment required to acquire mortuary benefits, effective January 1, 2013.

There are many reasons that people come to UJPO. But I think in the end that our need for connection and community,

which might take different forms and avenues, may be the strongest reason. Embracing these differences may contribute to our evolution. ♦

## FROM WINNIPEG

By HENRY SHORR

UJPO Winnipeg has almost 30 paid members. We had a very successful Outlook brunch. Over 80 tickets were sold. Novelist David Bergen spoke.

Doris Lacovetsky, a long-time stalwart member of UJPO, passed away. Doris is the sister of Vity Bagel and Roz Usiskin, also longtime UJPO members. Condolences have gone out to the family.

We had a successful forum on generations of secular Jewish activism. A multi-generational panel of families who have a passion for political and social activism discussed what it means to be an activist and to be Jewish, especially on controversial issues within the Jewish community. Almost 30 people attended.

We will be having a forum on the Idle No More movement featuring speaker Niigaan Sinclair on March 10.

The Choir will be performing at the Sharon Home. They are in the process of being filmed and having a radio documentary done on them.

The Warsaw Ghetto Memorial will be held on April 8. ♦

## FROM VANCOUVER

By CARL ROSENBERG

Our home in Vancouver at the Peretz Centre for Secular Jewish Culture continues to host many exciting activities, such as the monthly Fraytig Tsu Nakht (FTN), with its songs, potluck dinner, and stimulating presentations. Two recent FTNs featured Robert Albanese, Executive Director of the Vancouver Jewish Film Festival, speaking on the topic, "The Future of Film and the Jewish Connection," and David Skulski, on "Twentieth Century Jewish Mexican composers."

The annual Peretz banquet on Nov. 18 featured a heartfelt and well-deserved tribute to long-time Peretznik and UJPOnik Gallia Chud, with wonderful food, music, and entertainment.

Coming back to our endeavours (discussed in my last report) to revive UJPO in Vancouver: We invited prospective UJPO Vancouver members to a meeting on Dec. 2. We sent out an excellent letter of invitation from UJPO Co-Presidents David Abramowitz and Lyn Center ahead of time. Disappointingly, however, only two of the forty-odd prospective members to whom we mailed the letter showed up, and the turnout at our subsequent Jan. 13 meeting was almost as sparse.

We discussed the reasons for this, including the need for greater follow-up, such as more persistent phoning, etc. We also discussed deeper related issues. In Vancouver, there is clearly a lack of a group such as UJPO--an alternative progressive left Jewish voice, not just a one-issue group like Independent Jewish Voices, but a group which has both a political and cultural focus, dealing with various issues. The question was raised to what extent young (or younger) progressive Jews feel the need for such a movement, or whether they feel satisfied with other forms of involvement.

In any case, we are continuing with our plans for an exhibit at the Peretz Centre of Avrom Yanovsky's work, hoping that this event will stimulate greater awareness of UJPO in Vancouver.

We set the opening date for Sunday, March 17, 2 PM. We are searching for a possible speaker--one who is knowledgeable about art, Jewish dissent, satire, etc. ♦

## WORKSHOPS ON THE HISTORY OF ZIONISM

Jointly sponsored by UJPO and IJV

By HARRIET AND ANDREW LYONS

Approximately sixteen UJPO members have been attending a six-week workshop on the history of Zionism at the Winchevsky Centre. Taught by Sheryl Nestel and Jason Kunin, university and public school educators and members of Independent Jewish Voices (IJV), the workshop has been a challenging and stimulating experience.



Front row: Instructors Jason Kunin and Sheryl Nestel.  
Students in the background

Our skilled instructors and the readings they have assembled have made us aware of many distortions in the narratives about Israel with which we were raised. To cite one compelling example, Susan Nathan's selection from her book *The Other Side of Israel*, "My Journey across the Jewish/ Arab Divide" is certain to disturb any of us who saved our pocket money to plant trees in Israel for what we were assured was a vital program of reforestation. Nathan documents, with statistics and eyewitness accounts, the extensive replacement of indigenous food-producing trees, in areas formerly cultivated by Arab farmers, with purely decorative pine trees. These pines make the land unusable by the displaced inhabitants and block access to much of the restricted amount of land to which Arabs are allowed (precarious) access. The "Arabs" Nathan is talking about are Palestinian citizens of Israel, not those who fled in 1948, people we have been assured throughout our lives had full rights and were treated better than minorities in many other countries. This is but one example of the segregation of Arab Israelis that Nathan reveals. Furthermore, readings from the works of Ilan Pappé and Neve Gordon clearly depict the regime of surveillance to which Palestinians have been subjected from the time of the Mandate to the present.

Other readings challenge the widely circulated claims that the Palestinians who became refugees in 1948 were ordered to leave by the Arab High Command, and did not flee in terror or as a result of force. Articles by Edward Said and by some of the group of "new historians" who have recently emerged in Israeli universities (from which many have had to move) debunk this claim. The new historians suggest that considerable research and planning was involved in moving Palestinian inhabitants

from lands desired by Jewish settlers, and quote remarks by such figures as Golda Meir and David Ben-Gurion which indicate that the leaders we were taught to admire were definitely sympathetic to a program of Arab displacement, though there is room for debate as to how much of the Nakba was deliberate "ethnic cleansing" and how much was due to the chaos of war. That chaos certainly included arrests and even massacres in villages which had been flagged by Israeli forces as sites of "resistance", a flexible notion which could mean simply the presence of males of certain ages and affiliations.

Readings of Palestinian discussions of the Nakba and the Occupation have been valuable. Said's work demonstrated that Zionism from the very first resembled other colonialist ideologies in its unflattering depictions of the "others" it intended to dominate or to expel. We read a memorable chapter from Ghada Karmi's *In Search of Fatima*, a personal account of loss and exile during the Nakba.

Since the Eichmann trial, the rhetoric of the phrase, "Never Again" has been dominant in both Israeli and diaspora discourse. Idith Zertal, who holds a Ph.D. in Jewish contemporary history from Tel Aviv University and is projects director at the Israel Institute of Democracy in Jerusalem, drew our attention to the writing of Emile Habibi who noted that one of the many tragic consequences of the Holocaust is the destruction or loss of the "Jewish heart," the philanthropic tradition of empathy for the sufferings of others. For the two of us, the workshop raises the question "What do we do now?" We look forward to lively discussion of that question in the remaining weeks. ♦

## CSJO STUDIES RESTRUCTURING

By LYN CENTER

The Congress of Secular Jewish Organizations (CSJO), based in the US, and with which National UJPO and Morris Winchevsky Schools are affiliated, recently undertook a survey of its members to help it plan for a restructuring of the organization.

Hans Leander and Joan Kurtz, the restructuring study researchers, conducted an online survey of its members between June 19 and June 6, 2012. There were 17 questions asked in the following categories: How long you have been a member and how much do you know about the organization; what is the nature of your participation and how likely is it that you will volunteer in the future; do you visit the website and read the newsletters; do you read *Jewish Currents* or *Outlook*; how do you satisfy your need for a secular Jewish identity/lifestyle?

Based on the responses to the survey, Hans and Joan presented a first set of proposals to the November meeting of the Board of Directors. These include more effective CSJO management, better decision implementation, increased services to affiliates and members, better external PR/ publicity/ promotion, clear formulation of CSJO's and affiliates' obligations toward each other, and more realistic dues structure and payment.

The proposed principles are: Jews are a people, that is, a body of persons that are united by common origin, culture, or tradition, or by a sense of kinship; Jewishness is the state or condition of being Jewish, that is, of having the characteristics of the Jewish people, or, simply, being a Jew; Judaism is a distinctive doctrine, cause, or theory, or, more precisely to us, a

religion; ethics and morals are not dependent on religious belief; and a secular Jew is anyone who identifies him- or herself as such.

The proposed policies are: CSJO does not proselytize, oppose religion per se or make statements of religious beliefs, treats religious belief and non-belief as a private matter, and will do nothing that would threaten its tax status.

Regarding structure, CSJO would have associate members and affiliates (groups) which are independent organizations, affiliation will be governed by some type of an agreement, and CSJO will work with affiliate leaderships directly, not via delegates. Since CSJO and affiliates are independent organizations, they will not make statements in each others' names.

Regarding management, CSJO would be managed by a Board of Directors consisting of four officers, an executive director, nine members at large including at least three youth members, and the immediate past Chair.

CSJO's programs would include celebrations and observances, conferences, educational services, life-cycle events, membership growth, services and retention, new community development, a newsletter, publicity and PR, website and other electronic media, social action and a youth program.

All proposals will be discussed and voted on at the Board of Directors meeting to be held during the CSJO annual conference May 24-27, 2013 in Philadelphia. For more information about the CSJO, see <http://www.csjo.org>. ♦

## MEMORIALS

By DAVID ABRAMOWITZ  
for the UJPO-Canada National Board

### REMEMBERING DORIS (WOLODARSKY) LACOVETSKY

We are profoundly saddened by the death of Doris (Wolodarsky) Lacovetsky. Either as a volunteer in the preparation of events of the Winnipeg UJPO, or hosting a dinner for a visiting UJPO guest, Doris was both gracious and generous. Whether it was a donation to the Jewish Heritage Centre (in concert with several Wolodarsky and other UJPO Winnipeg members) or her ongoing "chai donations" to the Winnipeg Jewish Family and Child Service, and other charitable causes, Doris demonstrated her commitment to Jewish culture and continuity in Winnipeg.

As a member of the UJPO, she was a proud progressive secular Jew. I have personal fond memories of Doris as I had a special relationship with her. During the UJPO visit to the Washington Holocaust Museum years ago, Doris and I were seat-mates on the bus. The trip was all the more enjoyable due to the pleasant repartee we shared. Though it was in the background that she made her contribution, it was nonetheless a significant and worthy one, which helped the Winnipeg UJPO bridge the years from the former guard to the newer one. We shall miss her smile, grace and humility. She lives on in the memories of those fortunate enough to have known her. The UJPO-Canada National Board offers its sincerest condolences to her family. We shall honour her memory. ♦

### REMEMBERING LUKIN ROBINSON

Lukin Robinson, a skier, writer, chess player, economist, trade unionist, proud supporter of the political left, UJPO Toronto

member, avid reader, devoted Sherlockian and consummate punster, died suddenly on October 18, 2012, at the age of 96.

He was born in Toronto on June 19, 1916, and was raised in Toronto and in Grindelwald, Switzerland, where he developed his love of and talent for skiing. He skied for the Canadian National Team but declined on political grounds to participate in the 1936 Winter Games in Germany.

Lukin completed the degree Licence ès Sciences Économiques at the University of Geneva. He later served with the RCAF in England. His first jobs were with The Bank of Canada and The Dominion Bureau of Statistics in Ottawa, where he met his first wife Ruth Elizabeth Cotter. He then worked as a population statistician for the United Nations in New York.

He was the Director of Research for the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers union, first in Sudbury and later in Toronto, and then was Vice-President of Murray V. Jones, a planning consultancy in Toronto.

During his involvement in the anti-war movement in the early 1960s, Lukin met his second wife, Lillian Ruth Milton Rockman whose father was one of the 1926 founders of the Toronto Labour League Mutual Benefit Society (now UJPO Toronto). He taught economics at York and Trent universities. He was a longtime member of and provincial and federal candidate for the NDP and periodically spoke on labour and political topics to UJPO Toronto members.

His final employment was as a research economist for Ontario Public Service Employees Union in Toronto at the age of 80. He wrote many articles over the years for the Canadian Forum, Monthly Review, Outlook and Canadian Dimension, as well as two books, *Rising Prices* and *Canada's Crippled Dollar*. He continued to write, ski, read, ride his bicycle, play chess and promulgate puns until the very last days of his life.

He enjoyed being challenged intellectually and physically. In recent years, his comfort and happiness were greatly supported by his caregivers.

He will be missed, but never forgotten, by his family and friends with whom UJPO Toronto condoles. A celebration of his life is planned for a later date.

Although he was always an intellectual at heart, one of Lukin's favourite sayings was: "Things that work in theory don't necessarily work in practice. And things that work in practice don't always work in the game."

If you wish to make a donation in Lukin's honour, please consider a progressive organization whose aims promote social justice such as the Morris Winchevsky School. ♦

### REMEMBERING JIM BULLER

*"Jim dedicated his whole life to the fight for workers..." – James Kilpatrick*

Jim Buller died on November 18, 2012 at the age of 86. Loving and appreciative father to Carol he was predeceased by wife Grace. His mother, Annie Buller, was a dedicated, history-making labour activist. His father, Harry Guralnik, became the principal of the Morris Winchevsky School in the mid 1940's.

Jim was inspired by his mother's example and became a lifelong trade unionist. He served variously as President, Secretary-Treasurer and Organizer of the Toronto Typographical Union Local 91 (currently part of the Communication, Energy and Paperworkers Union). He was a delegate to the Toronto and York District Labour Council for decades. As well as working in

the graphic arts field, he spent many years with Magna Holidays and, with Grace, traveled to Cuba numerous times, often with colleagues and members of the Toronto UJPO of which he was a member.

A long-time supporter of Outlook magazine, Jim voluntarily constructively critiqued the journal which helped it evolve to the high level and respect it has reached. A memorial will be held at a date to be announced.

Donations may be made to the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, the Ontario Library Association Grace Buller Aboriginal Student Scholarship Fund, the Daily Bread Food Bank, or a progressive organization of your choice such as the Morris Winchevsky School. ♦

## CANADA

### HARPER LAUNCHES MAJOR FIRST NATIONS TERMINATION PLAN AS NEGOTIATING TABLES LEGITIMIZE CANADA'S COLONIALISM

By RUSSELL DIABO

*Ed. Note: The editors of UJPO News consider this article of utmost importance for the understanding and awareness of the history of promised First Nations' rights, but because of space limitations we are not able to publish the complete article, which is several pages long. It is excellent reference material, and we encourage our readers to access it at the above web site. Following are the conclusions presented by the author, which we think will interest you sufficiently to further explore the complete article.*

*In the article the author references the Indian Act, as amended both in 1985 and 2013. This can be accessed at <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/PDF/I-5.pdf>*

#### Conclusion

Given their silence over the Harper government's "results based" "take it or leave it" negotiations approach, it seems many of the negotiating First Nations at the Comprehensive Claims and/or Self-Government tables are still contemplating concluding Agreements under Canada's termination policies. This can only lead to further division among First Nations across Canada as more First Nations compromise their constitutional and international rights by consenting to final settlement agreements under the terms and conditions of Canada's termination policies, while undermining the political positions of the non-negotiating First Nations.

In the meantime, Harper's government will continue pawning off Indigenous lands and resources in the midst of a financial crisis through free trade and foreign investment protection agreements, which will secure foreign corporate access to lands and resources and undermine Indigenous Rights.

Some First Nation leaders and members have criticised AFN National Chief Shawn Atleo for agreeing to a joint approach with the Harper government, including the Crown-First Nations Gathering (CFNG), but to be fair, the Chiefs across Canada did nothing to pressure Prime Minister Harper going into the CFNG. Instead, many Chiefs used the occasion as a photo op posing with the Prime Minister.

The negotiating First Nations who are in joint processes with Canada seem to be collectively heading to the cliff of the "Buffalo Jump" as they enter termination agreements with Canada

emptying out section 35 in the process.

Much of the criticism of AFN National Chief Atleo has come from the Prairie Treaty Chiefs. Interestingly, if one looks at the federal chart of the 93 negotiation tables not too many First Nations from historic Treaty areas are involved in the Self-Government tables, except for the Ontario region where the Union of Ontario Indians and Nisnawbe-Aski Nation are negotiating Self-Government agreements.

As a result of the September 4, 2012 announcements regarding changes to Modern Treaties and Self-Government negotiations, cuts and caps to funding First Nations political organizations and unilateral legislation initiatives, it is obvious that Prime Minister Harper has tricked the AFN National Chief and First Nations by showing that the CFNG "outcomes" were largely meaningless.

One commitment that Prime Minister Harper made at the CFNG – which he will probably keep – is making a progress report in January 2013. The Prime Minister will probably announce the progress being made with all of the negotiating tables across Canada, along with his legislative initiatives.

It appears First Nations are at the proverbial "end of the trail" as the Chiefs seem to be either co-opted or afraid to challenge the Harper government. Most grassroots peoples aren't even fully informed about the dangerous situation facing them and their future generations.

The only way to counter the Harper government is to:

- Have all negotiating First Nations suspend their talks; and
- Organize coordinated National Days of Action to register First Nations opposition to the Harper government's termination plan;
- Demand Canada suspend all First Nations legislation in Parliament, cease introducing new Bills and
- Change Canada's Land Claims and Self-Government Policies to "recognize and affirm" the Inherent, Aboriginal and Treaty Rights of First Nations, including respect and implementation of the Historic Treaties.

If there is no organized protest and resistance to the Harper government's termination plan, First Nations should accept their place at the bottom of all social, cultural and economic indicators in Canada, just buy into Harper's jobs and economic action plan – and be quiet about their rights.

<http://www.socialistproject.ca/bullet/756.php#continue>

*Russell Diabo is the Publisher and Editor of First Nations Strategic Bulletin where this article first appeared. Also see "First Nations Under Surveillance" and "Breaking Down the Indian Act." ♦*

## USA

### HAGEL AND THE NEO-McCARTHYITES

By BERNARD AVISHAI

I am just old enough to remember grown-up disquiet when speaking of McCarthyism – the first thick book I read was Louis Nizer's My Life in Court, which was largely about the libel case of Quentin Reynolds against Westbrook Pegler, the impresario of the scurrilous Red Channels – and I remember feeling a certain pride in the very large number of Jewish liberals who, like Nizer, helped bring America back to its senses.

Let the galoots disgrace themselves attacking war-heroes

like General Marshall. Let weird groups like the John Birchers and Daughters of the American Revolution and Republican Tafters impugn a man's integrity, then repeat each others' insinuations, then spread them to widening circles in captive media (where sympathetic pens were waiting). Let them point to the public doubts they themselves manufactured "out of whole cloth," as my father used to say. Jews, and Jewish organizations, knew where they stood in the face of such smears. They stood for fairness, patience, sanity. We knew for whom an unfair, impatient, insane America would not "be good for."

There was Fred Friendly, who collaborated with Edward R. Murrow in challenging McCarthy on CBS. There was Arthur Miller, whose 1953 play, "The Crucible," about the Salem witch trials, was a thinly veiled attack on the House Un-American Activities Committee. There was I.F. Stone who, forced to strike out on his own, proved the grandeur of the first amendment. There was Commentary Magazine before Norman Podhoretz lost his mind. In the America I knew, which only grew more so during the civil rights struggles of the 1960s, American Jews – with their worldly souls and experience of the social margins – were the natural opponents (because potential victims) of the fear, flocking, and fanaticism that produced political libels.

Which brings me to Sen. Hagel. I think it is time to acknowledge, bluntly, that certain major Jewish organizations, indeed, the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations – also, the ADL, AIPAC, the American Jewish Committee, political groups like the Republican Jewish Coalition, along with their various columnists, pundits, and list-serves – are among the most consistent purveyors of McCarthyite-style outrages in America today. Are there greater serial defamers of public officials in fake campaigns against defamation? Starting with Andrew Young and the late Charles Percy, and on to Chas Freeman and (now) Chuck Hagel, the game has been to keep Congresspeople and civil servants who might be skeptical of Israel's occupation and apologetics in a posture that can only be called exaggerated tact.

Fault Israel and you are accused of faulting Jews in our collective state, or, the same thing, overlooking the venality of our enemies – things only an anti-Semite would do and, of all times, in the wake of the Holocaust. This is not a charge anyone in public life wants to suffer or try to deny. My Israeli friends love that old Borsch-belt joke, that anti-Semitism means disliking Jews more than necessary. For American Jewish organizations, the very idea that dislike is ever warranted is proof of bigotry, like Philip Roth's early novels were proof of "self-hatred."

AIPAC et al know that if American politicians – and especially those fighting routinely for Florida, Pennsylvania and Ohio – are not cowed by the fear of being branded as anti-Semitic they may not be embarrassed into backing Israeli actions ritualistically. Where is the shame and who is our Murrow?

I won't presume to go through the credentials that make Chuck Hagel fit for appointment as Defense Secretary; I saw and heard him in person only once. I also won't repeat, or defend him against, all the fatuous charges leveled against him. Others have done this better than I could. (If you want a comprehensive list of the AIPAC-inspired letters Hagel refused to sign, you can find it here.)

Suffice it to say that Hagel is a man of independent judgment whose views on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict track

pretty much exactly with those of Haaretz. He was distinguished guest at J Street's first national conference. Nothing he's said has not been said by leaders like Ehud Olmert and intelligence chief Ephraim Halevy. Hagel is also a man, like George McGovern, who having served with distinction in the military knows the unknown dangers of resorting to military force without a clear diplomatic strategy and except as a last resort. So he refuses to speak glibly about using force against Iran the same way he refused to endorse war with Iraq. A Vietnam purple heart, he would in retrospect have engaged with the Viet Cong. Should he not now endorse engagement with the Taliban or Hamas, for that matter?

Why should this stance be thought anathema to Jewish organizations? Let's get real. The latter throw their weight around, presumably on behalf of us Israelis, but really on behalf of the Israeli right, whose orthodoxy and pathos they relate to more readily than to Israeli peace advocates. The weight they have derives from their being able to hold American politicians to endorsing a "special relationship" with Israel, where special means unconditional, so that (as James Baker and Howard Dean discovered) even the desire for "even-handedness" is treachery.

Hagel had the brass to call this grass green: Congresspeople will tell you openly that AIPAC has become one of the most feared, and secretly loathed, presences on Capitol Hill. Hagel spoke with thinly veiled contempt – which he came by honestly – of efforts by the Israeli lobby to intimidate dissenting diplomats and legislators. Ah, but he spoke of the power of the "Jewish Lobby" – not the Israeli lobby – which was the opening the lobby's hallelujah chorus needed to brand him a bigot.

Funny how you disapprove of Israel and you are told you are disapproving of Jews in the collective sense, but when you call the Israel lobby "Jewish" you have crossed the line. And spare me talk about Evangelicals getting short shrift; without Danny Ayalon prepping him, Reverend Hagee wouldn't know Hamas from Hummus. (As if one dares not speak of Catholic and Evangelical groups opposing abortion, only "pro-life" advocates, if one wants to avoid being branded as anti-Christian.)

Will no one put an end to this? I don't mean someone who will simply speak in Hagel's defense (like the Omaha rabbi whose synagogue Hagel regularly visited). I mean reveal and condemn this obnoxious system of moral extortion. Where is the American Jewish figure with the necessary gravitas and credibility to expose the Jewish organizations in question and tell them that their defamations have to stop; someone who, like Murrow, will go on the offense specifically against this disgusting, AIPAC-inspired method of vetting politicians on some "pro-Israel" scale – someone who'll denounce the lobby's ways of creating buzz in destroying the reputations of honorable public servants?

Where, to take the most obvious example, is David Brooks, who claims to want many more Republicans just like Hagel and presumes to teach us, in every third column, about the dangerous foibles of human nature when humans seek cheap solidarity? Where is Mayor Bloomberg, who is a lion for common sense when it comes to fiscal issues, climate change and guns, but can't seem to rouse himself to stop these disgraceful public campaigns carried out in the name of Jews?

Where is Morley Safer or Bob Simon on "60 Minutes"? Come to think of it, where is Jon Stewart, our real Murrow

nowadays, who'll take on the methods of Fox News, and even imply peacenik positions on the conflict, but otherwise cannot seem to get beyond Joseph Lieberman impersonations?

Some claim the attack on Hagel is the problem of deranged Republicans, and in a way it is. But that is like saying gun control is a Republican problem, implying that the NRA is just a natural feature on the landscape – as if there is no point figuring out where, given a tail and a dog, the wagging starts. No, this attack on Hagel started with the predictable Jewish organizations and pundits, who are now practiced at creating momentum for all kinds of attacks on the peace process. (Its latest initiative is to sign up Congresspeople to, of all things, close the office of Abbas's PLO in Washington – i.e., to punish him for taking his case to the U.N., which the Israeli peace camp generally endorsed.)

President Obama, one hopes, will stick with Hagel and force the issue, much as Peter Beinart has advocated. But Obama also has to count Senate votes for confirmation; besides, he cannot as president attack the power of Jewish organizations, which have many Democratic supporters, any more than Eisenhower could attack McCarthy and thus divide the Republican Party. Any president must be a consensus-builder and this one has an understandable fear of divisiveness.

The exposure of AIPAC et al must rather come from American Jews of the old school who have conservative credentials and something of a bully pulpit. This is their moment. The sigh of relief will be loud. And I know a great many Israelis who will join in. ♦

<http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2012/12/26/hagel-and-the-neo-mccarthyites.htm>

#### ERRATA

In the Fall edition of *UJPO News*, in the report on UJPO Canada Annual Board Meeting, the accompanying photo was shown with an incomplete list of the Board members. The list should read:

Top row left to right: David Abramowitz, Henry Shorr, Sylvia Friedman, Roz Usiskin, Harriet Zaidman, Sam Blatt, Sol Blaser. Bottom row: Lyn Center, Gord Meslin, Barbara Blaser, Marsha Solnicki, Ronit Little.

In honour of IWD, March 8, 2013:

**OUR STORY**  
If they don't tell you!

**WORKERS VIEW OF HANES NUDE LOOK**

**WORKERS VIEW**

**WORKERS**

**HANES**

**Women expose injustice**

When Hanes Stockings advertised The Nude Look, they didn't count on their workers taking them literally. As more women worked, organizing them in small hostile plants was hard and Hanes proved it. The anti-union American firm killed the bid but due to this strike, the Labour Standards Act of 1971 put the government behind equal pay for equal work.

.....  
1971: Kingston Pen riot lasts 4 days, 2 dead.

© Williams 8/2

## MIDDLE EAST

### ISRAELI ELECTION RESULTS BRING PEACE NO CLOSER

By JON SIMONS

*Media coverage of the recent Israeli elections has generally portrayed the results as a shift away from the right by the electorate, presumably moderating its positions and attitudes on peace and security. Such optimism is not only false, but dangerous, argues Jon Simons.*

On January 22nd, The New York Times titled a report on the Israeli elections held that day: “Charismatic Leader Helps Israel Turn Toward the Center”. The title implied that the Israeli electorate had shifted away from the right and towards the centre, presumably moderating its positions and attitudes on peace and security.

Similarly, American Friends of Peace Now welcomed the results, claiming that voters had said “no” to the increasing extremism of the Likud-Beiteinu party. They exposed the narrow attraction of the hardcore avowedly pro-settlements, anti-Palestinian, anti-peace parties.

The grounds for such optimism were that Prime Minister Netanyahu's party Likud Beitenu – actually a list that has combined the long-standing right-wing Likud with the equally right-wing party led by former Foreign Minister Avigdor Lieberman, Yisrael Beitenu – had haemorrhaged support. Instead of a combined strength of 42 seats out of 120 in the outgoing Israeli Parliament (Knesset) Netanyahu will command only 31 votes.

The surprise success story of the elections was Yair Lapid, a former TV presenter and media personality, who garnered 19 seats for his new centrist party, Yesh Atid (There is a Future), coming second in the outcome that is determined by a system of proportional representation. Netanyahu will almost certainly be the next Prime Minister, forming a coalition of at least 61 Knesset members with other parties, and so the optimistic voices suggest that Lapid will be a moderating influence on Netanyahu's hard-line, pro-settlement, anti-Palestinian policies.

Such optimism is not only false, but it is also dangerous. It is dangerous because it might lead the US and other Western government to pressure the Palestinian Authority to return to the negotiating table on the assumption that the Israeli government will be more flexible, as Amira Hass writes in her column in liberal Israel newspaper Ha'aretz on January 24th.

No such assumption can be made, because neither Lapid nor his party actually have a political outlook any more likely to commit Israel to Palestinian independence in Gaza and the West Bank. According to his party platform and election campaign, Lapid is committed to returning to negotiations to achieve a “two-state” solution that would allow Israel to keep the large settlement blocs. But unlike other two-state plans that allow for that retention – though in return for land swaps – Lapid opposes the establishment of the Palestinian capital in any part of East Jerusalem, having convinced himself – apparently without consulting any Palestinians – that they would relinquish that demand if Israel simply insisted.

Far more telling and worrying than that unpromising approach to negotiations, Lapid arrogantly blames the Palestinians for the failures of previous peace talks, citing Abba Eban's quip that “the Palestinians never miss an opportunity to miss an opportunity”. He repeats familiar tropes of an Israeli

hand always extended for peace, Israel surrounded by threats and dangers (Iran, the Islamic movement in Egypt, cyber-attacks, oil-funded anti-Semitism), and the demographic threat of a non-Jewish majority.

In Lapid's view, the only reason to make peace is because Israel must relinquish some of the "Land of Israel" (he doesn't say "territories", certainly not "occupied territories") so as not to include too many Palestinians. The settlers in his eyes are "real Zionists" who will have to give up their life's work for the sake of the Jewish nation. Given that he acknowledges that Netanyahu is also officially committed to the two-state approach, where does he differ from the Prime Minister? Only in that Netanyahu's government has avoided peace talks.

So, Lapid is Netanyahu's perfect coalition partner on the Israel-Palestinian issue, the perfect partner for continuing the Occupation and settlements as at present. Lapid hasn't proposed a new settlement freeze, the condition that the Palestinian Authority has had just about enough backbone to stick to so far in return for returning to talks. Netanyahu can tell his new coalition partner once the new government is formed that he called Abbas again, but yet again the Palestinian leader has rejected the invitation. And Lapid's prejudices will be reconfirmed.

Fortunately, the New York Times has managed to straighten its head out, so that Western officials following its opinion-leading won't jump to conclusions. In an editorial piece on January 23rd the paper noted, correctly, that Lapid's endorsement cannot be read as a shift to moderation on the conflict with Palestinians as his supporters were more focused on domestic issues, especially Lapid's plan to "share the burden" by forcing Israel's ultra-Orthodox and Palestinian communities to do some form of national service.

The same editorial also points out that another big winner in the elections was the haBayit haYehudi (Jewish Home) party, which is further to the right of Likud Beitenu, and even more closely aligned to the settler movement than Netanyahu's party, whose new delegates have a more right-leaning composition than in the previous Parliament. haBayit haYehudi's seats increased from 3 to 12, although it seemed to be doing better than that in polls before the election. An even more right-wing list failed to get enough votes to enter the Knesset, but overall the bloc of rightists and ultra-Orthodox gained 61 seats.

It is quite likely that haBayit haYehudi, led by Naftali Bennett, will also be in the new governing coalition that is formed. The party opposes a two-state solution, advocating the annexation to Israel of Area C of the West Bank, in order to give Israel more security and "manage" the irresolvable conflict. On the face of it, this policy contradicts not only Lapid's but also Netanyahu's official positions. Yet Netanyahu will probably have little difficulty persuading Bennett to drop his plan, because in any case, as they both know, Israel is in effect annexing Area C incrementally, through daily acts of dispossession and destruction. The process is much more likely to succeed if it's kept quiet, away from TV cameras and international view.

For that reason, coalitions of Israeli, international and Palestinian peace activists continue to do their best to capture on camera the violence of Israeli settlers and Occupation Forces. A chilling recent example is the video posted by the Israeli-Palestinian partnership group Ta'ayush this past week, recording the arrest with her baby of a Palestinian woman for

being in a closed military zone and attacking (allegedly) a police officer. The incident occurred on the lands of Umm al-Arayes, a Palestinian village in the South Hebron Hills which is being encroached on by the Israeli settlement of Mitzpeh Yair.

The Occupation Forces regularly prevent the villagers from working their land by declaring it, gratuitously, a closed zone, and on this occasion the Palestinians and activist supporters chose not to leave as quickly as the commanders wanted. Much of the local area is designated to be emptied of Palestinians to make way for "Firing Zone 918".

So long as the creeping annexation continues, along with the regular violence and oppression of the Occupation, peace is not coming closer, but vanishing over the horizon. ♦

*Jon Simons is Associate Professor at the Department of Communication and Culture, Indiana University. While living in Israel from 1985 to 1995, he earned a PhD in political science and was active in the Israeli peace movement. He recently returned from a research trip to Israel/Palestine where he studied Israeli pro-peace and anti-occupation activism, and is the author of the Picturing Peace blog.*

<http://ceasefiremagazine.co.uk/israeli-election-results-bring-peace-closer/>

## **SPEAKING EACH OTHER'S LANGUAGE: BILINGUAL HAGAR PROGRAM EDUCATES IN COEXISTENCE**

By KATHERINE MARTINELLI

Against the recent backdrop of violence in Israel and Gaza, one primary school in the southern Israeli city of Beersheba is attempting real coexistence between Arabs and Jews.

The Hagar school isn't aiming to solve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict or to achieve peace in the Middle East. The parents and teachers involved simply want to bring cooperation and understanding to their local community, all while providing a quality education for their children. And it's more than just talk: Hagar boasts some of the highest test scores in the Negev.

Started in 2007 by Jewish and Arab residents of Beersheba, the school, which is run by the nongovernmental organization Hagar: Jewish-Arab Education for Equality, offers a bilingual Arabic-Hebrew curriculum. It also has an affiliated day care and kindergarten.

The NGO's executive director, Hagit Damri, is a Jewish woman of North African descent and has two children in the school. As she sees it, the goal of Hagar is to cultivate some level of normalcy in day-to-day Arab-Jewish interactions in a region where 30% of the population is Arab.

"When we started," Damri said, "we saw a world and saw part of Israel... [in which] most [Jews and Arabs] never met — really met — in person.... We see each other, we just pass through each other; it's like we're invisible to one another, like we live in parallel universes. And sometimes we see each other as threats, and sometimes we don't see each other at all."

Public primary schools in Israel are categorized as either Arab, Jewish or religious Jewish schools. While Jewish students are welcome to attend Arab schools, and vice versa, few families make that choice. With this de facto segregation in place, Arab and Jewish children grow up learning in two different languages, with few opportunities to interact

The founders of Hagar — a group of concerned Arab and Jewish parents — didn't want that for their children. So in 2007 they launched the first stage of their educational system, opening a pre-K and a kindergarten. In 2010, the Beersheba municipality provided them with a building for their primary

school, and they received approval from the Israeli Ministry of Education.

Damri and the school's principal, a fluent Arabic speaker named Smadar Peretz, are both Jewish. The NGO's board of directors, which makes most of the major decisions about the school, is split evenly between Arabs and Jews.

Initially, Damri said, "it was very hard to recruit. People were suspicious." But soon word spread about the school's ideology of coexistence, and the quality of the education. Today, Hagar has 220 students, the majority of whom are from Beersheba, with some commuting from the surrounding areas, including Bedouin villages and affluent suburbs. The Arab students are all Israeli citizens and come from a variety of backgrounds, including Bedouin and Palestinian.

Each class is limited to 25 students and is split evenly between Jews and Arabs and boys and girls. The classes also have two teachers, one a Hebrew speaker and the other an Arabic speaker. All books, displays and lessons are bilingual. Most schools in Israel usually run six days a week and let out at about 1 p.m., but Hagar has an extended day, until 4 p.m., to help out working parents. Although the school has a government-mandated core framework to follow, it develops its own curricula and teaching materials with the help of a pedagogical consultant. Rather than utilize neutral language, the school attempts to acknowledge the respective narratives of Palestinians and Israelis.

For Arab parents, Hagar's draw is particularly strong. Without a single Arab school in Beersheba, they can send their kids either to a local Jewish school, where they might feel like outsiders, or to an underperforming Arab school in one of the nearby Bedouin villages.

Afnan Abu Taha, an Arab lawyer on Hagar's board of directors and a parent of two students at the school, said she chose Hagar because it offers her daughters the best opportunities. Having attended an Arab school, she recalls the challenges she faced — both academic and social — when she entered university. "To feel that they are part, that they are respected, that they are accepted, they are taken into consideration. This was the most important thing to me," she said.

"I think that it's a better school, and I like what happens here," said Jewish parent Sigal Tovbin, who has three children in the school and is also Hagar's enrichment coordinator. "You're not going with the same children all the way through to the army."

Hagar is one of five schools in Israel with a bilingual peace education curriculum. The school at Neve Shalom/Wahat al-Salam (Oasis of Peace), founded in the 1980s, was the pioneer. Hand in Hand: Center for Jewish Arab Education in Israel came next, in 1997. Now a network of three schools, Hand in Hand helped create Hagar in Beersheba. Hagar is the only school of its kind in the Negev, and is part of a greater movement to culturally and economically revitalize the region.

Zvi Bekerman, an education professor at Hebrew University of Jerusalem, has been studying bilingual schools in Israel for more than a decade. "In a society like ours," he said, "the existence of these schools is of tremendous importance, because at least they show the possibility of some type of integration... between populations considered to be in conflict and tension."

But Bekerman says the schools also hype their coexistence programs at the risk of ignoring their academics. "There's an inclination to look at these schools in a romantic way," he said. "You hear they put Palestinians and Jews together, you want to say peace, tolerance, recognition — and you forget that they're schools. That's bad. Never forget that they're schools."

For now, at least, Hagar appears to have reached a balance between ideology and high scholastic standards. Features like small class sizes, low teacher-student ratio and high parent involvement have led to impressive results. Students at the Hagar School score an average of 91% on Meitsav (a standardized test), compared with an average of 70% in the Negev.

But it's not all sunshine and roses at Hagar. National holidays are particularly tough for students and faculty alike. The Israel Defense Forces' Memorial Day, for instance, is "a very, very sad day," Damri said, "so we expect the Arab friends to relate to our sadness and vice versa. When it's Nakba day, I don't personally feel sadness. I'm glad that there's a state, and I think that most of the Israelis are happy on Independence Day. But... I want to offer sympathy to their pain, because they're my friends. Of course we need to sit and talk and understand and solve the problem — but we're not about solving the Israeli-Palestine conflict. We don't have the power to do that."

(Students at Hagar are not allowed to commemorate the Nakba, a day of mourning for Palestinians displaced in 1948, because of a 2011 Israeli law prohibiting public institutions from doing so.)

Of course, times like these, when Beersheba is under constant threat of rocket attacks from Gaza, are particularly trying. Last year, after a rocket landed perilously close to the school, an American donor provided the funding to transform Hagar's bomb shelter into a ship-themed library. "I think that the story of the library ship is the story of Hagar," Damri said. "We know that we have to use the bomb shelter, but let's do it [so it is] less traumatic. Let's create something together, so we feel that this is our haven."

Political situation aside, for many instructors, co-teaching in a bilingual setting poses its own challenges. "It's not difficult, it's just different," Arab fifth-grade teacher Sakena Ghara said. "It's different from any framework I've been used to previously, and it needs a lot of creativity, originality and qualifications to implement it."

But the school's teachers express fierce loyalty to the program. "This place is so special, and I never thought I could connect with a place like this," Jewish kindergarten teacher Lital Hermon-Elbaz said. "I was a fighter in the army at the checkpoints, and [Hagar] was the place where I got work. Now I've been headhunted from other schools, and I said, 'No, I love this place.' My best friend now is Arab."

As the school grows, it will undoubtedly face countless hurdles. Next year, the school will add a sixth-grade level and begin teaching those students history, a topic fraught with conflict and multiple narratives. And when Hagar adds a high school, it will no doubt have to contend with touchy issues like dating between Arabs and Jews, and how to prepare the Jewish students, but not their Arab peers, for army service.

"These are all issues that we haven't addressed yet, because we're young and we're not there yet," development director Keren Simons said. "We've never said this is all going to

be fun. We commit to respect and also to discuss and to figure out stuff together.... And also to give the kids credit, because the kids believe in what school they're in. They're not oblivious to what's happening; they're very knowledgeable, and they're being taught how to be analytical.... I have faith that it's going to work out well." ♦

*Katherine Martinelli is a freelance food and travel writer in Beersheba, Israel.*

<http://forward.com/articles/166769/speaking-each-others-language/?p=1>

## INTERNATIONAL

### PROSPECTS FOR 2013 - VENEZUELA

By STEVE ELLNER - New Left Project Jan 12th 2013

*This article was prepared for publication before March 5, when it was announced that Hugo Chavez died.*

The illness of Hugo Chávez creates uncertainty over the future direction of his government, and specifically its commitment to revolutionary change and socialism. Throughout the fourteen years of his presidency, the key to Chávez's political success was the constant deepening of the process of change, which invigorated the rank and file of his movement. Chávez's political capital, which enabled him to decree radical changes, was well earned. It stemmed from the extreme courage he demonstrated with the coup attempt he led in 1992 and the one that was led against him in 2002, as well as the compassion he has shown for the underprivileged.

Before traveling to Cuba on December 9 to be operated on, Chávez called on his followers to vote for Vice-President Nicolás Maduro if circumstances required him to step down. Maduro is a former trade union leader who was Minister of Foreign Relations between 2006 and 2012. More than several other top Chávezista leaders, Maduro supports certain far-reaching measures favoring the non-privileged sectors. Thus, for instance, he headed a presidentially appointed commission that during several months drafted the new labour law that Chávez signed on 30 April. Not all Chávezista national deputies had previously been in agreement with the law's far-reaching provisions, and ratification was held up in the National Assembly for over five years. The law eliminates the practice of outsourcing and creates a controversial system of severance pay that the business organization FEDECAMARAS had opposed since its founding in 1944.

Had it not been for his illness, Chávez would have undoubtedly taken advantage of the momentum created by the electoral triumphs of the October presidential election and the December gubernatorial ones by carrying out bold initiatives to deepen the process of change. These actions would have been in keeping with his strategy up until now of striking out in new directions immediately after each victory. Measures at the outset of his new presidency may have included expropriations of monopoly firms that have created shortages of important items in recent months, or punishment of corrupt officials to set an example for the rest of the public administration. Whether Chávez retains the presidency during a lengthy period of recuperation or whether Maduro assumes the presidency, the national executive is now less likely to surprise the nation with bold actions of this nature. Chávez's physical weakness would weigh in if indeed he remains in power. Furthermore, regardless of his intentions, Maduro lacks Chávez's political capital to enable him to overcome resistance from within his movement and from powerful interests outside of it.

Nevertheless, two considerations are on the plus side of the balance sheet for the Chávezistas. In the first place, the opposition is greatly demoralized. In fact, its defeat in 20 of the nation's 23 states in the December gubernatorial elections was due in large part to the abstention of its supporters following its disappointing showing in the October presidential contests.

Second, regardless of the outcome of Chávez's bout with cancer, the situation has thrust on the Chávezista movement the issue of collective leadership. Many Chávezistas, including intellectuals grouped in the outspoken Centro Internacional Miranda, have for some time expressed concern about the movement's excessive reliance on one individual. In the month that Chávez has been absent from the nation, Maudro and Diosdado Cabello (the other main Chávezista leader) have worked as a team. Political rivalry occurs in all political organizations and in the case of the Chávezista movement there are concrete differences that underpin it. If Chávez eventually recovers and if in the meantime the Chávezistas move in the direction of a collective leadership based on the recognition of diverse positions—albeit just roughly defined—then Chávez's health ordeal may someday be considered a blessing in disguise. ♦

*Steve Ellner has been teaching economic history at the Rethinking Venezuelan Politics: Class, Conflict and the Chávez Phenomenon.*  
[http://www.newleftproject.org/index.php/site/blog\\_comments/prospects\\_for\\_2013\\_steve\\_ellner](http://www.newleftproject.org/index.php/site/blog_comments/prospects_for_2013_steve_ellner)

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